

THE
HISTORY OF FRANCE

PART I.

FROM THE FINAL PARTITION OF THE EMPIRE OF
CHARLEMAGNE, A. D. 843,

TO THE

PEACE OF CAMBRAY, A. D. 1529.

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THE

CHAPTER I.

From A.D. 843, to A.D. 987.

Partition of the Empire by the sons of Louis *le Debonnaire*—The Kingdom of France allotted to Charles *le Chauve*—Ravages of the Northmen. Reign of Louis II. *le Bégue*—Of Louis III. and Carloman—Of Carloman singly—Of Charles *le Gros*—Of Eudes—Of Charles *le Simple*—Conversion of Rollo, and his settlement in Normandy—Reign of Robert—Of Raoul—Of Louis IV. *l'Outremer*—Of Lothaire—Of Louis V.—Termination of the Carlovingian dynasty.

CARLOVINGIAN DYNASTY.

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1. Charles the Bald, (*le Chauve*).....*Louis, King of Germany (le Germanique).*
2. Louis II., the Stutterer, (*le Bègue*).....
3. Louis III. and Carloman. 4. Carloman singly. 5. Charles II., the Fat, (*le Gros*). 6. Eudes. 7. Charles III. the Simple, (*le Simple*).
8. Robert I. 9. Raoul. 10. Louis IV., the Ultramarine, (*l'Outremer*).
11. Lothaire.
12. Louis the Stouthful, (*le Fainéant*.)

WHEN Lothaire, Louis, and Charles, the three grandsons of Charlemagne, in order to terminate a short but bloody quarrel, agreed to a final participation of the Empire which the valour and wisdom of their great ancestor had consolidated, the portion which fell to the last-named Prince became, for the first time, an independent Kingdom. From that epoch may be dated the complete separation, from their German and Italian neighbours, of the People who spoke the mixed dialect which has generated the modern language of France; and thence, accordingly, it is not only most convenient, but also most correct, to trace their peculiar History.

By the Treaty of Verdun, to which the above-named competitors agreed in the year 843, after^a a diligent, although probably not a very accurate, survey of the Imperial dominions by three hundred Commissioners, Charles the Bald (*le Chauve*), the

youngest of the three brothers, obtained by lot his supposed third of the Empire. It is not easy to state the boundaries with precision; but it is generally assumed to be the Country embraced by the Scheldt, the Meuse, the Saône, the Rhône, and the Ebro; from this, however, we must exclude Brabant. From Germany it was divided by the narrow tract forming the Kingdom of Lorraine, so named after its Sovereign Lothaire*, and from Italy by the small Kingdoms of Cisjurane and Transjurane Burgundy; territories set apart for little other purpose, as it would seem, than, first to excite and afterwards to gratify the rapacious ambition of the more powerful borderers by whom they were ultimately absorbed.

We may hasten with rapid steps over the century and a half occupied by the remainder of the Carlovingian or Second Line of French Kings. The annals of semi-barbarism afford little that is instructive. We are ill repaid for the trouble of oppressing the memory with facts barren of result; of extricating from the darkness in which they are enveloped events for the most part fruitless and unconnected, and concerning the authenticity of which considerable doubt must be after all entertained. The attention of Charles the Bald appears to have been chiefly engrossed by irruptions of the Northmen,—savage hordes which, pouring from their Scandinavian hive, tracked their course in blood through the fairest regions of Europe. In France, scarcely a river which could admit their barks escaped piratical invasion; and the banks of the Seine, the Somme, the Scheldt, the Loire, the Garonne, and the Rhône, were successively devastated with unrelenting fury. The district contained between the Atlantic, the Loire, and the Seine, was especially subjected to the outrages of these maritime freebooters. Paris, Orleans, Bourges, and Clermont d'Auvergne, were repeatedly burned and plundered, and not a village nor even a hut in their neighbourhood escaped attacks from the marauders. Occasionally they wintered in cabins rudely erected near their anchorage; and that they did not advance these temporary military stations into permanent colonies, or rather, that they did not attempt and achieve the entire conquest of the Countries which they contented themselves by ravaging, must be attributed far more to their own restlessness and passion for change, than to the resistance opposed to them by the dispirited and miserable People whom they invaded.

Charles the Bald, indeed, in his efforts to relieve himself from this scourge, appears to have relied on the efficacy of gold rather than on that of the sword†, and to have erroneously believed that, by gratifying ava-

* *Lohier-regne*, easily contracted into *Lorraine*.

† The writer of the *Annales Fuldenses* uses similar and very contemptuous expressions relative to the policy of Charles on another occasion, his expedition into Italy on the death of the Emperor Louis. He calls him "more timid than a Hare," and speaks of his "habitual cunning." Bouquet, *Recueil des Hist. des Gaules*, tom. vii. p. 180; and again when, not long before his death, he hears of Carloman's

rice, he could purchase its abstinence. More than once did he confiscate the treasure of Religious Houses which had escaped inviolate, for the ransom of others suffering under spoliation. In order to disengage Melun, which the Pirates had occupied after defeating one of his Generals, he agreed to pay 4000 pounds weight of silver; either to restore every French captive who might have escaped from slavery, or to redeem him at whatever price his master should fix; and, as a compensation for the loss of such Northmen as had been killed in battle, to pay a mulct for their blood, assessed according to the number of heads*. The sum required for the completion of this most disgraceful compact was not raised without considerable difficulty, and the details of the impost levied, still remaining to us, afford clear evidence both of the poverty and of the depopulation of the Kingdom.

In his family relations, also, Charles was most unfortunate. Of his four sons, two died before himself, and none of them evinced much filial obedience or affection. The story of the youngest, Carloman, is eminently piteous. He had been devoted, against his inclination, to a religious life; and when he emancipated himself from his vows by flight, the vengeance of a National Synod of Bishops condemned him to the loss of his eyes†. The Pope, Adrian II., when appealed to, espoused his cause; but the Rescript of the Holy Father to Charles was couched in terms so arrogant and so offensive, that it was plainly dictated not by humanity, but by ambition. Even the weak and timorous Prince to whom it was addressed resented the affront, and found support in his Clergy. In the conference which terminated A. D. 873. this dispute, Carloman was abandoned by his protector, and he underwent the savage punishment, administered at his father's command‡.

On the death of the Emperor Lothaire in 855, the Crown of Italy and the empty Imperial title, which did not convey with it any real superiority, had passed undisputedly to his eldest son A. D. 855. Louis. After a reign of twenty years' duration, that Prince expired without leaving male issue; and Charles the Bald, disregarding the pretensions of his elder brother of Germany, profited by a short interval of tranquillity in France, and hastening to Rome, received the Crown of the Empire from the hands of Pope John VIII.§, who arrogated advance: "according to his custom he instantly ran away, for at all seasons of his life, whenever it was necessary that he should face his enemies, he was used either openly to turn tail, or secretly to withdraw from his soldiers." Ibid. 183. The *Re-cueil* mentioned above, having been commenced by Bouquet, is always most conveniently cited under his name.

* *Annal. Bertiniani*, *ibid.* 92.

† *Chron. de St. Denis*, *ibid.* 138. *Annal. Bertin.* 116.

‡ *Chron. Flodoardi*, *ibid.* 214. *Chron. Sigeberti*, *ibid.* 251. *Chron. S. Bertini*, *ibid.* 269. All these authorities, however, speak very strongly of the young Prince's criminal acts.

§ *Ann. Bertin.*, *ibid.* 119. In the *Annal. Fuldenses*, it is said that he distributed large bribes. *Ibid.* 181.

to himself its disposal. Charles, after his Coronation, affected the effeminate style of the Greek Court, and, laying aside the usual habits of Frankish Royalty, adopted the long and flowing robes, the silken turban, and the jewelled diadem of the East. He was loud also in his boast of the great deeds which he proposed to achieve in Germany. So numerous a cloud of horsemen was to be assembled by him for the invasion of that Kingdom, that the waters of the Rhine having been exhausted in the passage, he himself would cross it dry-shod*. But the vaunt was idle; and in an attempt which he really made on the death of his brother Louis, to whom the Kingdom of Germany had fallen at the partition of the Empire, he was signally frustrated. A. D. 876. The three sons of the recently-deceased King shared his dominions among them; and after Louis of Saxony had defeated his uncle at Andernach†, Carloman of Bavaria terrified him into a retreat beyond the Alps. Among the passes of Mount Cenis, at a spot named Brios by the Chroniclers, but which it is idle to look for under that name at present, he was attacked by fever; and, although popular rumour attributed his death to the treachery of an attendant Jewish Physician, by whom, it was said, he was poisoned, it is more probable that fear, chagrin, and agitation contributed to accelerate his end, than that it was produced by a crime for which no adequate motive was assigned by contemporaries. The hated Race and Country to which the Physician, Zedechias, belonged, exposed him as a mark to superstitious jealousy; and the rapid decomposition of the King's remains increased the suspicion thus excited‡. Charles expired in a peasant's A. D. 877. cottage, in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, and the fifty-fourth of his age.

The short sway of Louis the Stutterer (*le Bègue*), the only son left by Charles the Bald, is wholly devoid of incident. That Prince, weak in health, and probably also in intellect, succeeded to greatly curtailed dominions. Neither the title of Emperor nor the Crown of Italy descended to him from his father; and Neustria, Aquitaine, and Provence, the only three districts of France which acknowledged him as their nominal King, were virtually divided among Feudatory Lords. The Northmen continued their ravages unopposed, and anarchy, the most frightful, marked the eighteen months of this unhappy reign.

With Louis III., to whom the throne legitimately belonged by primogeniture on the death of his father, a younger brother, A. D. 879. Carloman, was joined as assessor by the influence of his father-in-law, Boson, Duke of Provence. Nor was it long before that ambitious Noble claimed regality for himself also, and, dis-

* *Ann. Fuld.* *ibid.* 181. † *Ann. Bertin.* *ibid.* 122. *

‡ *Ann. Bertin.*, *ibid.* 124. *Chron. de St. Denis*, *ibid.* 147. The writer of the *Annal. Fuld.* does not allude to poison, but speaks only of dysentery, *ibid.* 183. In the *Annal. Mettenses*, the Jew is still further stigmatized as a sorcerer. *Ibid.* 203.

membering his Fief from France, erected it into the independent Kingdom of Arles or Provence. The brothers resorted to the aid of Charles the Fat (*le Gros*), youngest and only surviving son of Louis *le Germanique*, to whom, in consequence of the failure of the elder branches of the family, the Imperial sceptre had devolved, and from him they purchased the defeat of Boson, by a surrender of all real power. Scarcely four years had elapsed from this alliance, before the death of each of the French Kings, by unlooked-for accidents, placed their Crown itself within the grasp of Charles *. A. D. 880. A. D. 884.

Almost the entire dominions of Charlemagne were reunited under the single rule of this, perhaps, the most unworthy of his descendants, who easily put aside the claims of that posthumous son of Louis the Stutterer by a second marriage, subsequently known as Charles the Simple. France, however, might have derived quite as much protection from the government of this infant as was afforded her by the unwarlike and indolent Prince to whom she resigned herself. The Northmen, scattering destruction as they advanced and gathering larger force than heretofore, invested Paris, which, however greatly diminished both in wealth and population under the A. D. 885. Carlovingian dynasty, was still reputed the Capital of the Kingdom. Three Barons (two of them Ecclesiastics), of whom Eudes, Count of the city, was the most distinguished for rank and valour, maintained a gallant defence against these Barbarians; but more than a year was allowed to pass before the Emperor, who held his Court in Pavia, could be induced to make any effort for the relief of his western metropolis. Even when he put his troops in motion, it is by no means certain that they would have continued their advance, but for the heroic daring of Count Eudes, who, despairing of producing effect by couriers, made his way in person through the camp of the besiegers, and penetrated to the quarters of Charles at Metz. To return was a yet more hazardous enterprise; for the Northmen, discovering his absence, vigilantly sentinelled every approach to the city. Eudes, however, cleared a passage with his sword, and again inspired the garrison by reassuming command †.

Yet, even when the Emperor at length directed his tardy steps to the Seine, and, descending its right bank, was admitted into Paris, his purpose was not to fight, but to negotiate. The Northmen were bribed to retreat, and, by the payment of 7000 pounds weight of silver and the guarantee of a free passage for the huge booty which they had amassed, they were prevailed upon to leave an exhausted country, and to transfer the seat of war to Burgundy, which offered to their

* Louis III. was killed by a fall from his horse in 882; Carloman by a wound from one of his attendants in a hunting-party. *Cont. Annal. Fuld.* Bouquet, viii, 45.

† *Annal. Vedastini*, *ibid.* 85,

avarice the untouched wealth of a defenceless population. The subsequent deposition of a Prince, who could conclude a Treaty thus disgraceful, does not excite surprise. His death, within a few A. D. 888. weeks after his surrender of the Crown, left France without a leader.

The presumptive successor was again passed over. There were circumstances indeed which rendered the legitimacy of Charles the Simple doubtful. His father had been compelled to repudiate his first wife, and there was a strong party by which the second was on that account esteemed a concubine. The valour of the Count of Paris pointed him out as the most fitting champion against the Northmen; and while almost every other Feudal Lord seized some portion of the distracted Country, Eudes, having secured the important alliance of the Germans, was proclaimed King of France, with dominions very narrowly circumscribed by the cessions of his predecessor; and presenting, even within these contracted limits, little else but the wreck of towns desolated by the Northmen. The ten years of the reign of Eudes were passed by him for the most part in the field; yet even that warlike Prince, after repeated and frequently successful conflicts, found himself compelled to purchase the retirement of the marauders; and when he ceased to be victorious he ceased also to retain the chief merit which had induced his partisans to raise him to the throne. Charles had A. D. 893. now completed his fourteenth year, and when he was presented to an assembly of discontented Nobles, his right, acknowledged by acclamation, received support from the powerful sword of Heribert, Count of Vermandois, and was confirmed by the Ecclesiastical sanction of Fulk, Archbishop of Rheims, who solemnly performed his Coronation.

The imbecility of Charles soon, however, became apparent; and so feebly was he aided by his friends, that instead of persisting in a vain contest for the throne, he gladly admitted a compromise from the generosity of Eudes. We are nowhere informed what portion of his territories that King granted as a provision for his rival; but their A. D. 898. quarrel was terminated, and with so great sincerity, that Eudes Jan. 3. not long afterwards, on his death-bed, advised the Nobles in attendance to acknowledge Charles as his successor*.

Contemporary authorities are altogether wanting for the transactions of the first fourteen years of the reign of Charles the Simple; but our loss is probably small; for the annalists could have had little to record excepting the ravages of Barbarians, and the passiveness of those whom they invaded. At the close of that troubled period occurred an event teeming with importance to future History.

Rollo, or Raoul, a Northman Chief, who first touched on the coasts of

* *Annal. Vedastini.* Bouquet, viii. 92. *Sigeberti Chron.* ibid. 310.

France in 876*, by a long series of daring exploits had elevated himself to supremacy among his comrades; and on his return from a successful expedition to England, he directed his eager and numerous host to the investment of Paris. A defeat, which a body of his troops received before Chartres†, served only to increase his fury, and he avenged the reverse by cruelty the most unmitigated. Charles, unable or unwilling to meet so formidable an enemy in the field, offered him the hand of his daughter Gisla, with a large district of the Kingdom as her portion, provided he would consent to abstain from any further molestation of the remainder, and would acknowledge the Feudal sovereignty of the Crown of France.

The territory thus proposed to the acceptance of the Northman Chief was the whole of Maritime Neustria, extending from the sea to the river Epte; and its cession, although most alluring to the savage hordes to whom it was proffered, was in truth but a slight renunciation on the part of the French. So completely had it been rendered desert, so entirely was its face uncultured, that one main condition which Rollo deemed it necessary to require, stipulated that the new settlers should be provided with food by the neighbouring Lords. Little difficulty was made either by the rude warrior or by his ignorant followers when a profession of Christianity was required from them; for the dark mythology of Scandinavia does not on any occasion appear to have entwined itself with much strength round the affections of its votaries. But when, upon formal investiture with the Duchy, the Feudal ceremony of homage was to be performed, and Rollo was instructed by the Prelates to kiss the feet of his Liege Lord, the indignant spirit of the veteran revolted from so humiliating a testimony of subjection. "Never, by God," he exclaimed, "will I bend my knees to, or kiss the feet of a brother man!" When further urged, he ordered one of his soldiers to officiate as proxy; and the Savage, either from awkwardness or in mockery, seized the King's foot so rudely, that he tottered from his throne and fell. Loud peals of boisterous merriment from the Barbarians applauded this exhibition of maladroit dexterity, while the French Nobles discreetly concealed their chagrin and resentment‡. Rollo was presented to the font at Rouen by the most powerful among the native Barons, Robert, a brother of the late King Eudes, and son of Robert the Strong (*le Fort*), who bore the title of Duke of France; and the new convert, on being admitted to Christianity, assumed the name of his sponsor§. After having made rich grants to the

* *Asser Vita Ælfredi*, ibid. 99.

† In this engagement the Bishop of Chartres pursued the Northmen, "carrying before him the linen (the tunic, the chemise) of the Holy Mother of God." *Willelmus Gemeticensis*, ibid. 256. Six thousand eight hundred Northmen were killed. *Chron. Andegavense*, ibid. 252.

‡ *Willelmus Gemeticensis*, ibid. 257. The Norman family name, *Bigod*, is traced by some writers to this source, and the name seems originally to have been a *sobriquet*. *Breve Chron. S. Martini Turonensis*, ibid. 316.

§ *Chron. Andegavense*, ibid. 232.

Churches of his Provinces, he divided the rest of his territory among his followers according to received Feudal tenure; and the steady adoption of a rigorous jurisprudence, and the laborious cultivation of agriculture, gradually restored to his adopted Country its lost repose and fertility. To Rollo is attributed a triumph over brigandage which has found its way into the annals of other semi-barbarous Countries; and it is said that, like one of the fabulous Kings of Ireland, he suspended from an oak, in a forest on the banks of the Seine, a pair of costly golden bracelets, which remained untouched during three years.

The Normans, as we must henceforward call the Scandinavian colonists, made rapid progress in civilization; and inoculated the People among whom they settled, and whose language and habits they embraced, with fresh spirit and intelligence. The establishment of Rollo in Neustria is by far the most important occurrence which the Xth century presents in the History of France; and it forms an epoch of re-invigoration and re-juvenescence, after three hundred years of continued decline.

It is little worth while to trace in detail the degradation of Charles the Simple, to show how, by his incapacity, and by his weak delegation of power to a low-born Favourite, Haganon, he disgusted his chief Nobles, till they proceeded to open rebellion*. Robert,

A. D. 923. Duke of France, who first encountered him as an avowed competitor for his Crown, and who is reckoned among the Kings of that Country, was slain in battle near Soissons†; and Hugues the White, (*le Blanc*,) the son of that Prince, with greater discretion, employed his powerful influence, not in urging his own claims, but in elevating to the throne his brother-in-law, Raoul of Burgundy. Various motives are assigned for this politic abstinence; and it is said that his sister Emma, the consort of Raoul, decided his wavering opinion, by expressing readiness to kiss the knees of her husband in preference to those of her brother‡. It may be enough however to believe, that he sagaciously foresaw the chances of a prolonged Civil war, if he himself assumed the sceptre, and that he preferred real and permanent success to a short-lived gratification of personal ambition.

Almost immediately after the Coronation of Raoul, the unhappy Charles was enticed to Peronne by false promises of assistance from Heribert, Count of Vermandois, and imprisoned at Château Thierry. His Queen Elgiva escaped to England, and conducting thither her son Louis (who

* Henry Duke of Saxony having failed in obtaining an audience, owing to the insolence of the minion, indignantly prophesied,—“that either Haganon would share the Crown with Charles, or that Charles would be reduced with Haganon to a middling condition.” *Chron. Saxonum*, *ibid.* 225.

† According to the author of the *Chron. Sax.* Robert was killed by the hand of Charles himself. “Charles drove his lance so furiously into the sacrilegious mouth of Robert, that having cut his tongue in twain, it penetrated to the nape of his neck.” *Ibid.* 225. Such an accident *might* occur in the heat of battle, but it is at variance with the received character of Charles. Was Robert *alive* at the moment?

‡ Glaber Rodolphus, *ibid.* 238.

from that retreat obtained his surname, the Ultramarine (*l'Outremer*), received protection from her brother Athelstan, King of the Anglo-Saxons. The captivity of Charles and the usurpation of Raoul reduced France to a state of miserable anarchy, and each Feudal Lord became a petty King in his own domain. The two most powerful among them were those already specified, Hugues the White, Count of Paris, and Heribert of Vermandois; and when the latter, discontented with the manner in which Raoul had distributed some vacant Fiefs, released the captive Charles from prison, and appeared in arms, Hugues of Paris acted as mediator. Peace was secured by the abandonment of Charles, whom long seclusion had deprived of even his narrow original capacity; but in destitution and fatuity he met with a generous enemy in Raoul, who bestowed upon him considerable presents*. Heribert, nevertheless, retained him in captivity, until "the Exile and the Martyr †," as some of the Chroniclers have styled him, "obtained freedom for his spirit ‡," by dying at Peronne §.

Raoul, scarcely more in truth a King than the Prince whom he had dethroned, survived a few years longer amid the perpetually renewed contentions and insubordination of his great vassals. A. D. 936. On his death, without issue ||, a contest arose for his patrimonial dominions of Burgundy, which ended in the appropriation of the major part of them by Hugues the White. Thus aggrandized, the Count of Paris had doubtless once more the Crown of France at his disposal; but he wisely judged that the fullness of time had not yet come, and that in order to confirm his own real authority, it was necessary that he should invest some other brows with its outward attributes. His enormous power may be fittingly estimated by a remembrance that he was son, nephew, brother-in-law, and father of Kings of France; that he possessed Fiefs extending from the Loire and the Seine to the very borders of Normandy and of Bretany, and covering the entire country between the Seine and the Meuse; that he claimed the Duchy of Burgundy, and actually enjoyed the Lay Abbacies of Saint Martin de la Tours, of Saint Denis, and of Saint Germain des Prés ¶. We need not inquire farther why contemporaries speak of him under the name of the Great (*le Grand*).

* *Flodoardi Hist.*, *ibid.* 165.

† *Chron. Sax.*, *ibid.* 226.

‡ *Fragmentum Hist. Franc.*, *ibid.* 298. • *Chron. Viridunense*, *ibid.* 290. The writer of that Chronicle attributes the contemptuous title by which Charles is distinguished, not to weakness of intellect, but to gentleness of disposition, and transforms him into a Saint. *Ibid.*

§ When Louis XI. was put under restraint by Charles of Burgundy, at Peronne, his fears were heightened by learning that Charles the Simple had been murdered in the Keep of the castle. "He saw himself lodged close to a great Tower in which a Count of Vermandois, put to death a King of France, one of his predecessors." *Philippe de Commines*, ch. 35.

|| Glaber Rodolphus. Bouquet, viii., 238.

¶ *Pagi Critica*, ad ann. 956. § 6, p. 865.

. In conjunction with William Longsword, to whom the Duchy of Normandy had passed on the death of his father about the year 931*, and with whom Hugues had cultivated a strict alliance, that great Baron determined to recall the son of the deceased Charles from his exile in England. Louis the Ultramarine was in his sixteenth year when he was thus unexpectedly summoned to receive his hereditary Crown; but far from permitting himself to become a mere tool in the hands of those who had promoted his restoration, he soon evinced that he retained a more vivid recollection of his father's wrongs than of the benefits conferred upon himself. The influence of his mother Elgiva contributed to strengthen these feelings; and it is probable that a war might immediately have ensued between the King and his Barons, if, an invasion of the fierce Hungarian Tribes, who had succeeded the Northmen as the scourge of Europe, had not made a suspension of all domestic quarrels necessary for the deliverance of a great part of France.

But a more perilous contest than that in which Louis would have been engaged with his vassals alone was indiscreetly provoked by him soon after the retirement of the Hungarians. The Lorrainois, revolting from Otho I. of Germany, tendered their homage to the King of France, and Louis was too young and too ambitious to decline so specious an offer. He accepted the proposals; yet, at the very moment in which by this aggression he awakened the resentment of Otho, and threw him into close alliance with the discontented Count of Paris, he contracted a marriage which made him brother-in-law to both of these his most powerful enemies. Gerberge, widow of the late Duke of Lorraine, whom Louis espoused, was a sister both of Otho, and of Hedwige, the consort of Hugues the White. This connexion, doubtless, was afterwards of considerable importance in promoting reconciliation.

Against a confederacy of his vassals supported by the arms of Germany, it was little to be supposed that the young King could offer any long or effectual resistance; and after losing many men A. D. 941. in a surprise near Château-Porcien on the Aisne, he saved himself by a hasty flight through Burgundy into Provence. He was well received in the Southern Provinces; and both the Count of Poitiers† and the Duke of Aquitaine furnished an armament in his behalf; while the Pope, Stephen VIII., sent a Legate to denounce Excommunication against the insurgents. But, notwithstanding these exertions in his favour, it was chiefly to the moderation of Otho himself that Louis was indebted for his re-establishment. That Prince, instead of abusing the internal troubles of France to promote the increase of his own dominions, strenuously laboured for her peace; and, by conferring alternately with the King and with the Counts of Paris and of Vermandois, he not only

* *Chron. Ademari.* Bouquet, viii., 235. Will. Gemet., *ibid.* 259. Hug. Floriacensis, *ibid.* 319.

† *Guillaume Tête-d'Eloupes*, William the Flaxen-headed.

renewed amicable relations in his own person, but he succeeded also in the more difficult task of bringing back the revolted Barons to their allegiance. A. D. 942..

An act of odious treachery, perpetrated by Arnulph, Count of Flanders, soon after this Peace, seemed at first to promise Louis a chance of strengthening himself in Normandy. William Longsword had incurred the enmity of Arnulph, by protecting Herluin of Montreuil from a very tyrannical aggression*; but the crafty Fleming, dissembling the bloody revenge which he meditated, proposed a conference in a little island centrally situated on the Somme near Pecquigny. The main bodies of Normans and Flemings were separated by the river, while their two leaders, repairing with a few attendants to their appointed rendezvous, discussed their mutual demands. Dec. 17.

Arnulph was profuse in expressions of friendship; he protested, that if it had not been for the obstacle of gout with which he was piteously afflicted, nothing would have given him greater pleasure than to proceed to his dear brother's Court; and, under a variety of pretexts, he prolonged the interview till beyond sunset†. The boats were already on their return, each to its own bank, when the Flemish Knights called out that their master had forgotten an important communication; and no sooner had William, wholly unsuspecting of treachery, relanded on the island, than the ruffians felled him with their swords, and left his corpse upon the strand. When the body was recovered and stripped for burial, it was found to be attired in a concealed ascetic garb‡. Longsword, indeed, had for some time past practised austerities, and had expressed so strong a desire for monastic retirement, that it was confidently believed that he would have received the tonsure if he had been permitted to return alive from this unhappy conference.

The only son who survived Longsword was illegitimate, and a minor; but the Normans enthusiastically recognised as their Duke this child of ten years old, Richard, who afterwards bore the surname of the Fearless (*Sans-peur*), and they nominated Louis one of his three guardians, his coadjutors being Danes and Pagans. The King of France unhesitatingly accepted the office, which gave him the custody of the person of his ward, whom he undertook to educate in Christianity and in the refinements of the Court of Laon.

Hugues the White also, with more power, but with less rightful pretext for interference, sought for aggrandisement from the Norman minority, and engaged to maintain the city of Evreux, which was delivered into his hands, from the attacks of the infidel Danes, by whom its believing inhabitants had more than once been molested. In adjusting the distribution of the inheritance of Vermandois among the five sons whom Heribert left at his decease§ about the same time, the Count of Paris

* Will. Gemet. Bouquet, viii., 261.

† Id., ibid. 262.

‡ Id., ibid.

§ Glaber Rodolphus (ibid. 238.) states that Heribert while on his death-bed

obtained some ascendancy over the King of France. After arming in defence of their separate claims, and appealing to Otho for his decision, they adjusted their differences by a nefarious compact for the partition of Normandy, in which Rouen and its dependencies were to fall to the share of Louis, Bayeux to that of Hugues. The young Prince, Richard, was virtually a captive at Laon, where he was treated with unbecoming neglect, and was compelled to listen to frequent taunts on his mother's dishonour. His governor, Osmond, a Norman, abounding in the shrewdness which for the most part distinguished his Countrymen, advised him to feign sickness, and, by confinement to bed, to disarm the vigilance of his guards. At a favourable moment, this faithful retainer, wrapping the child in his cloak, placed him in a bundle of grass lying in the Palace court, which he carried off on his shoulder as if to feed his favourite horse—a service not unsuited to the habits of Chivalry. Having thus escaped observation, he rode all night at full speed to Coucy, where before dawn he deposited his charge in safety*.

When Louis prepared to enter Normandy in arms, he met with professions of the most complete submission; and duped into a belief that he might secure the entire prey to himself, he too hastily dissolved his alliance with the Count of Paris, not abandoning the injustice which he meditated, but the partnership under which he had designed

its execution. Hugues, however, was speedily revenged
A. D. 945. through the blindness of the perfidious King. A large

Danish force led by Harold, a Prince indebted to Longsword for the recovery of his Crown, had landed in Normandy; and a conference was agreed upon between the two Sovereigns, as allies equally interested in the protection of the youthful Richard. Among the suite which attended Louis, was numbered Herluin of Montreuil, the defence of whom had occasioned the quarrel which led to the assassination of Longsword. The fierce Danes accused the King of France of having too easily forgotten this murder; and one of them after reproaching the innocent cause of it, transfixed him with his spear†. In the tumult which ensued, eighteen French Barons, and a large number of inferior followers, were massacred, and Louis himself, who escaped unhurt to Rouen, was detained a prisoner within its walls‡.

replied to all the inquiries which his attendants directed to either his spiritual or temporal concerns, in one single form of words, which he repeated till his last gasp, "There were twelve of us who were bound by oath to betray King Charles!"

* Will. Gemet., *ibid.* 264.

† Yet Herluin, three years before, had avenged the murder of his benefactor, and had sent to Rouen the bloody trophies of a victory over Arnulph,—*manus est et cervix caesa*,—as we learn from Flodoardus. "Herluin having won a victory over Arnulph put to death the assassins of the Norman Prince William, and sent to Rouen his hands which he had cut off." *Ibid.* 197. The name of the assassin whom he thus punished was Balson.

‡ Will. Gemet. *ibid.* 265. Louis was first captured by a soldier, who, "softened by the King's tears," concealed him for a short time in an island on the Seine. The

The King was delivered to the custody of Hugues, who demanded the surrender of Laon, the only city which now belonged immediately to the Crown, as the condition of his release. A year elapsed before Louis would consent to this great sacrifice; and meanwhile Gerberge was unremitting in soliciting aid for her captive husband. Her brother Otho, leagued with Conrad of Burgundy, then entered France, professedly for the recovery of Laon. But that city defied their attack; and after an inroad which served only to ruin the country traversed by their forces, Otho recrossed the Meuse, and the King of France, deprived of his Capital, was content to fix his abode at Rheims. The intervention even of the Church, and a sentence of Excommunication to which Hugues became exposed, in consequence of a dispute with the Ecclesiastical Power, failed to procure any remission of his demands. He continued his opposition during several campaigns; and when he ultimately consented to negotiate with his Sovereign, although we are unacquainted with the details of their Treaty, it is manifest, from the continued superior influence maintained by the Count of Paris, that, on *his* part at least, no concessions of importance were granted. He agreed indeed to the restoration of Laon, but *that* perhaps involved a point of honour rather than any positive advantage to either side.

The petty wars which Louis waged during the remainder of his turbulent reign are wholly devoid of general interest; for the storming of a detached castle, or a failure before the strong hold of a rebellious Baron, are little worthy of remembrance in History; and with such minor and inconsequential events the latter years of this Prince are crowded. In domestic life he was scarcely less unhappy than in his public rule; and severe mortification must have attended a most unexpected and disgraceful marriage contracted by his mother Elgiva in the maturity of her widowhood. Notwithstanding the A. D. 951. disproportion of ages, and the keen remembrance which she ought to have entertained of her former husband's wrongs, she became enamoured of Heribert II., the young Count of Vermandois, by whose father Charles the Simple had been so long and so painfully imprisoned; and flying by night from the Convent of Sainte Marie de Laon, which she governed as Lay Abbess, she re-appeared as the bride of one of the greatest enemies of her son*.

The life and reign of Louis were terminated by a remarkable accident. A wolf crossed his path as he was riding on the banks of the Aisne, and (undeterred by an omen which might have staggered the courage of a Roman†), he clapped spurs to his horse in pursuit. The horse
spot on which this tragic rencontre occurred changed its name in consequence from *La Saline de Corbon* to *La Gué de Herluin*.

* Flodoardj *Chron.* Bouquet, viii. 207.

† ————— *ab agro*

Rava decurrens Lupa Lanuvino,

is among the evil omens mentioned by Horace, iii. 27.

stumbled, and in his fall injured his master beyond the relief of surgical skill*. He expired in his thirty-third year, having already A. D. 954. associated his son Lothaire in the kingly title, a precaution which the confusion of the times rendered especially necessary, but which did not always produce the desired result.

Lothaire, however, notwithstanding the tenderness of his age †, succeeded to an undisputed Crown, chiefly by the assistance of his uncle Hugues, the King-maker, who still wisely preferred the independence of nominal vassalage, to an equally nominal, and far less powerful royalty. True it is that the Count of Paris had combated the late King during the whole course of his reign; but it was, perhaps, on that very account that he was more fully acquainted with the advantages to be derived from the protection of his minor son. The price which he demanded for attendance upon the Coronation at Rheims was no less than infeodation with the Duchy of Aquitaine ‡. That important Fief, however, although granted by the Sovereign, was not quietly surrendered by the Count of Poitiers, upon whom it had already been conferred by Louis the Ultra-marine; and although the King and the Count of Paris marched upon the disputed Province, and even obtained some victories, Hugues A. D. 956. was ultimately compelled to relinquish his unjust claim. June 16. Death, indeed, prevented its renewal; and the possessions of this great Baron were divided among three boys; of whom Hugues Capet, the second son, who succeeded to the County of Paris and the Duchy of France in his tenth year, is the one by far the most prominent in our future narrative §.

Both the King of France and the Count of Paris were much too young to feel the rivalry which had characterised their fathers; and the sisters, Gerberge and Hedwige, easily becoming reconciled, associated their interests in the education of their respective families. Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne and Duke of Lorraine, their brother, undertook their joint protection, which was further confirmed by the support of the Emperor Otho.

Some ignoble and unsuccessful enterprises against Richard the Fearless of Normandy form the sole public events of the reign of Lothaire

* We are by no means sure that Flodoardus does not mean to imply that a *weir-wolf* was the cause of this disaster. He writes, *apparuit ei quasi Lupus præcedens*, "there appeared to him, as it were, a Wolf going before him;" and he attributes the King's death in the end to elephantiasis. 209.

† Lothaire was born in 941, and consequently was thirteen years old at the time of his father's death.

‡ Flodoardi Chron. 209.

§ Historical writers differ greatly respecting the sons of Hugues le Grand. We follow the distribution of M. de Sismondi, who may be consulted on the subject. *Hist. des Français*, iii. 452. It was scarcely possible that the death of so distinguished a person as Hugues the Great could be recounted by the Monkish Chroniclers without the addition of a prodigy; and consequently we are told: "In the month of June a marvellous sign appeared in the Heavens, namely, a huge Dragon without a head. Soon after which occurred the death of Hugues the Great." Chron. Floriacense, Bouquet, viii. 254.

till the accession of the II^d Otho in Germany, with whom A. D. 973. he became involved in a dispute respecting the Fief of Lorraine. A stealthy march upon Aix-la-Chapelle, in which city the Emperor was residing almost unguarded, nearly secured his capture; and it was only by a rapid flight from his A. D. 978. Palace that Otho escaped this disgrace. All Germany was indignant at the insult offered to its Sovereign; and it is said that Otho, in little more than three months, gathered 60,000 followers under his banner. With these numbers, unprecedented in any former war of the Age, he passed the frontiers, and spreading terror, as he advanced by Rheims, Laon, and Soissons, he intimated to Hugues Capet when he sat down under the walls of Paris, that he would celebrate a louder Litany in his hearing than any which had been solemnized heretofore. Collecting a band of Priests for that purpose, on the heights of Montmartre, he ordered his troops to swell the choruses in the Canticle of the Martyrs—*Alleluia!* and *Te Martyrum candidatus laudat exercitus, Domine!*—till the inhabitants of the neighbouring city were astounded by the reverberation*.

Contented with this empty satisfaction (as it was deemed) for their wounded honour †, the Germans broke up after three days' encampment near Paris. Their march was unmolested till they approached the Aisne; but there, Lothaire lying in wait, profited by their divided force and by the swollen waters of the river, to cut off the baggage and rear-guard. Otho boldly proposed to decide their quarrel by a pitched battle, leaving the choice of either bank of the river to his adversary. A French Knight, in reply, suggested that much bloodshed would be spared if the two Princes would meet in single combat, with a proviso that their followers should peaceably submit to the conqueror. But the deeply-rooted loyalty of the Germans revolted from this proposition. "We have already heard," was the indignant reply of Godfrey of Ardennes, "that you men of France hold your Kings but cheaply: hitherto we have refused credit to the imputation, but it is now confirmed by the testimony of your own mouths. Never, while *we* are sitting still, shall our Emperor fight! Never, while *we* are out of danger, shall he hazard himself in combat! Not, however, that we entertain the slightest doubt of his triumph if he were to combat single-handed with your King ‡."

The Princes and their armies separated without further engagement; and soon afterwards a Peace was concluded between France and Germany. Lothaire reigned six years longer, in an A. D. 980. obscurity which, if it were possible, it is scarcely worth while to develope; and he died not without the suspicion of having been poisoned by his Queen, whose infidelity is openly proclaimed by contem-

* Glaber Rodolphus, *ibid.* 239.† Balderici *Chron.* *ibid.* 283.‡ *Id.* *ibid.*

A. D. 986. poraries. His son, Louis V. the Slothful (*le Faineant*)*, had little time to exhibit the incapacity which his surname betokens; and his short reign is involved in darkness, broken only by a few scanty glimmerings of light from the Letters of Gerbert, Secretary to the Archbishop of Rheims, and afterwards Pope Sylvester II. From these writings we learn that the King believed in his mother's guilt, and threatened both her and her reputed paramour† with punishment. The revolution which terminated in the death of Louis V. is not any where detailed, but it has been affirmed that, like his father, he
 A. D. 987. also was the victim of poison, administered by his consort Blanche, who, having perpetrated the crime, was rewarded by a second marriage with the Usurper in whose elevation she had assisted. This change of dynasty, however, may be more fittingly treated in another chapter.

CHAPTER II.

From A. D. 987, to A. D. 1108..

Vision of Hugues Capet—His usurpation—Struggle with the great Feudatories—History of Gerbert (Pope Sylvester II.)—Robert II.—His divorce from Bertha—His weakness—Impetuosity of his second Queen, Constance—Interview with the Emperor Henry II.—Association and rebellion of his sons—Henry I.—Great Famine—Transactions with Normandy—Annexation of Sens—Philip I.—Institution of Chivalry—Quarrel with the Pope—Civil war in Flanders—Defeat of Philip at Cassel—Hostilities with Normandy—Adulterous connexion of Philip with Bertrade—Death of Philip I.

THE throne to which Hugues Capet had raised himself was nominally that of France; but his real power extended over a very small portion of that Kingdom. He had indeed annexed his own great Fief to the domain before possessed by the Crown: but, exclusively of the large immunities arrogated by the Clergy, the Provincial Lords exercised an authority, almost independent, both in Civil and in military affairs; and the Count of Paris, in becoming King, had in truth become no more than the titular head of a Confederation of Princes. The Prelates and Abbpts were virtually Feudal Nobles‡; and without examining the controverted question as to the exact time at which the three Duke-Bishops and the three Count-Bishops§ claimed their Peerage, in order to counterbalance the six great Lay vassals invested with similar dignity,

* His character, perhaps, is more fairly represented by the Latin *qui nihil fecit*, "who did nothing."

† Adalberon, Bishop of Laon, who must carefully be distinguished from the Archbishop of Rheims mentioned above, who bore a similar name.

‡ Mr. Hallam. *History of Europe during the Middle Ages*, i. 150. (4to.)

§ Duke-Bishops, Rheims, Laon, Langres: Count-Bishops, Beauvais, Chalons, Noyon.

it is enough to state that "the rights of coining money; of waging private war; of exemption from all public tribute, except Feudal aids; of freedom from legislative control; and of the exclusive exercise of original judicature in their dominions*," belonged to numerous Barons at the accession of Hugues Capet. Upon the sub-infeodations our limits forbid us to enter; but the Six Lay *Peers* of France (as they were afterwards called), of whom Hugues Capet assumed the direction, were the Dukes of Normandy, of Burgundy, and of Aquitaine; the Counts of Flanders, of Champagne, and of Toulouse. The Duke of Brittany was reputed to hold his Fief from the Duke of Normandy; the Count of Nivernois from the Duke of Burgundy. The Duke of Gascony (a Province soon united to Aquitaine), the Counts of Anjou, of Ponthieu, and of Vermandois, the Viscount of Bourges, and the Lords of Bourbon and of Coucy, may be added as important vassals; and the augmentation of the power of the Crown, from time to time, may be traced in our future narrative, as any of these possessions became merged in the Royal domain, by the Feudal incidents of "escheat or forfeiture, bequest or purchase, marriage or succession†."

The silence of contemporary writers respecting the particulars of the great change which transferred the Crown of France to a new family, is not a little remarkable; and in the dearth of authentic information concerning Hugues Capet personally, we must be satisfied with offering such legendary matters as are recorded of him previously to his accession. Hariulf, a Monk of Centule, from whom we are about to borrow, did not indeed complete his Chronicle till more than a century after the occurrence which he relates is said to have happened; but he wrote, probably, that which had been delivered to him by tradition, and which, no doubt, was the current belief of his time‡.

Among the treasures which the Flemings had carried off from the Abbey of Centule, two of the relics most lamented by its inmates were the bodies of Saint Valerie and Saint Riquier. Their restoration had been often but vainly solicited; and it was reserved for the son of Hugues the Great (who, we are told, directed the Civil and Ecclesiastical polity of France without possessing the title of King) to appease the wrath of Heaven, and to fill those bosoms with holy gratitude which groaned under their deprivation.

Hugues Capet had long meditated in silence upon the sacrilegious robbery; but although piety strongly urged him to action, he was still deterred by some reasonable fears. All obstacles, however, were removed

* Id. *ibid.* 161.

† Id. *ibid.* 208.

‡ The Chronicle of Hariulf was finished in A. D. 1088. His narrative of this vision may be found, Bouquet, viii. 28. A similar relation is given by Gervas of Tilbury also, who wrote about the beginning of the XIIIth century, in his book *De Otis Imperialibus* (Id. ix. 45); by an anonymous author of the XIth century, from whom an extract is printed (*ibid.* 147); and by many others. Gul. de Nangis (Id. x. 300) assigns the vision to Hugues the Great; but Nangis died so late as A. D. 1302.

by a Vision which one night was presented to him by divine command. "What are you about?" enquired a voice during the season of repose; and the speaker when asked his name, replied, "I am Valerie, one time Abbot of the Monastery of Centule; and, by God's command, I am come hither for your information. That venerable Confessor and illustrious Prelate Riquier has endured captivity together with me for many years past, during which, by the treachery of Count Arnulph, we have been Exiles from our homes. It is now God's will that our return should be effected through your agency. You must do it quickly, and restore our Monastery to its former Rule and Discipline by the expulsion of the Seculârs. If you fulfil these injunctions, I have God's command to promise that, through the merits of St. Riquier, and at my prayers, you shall be King of France hereafter, and that the sceptre shall remain in your Line even unto the seventh generation*." Thus encouraged, Hugues Capet re-established the Monastery; sent Envoys to Flanders, in order to obtain the bones of the Saint; made a warlike demonstration upon receiving an unfavourable answer to his demand; and at length had the satisfaction of placing his shoulders, under the bier of St. Riquier, of carrying it with naked feet and streaming eyes over the space of a league, and of finally depositing the holy burden in its legitimate resting-place at Centule.

The Monks assure us that, as a reward for this labour of love, certain Barons, assembled at Noyon after the death of Louis V., proclaimed Hugues Capet king; and however entirely we may now reject the first part of their narrative, however widely we may separate the consequence from its presumed cause, we are wholly destitute of any materials which may be either added or substituted. Even the genealogy of the Family of Capet has been a subject of bitter controversy; and while some have described it to be of antiquity so remote as to defy investigation, others have reduced the Founder of the Third Royal Line to a most ignoble and plebeian origin†. Be this as it may, he possessed sufficient energy and

* We have omitted a few unimportant words in the Saint's rather tedious speech, but we have faithfully represented its substance.

† M. de Sismondi has exposed the fraud practised by Velly in a pretended rendering of Glaber Rodolphus. The words of the Monkish Historian, speaking of Hugues the Great, are *cujus genus idcirco adnotare distulimus quia valdè in ante reperitur obscurum*; which passage Velly, *avec une impudente mauvaise foi* (a character by no means overcharged), has translated in the following manner: *dont l'origine se perd dans les siècles les plus reculés* (tom. i. p. 423). The passage in Dante is well known, in which that Poet makes the usurper declare of himself

Figliuol fui d'un Beccaio di Parigi.—Purg. xx.

a stroke of virulent satire, which, if accepted literally, would be equally false with Velly's adulation; but the commentators furnish us with the true metaphorical sense, by stating that *Ugo Magno facea gran giustizia di rei*. It must not be forgotten that the writer of the *Chronicon Siliense* indignantly rejects the imputation of a Plebeian origin to the Family of Capet; and affirms that he was "a Knight of ancient and noble extraction" (ap. Bouquet, tom. x. p. 297).

The reader who wishes to pursue this subject farther, may turn to Velly *loc. cit.*, to the *Preuves de la Généalogie de Hugues Capet* in *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*, i. 566;

influence to put aside the right of Charles, Duke of Lorraine, uncle of the late King, and to confirm his own election (as it was termed), by procuring his Coronation.

Charles, the younger of the two sons of Louis the Ultramarine, had accepted the Fief of Lorraine from the Emperor Otho; but in so doing he had by no means compromised his right of inheritance to the Crown of France. His remoteness, however, from the scene of action gave his competitor much immediate advantage; and neither troops nor money could be provided for the prosecution of his more legitimate claim till ten months had passed from the Coronation of Hugues. Charles then entered France in arms; and, by the assistance of a nephew*, Arnulph, Archbishop of Rheims, he secured possession both A. D. 988. of that city and of Laon.

Hugues Capet, meantime, was long occupied in attempting the reduction of those vassals who had deferred acknowledging his new dignity. We need not follow the obscure labyrinth of these petty wars; the spirit in which they were waged may be learned from a single anecdote. "Who has made you Count?" was the inquiry which the Usurper directed a Herald to put to Adelbert of Perigueux, who had assumed the title of Count of Poitiers and of Tours. "And who has made you King?" was the only reply which Adelbert vouchsafed to return by the same messenger†. Hugues Capet did not venture to renew his question, nor to maintain any further dialogue with one who could retort so poignantly and so searchingly.

In an attempt upon Laon, Hugues was unsuccessful; Charles discomfited him in a brilliant sortie, burned his camp, and compelled him to retire with the loss of all his siege-artillery. Thus frustrated in open war, Capet had recourse to intrigue. Adalberon‡, the reputed lover of Queen Emma, had, at one time, been imprisoned by the Duke of Lorraine§. It is not improbable that Hugues himself had been the secret instigator of this arrest; but if he were so, he remained impenetrably concealed, and dexterously turned the incident to his advantage. The Bishop of Laon, although now confidentially employed by Charles, was easily persuaded to revenge himself upon an ancient enemy, whom fortune had placed at his disposal; and having surrounded the residence of the Prince with an armed force, and seized him and his nephew Arnulph, he delivered them as prisoners to Hugues Capet. They were transferred to Orleans, where Charles died after lingering through a

to M. de Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, tom. iv. p. 38; or to the Preface of Bouquet, tom. x. p. 3, et seq.

* Chron. Hugon. Floriac. ap. Bouquet, tom. x. p. 220.

† Ademari Cabannensis, *Chron.* ap. Bouquet, tom. x. p. 146.

‡ Called Ascelin also.

§ Gerberti *Epist.* ap. Bouquet, tom. x. p. 395.

tedious confinement*. His consort was delivered of twins while in her dungeon; Charles and Louis, whom she then bore, at a later period recovered their liberty, were styled Kings in certain Diplomata of the South of France, and received an asylum in Germany, in which Country the male posterity of the latter was not extinguished till after the course of two Centuries and a half †.

The deposition of Arnulph from his Archbishopric, which necessarily followed his capture by Hugues, involved the King of France in a struggle with the Holy See; and this contest assumes higher importance than it otherwise would deserve, from the barrenness of contemporary events, and from the brilliant character of the Prelate whom Capet befriended. Gerbert, of whom we have already made some incidental mention, was born of obscure parentage in Aquitaine, and was admitted out of charity into the Monastery of Aurillac. At Cordova, which he afterwards visited, he studied the Mathematical Sciences under Arabian masters; and so great was his proficiency in the marvels which those Infidels only were at that time competent to teach, that he encountered the lot of all those Sages who in dark times have outrun their generation, and was believed to have made a compact with the Powers of Evil ‡. Not less skilled in the knowledge of mankind and in the art of living in Courts than in that lore which is the product of retirement, Gerbert obtained rich Benefices on his return to France; and as a reward for instructing Robert, the son of Hugues Capet, he was now destined by the King to be Arnulph's successor.

John XV., who at that time filled the Chair of St. Peter, refused approbation to this arrangement; but Hugues, without waiting for his sanction, deposed Arnulph in a Provincial Council assembled at the Convent of St. Basil in Rheims. The Archbishop prostrating himself before the throne, in an attitude the most humiliating, besought pardon and immunity of life and limb §. With arms outstretched in the form of a cross, he implored mercy for an act which the success of Hugues had rendered treasonable, the support of the just hereditary right of a near relative. Little reverence for the Head of

* *Chron. Richardi Pictavensis*, ap. Bouquet, tom. ix. p. 22.

† Otho, son of Charles of Lorraine, by his first wife, succeeded to his father's Duchy, and died without issue in A.D. 1006. Of Ermengarde and Elgiva, two daughters of Charles, the elder married the Count of Namur. A grand-daughter from that marriage, Elizabeth of Flanders, became the Queen of Philippe Auguste in 1180, and thus mingled the blood of the Second and Third Lines of Kings.

‡ In the *Chron. Virdunense* we are told that Gerbert secured his advancement "by certain spells"—ap. Bouquet, tom. x. p. 206. And another *Chronicon Regum Francorum* (ibid. p. 301) speaks of him as "a Philosophic Monk, or rather a Necromancer." Ordericus Vitalis (ibid. p. 235) has preserved a hexameter verse, in which the Devil predicts Gerbert's fortunes. Sigebert discreetly leaves the question in doubt; "Some say that his death was occasioned by a blow from the Devil; which matter we do not pretend to decide" (ibid. p. 217).

§ *Hist. Depositionis Arnulphi ex Remensi Concilio S. Bas.*, ap. Bouquet, tom. x. p. 531.

their Church appears to have been exhibited by this assembly; and harangues have descended to us, in which the abominations of Rome are depicted in terms most ungrateful to Pontifical ears, and which perhaps startled Gerbert himself when he afterwards attained the tiara. During three years, he seems to have enjoyed the Archbishoprick to which he had been elected; at the end of that term, the Pope was sufficiently disengaged from the troubles which the Consul Crescentius had excited nearer home, to direct himself to the breach of Ecclesiastical discipline which menaced the existence of his authority in France: he anathematized the Synod of St. Basil; he procured a revision of their sentence; and he finally pronounced the condemnation of Gerbert, and the legitimacy of his rival. The King of France felt that his own title was far too insecure to permit him to hazard further resistance to an opponent armed with spiritual weapons; and Gerbert, deprived of Royal support, in order to prevent a schism, withdrew to Germany, A. D. 998. where he basked under the patronage of Otho III. which ere long obtained for him a no less splendid prize than the Keys themselves.

The History of France at this period must be sought (if there are any to whom such a search can be either useful or alluring) in the Annals of its separate great Fiefs. Even of those detached parts not much is to be learned beyond their existence, and the perpetual feuds of their Lords. The Counts of Vermandois, of Flanders, and of Anjou; the early Lords of the Houses of Franche-Comté, of Savoy, of Dauphiné, and of Provence, come and depart, like shadows, without leaving a trace behind them upon the memory. The date of Hugues Capet's death is as uncertain as those of most of the actions of his life; it is usually thought to have occurred at Paris on the A. D. 996. 24th of October, 996. For some years beforehand, he had associated his only son Robert in his Government; and had invested him with those emblems of royalty which, we are assured, he himself never assumed after his Coronation. From a scruple of conscience which whispered that he had wronged his legitimate Sovereign, he forbore from wearing the Crown; and by this idle abstinence from outward show, he might perhaps cheat himself into a belief that he atoned for the moral guilt of his positive usurpation*.

Robert II. succeeded to his father unopposed, and, as it appears, almost unnoticed. Although he is invariably described by the Monks as

* M. de Sismondi, in observing that this fact is recorded by the ancient Historians without any commentary (tom. iv. p. 79), appears to have overlooked a statement by Richard, a Monk of Cluny, who wrote in the XIIth century. *Dicunt enim Hugonem Chaped nunquam voluisse coronari quia Dominum suum proditum captum tenebat.* ap. Bouquet, tom. x. p. 254. A more interested reason has been assigned by modern writers; namely, that Hugues, remembering the prediction of St. Valerie, that the Crown should remain in his Family till the seventh generation, thought, by excluding himself, to swindle the Saint out of an additional turn. But Nangis has remarked that "till the seventh generation," in the language of Prophecy, always means "for ever" (ibid. p. 300); the precaution therefore would have been superfluous.

the most pious of Kings*, he became early embroiled with the Church. His Queen Bertha, to whom he was very tenderly attached, was the widow of Eudes, Count of Blois and Chartres, to whom she had borne six children. One of the sons had been held by Robert at the font; and the spiritual relationship which according to the Romish Creed he thus contracted with the mother, rendered the marriage into which he afterwards entered with her uncanonical, and within forbidden degrees†. The Pope, accordingly, insisted upon its dissolution; and Robert, in the hope of retaining his wife, attempted a compromise, by offering the release of Archbishop Arnulph, who was still imprisoned. Gregory V. accepted the promised restitution of Arnulph to his Archiepiscopal honours, but at the same time peremptorily refused any indulgence to the prohibited nuptials. On the contrary, having assembled a Council, he promulgated a Decree remarkable for its severity. It enjoined the immediate separation of the married pair; it adjudged Robert to seven years penance; it suspended from participation in the Eucharist all the Ecclesiastics who had assisted in, or consented to the ceremony of his betrothment, until they should satisfy the indignation of the Apostolic See; and it excommunicated the King and Queen in case of their disobedience. That Robert hesitated, and that notwithstanding his timidity and weakness he maintained a long struggle against this encroachment of Sacerdotal power, is plain from numerous documents in which the name of Bertha is joined with his own; that he at length yielded is equally clear by his second marriage with Constance, a daughter of the Count of Provence and of Arles. But the details of the transaction are involved in legendary matter, which it suited the ambitious pretensions of Rome to invent and to encourage. Bertha, as we are told, produced a child with a head and neck resembling those of a Goose‡. All the Bishops of France, it is added, struck with horror at this manifest judgment, excommunicated the offending couple; and so great was the fear excited by this Ecclesiastical sentence, that they were generally shunned by their subjects; their deserted Palace was left to the care of only two menials, who attended indeed to their personal wants, but who, after every meal, purified by fire the contaminated utensils which had been employed for the Royal table. How far the imagination of the persecuted Bertha might be affected by terror at the Papal anathemas, it is impossible to decide; but not any part of the above tale is avouched by contemporaries; and it was first related by a Cardinal, who wrote, probably with political objects, half a century after Bertha's repudiation§.

* "The most pious of Kings, prudent and versed in Letters, competently acquainted with Philosophy, excellently with Music." *Chron. Sithiense*, ap. Bouquet, tom. x. p. 299.

† *Helgaldi Vita Roberti Regis*, ibid. x. p. 106.

‡ *Epist. Petri Damiani*, ibid. x. p. 492.

§ *M. de Sismondi*, tom. iv. p. 103.

The personal history of Robert presents little except countless instances of a too facile temper, which led him to acts of almost insane weakness. He submitted to the caprices of an imperious consort, who was substituted for Bertha; and whatever narrow intellect he possessed was chiefly exhibited in eluding her vigilance. He lavished his treasure upon worthless mendicants; connived at thefts from his own person; composed Hymns for Monastic service; and frequently assuming a Conventual garb, presided over the Singers in the Choir of St. Denis. In these unkingly occupations, affairs of State were little likely to be remembered, or if remembered, to be skilfully executed.

We hear, therefore, without surprise, of a war respecting the ^{A. D. 1003} lapsed Fief of Burgundy*, which lingered through a period —1016. of thirteen years before Robert established his claim and obtained the Ducal title for his second son Henry. In his first campaign, the King was assisted by Richard of Normandy, whose services were always prompt and faithful. But that brave, young, and enterprising warrior must have been inwardly disgusted by the superstitious pusillanimity which occasioned a miscarriage before Auxerre. A thick fog surrounding the Royal camp was supposed to be occasioned by the miraculous intervention of St. Germain in behalf of a Convent which bore his name; and Robert, terrified by the menaces of the Abbot, and by the accompanying proof of divine wrath, broke up, after considerable loss, and hastily retreated†.

The domestic peace of Robert was frequently interrupted by the impetuous passions of his Queen‡. On one occasion her jealousy of the influence exercised over him by a Favourite, Hugues de Beauvais, so far outran restraint, that she planned his assassination, and had it executed in the very presence of the King, whom he was attending in a hunting-match. So used to control was the tame and spiritless husband, that even this ferocious outrage failed to arouse any assertion of either Kingly or Conjugal authority. We are told that, for a while, he exhibited signs of regret, but that afterwards, *as was his duty*, he became reconciled to the Queen§.

An act of yet greater atrocity, because it was perpetrated by her own hand, is recorded of this Woman, who seems completely to have forgotten the softness of her sex in the brutality of her passions. A Heresy had been detected among some Priests at Orleans, A. D. 1022. which received the convenient generic name of Gnosticism; but to unravel the peculiar errors of which might be a task of no small

* By the death of Duke Henry, a brother of Hugues Capet. It was contested by Landri, Count of Nevers, and by Adalbert, a son of the first wife of Duke Henry by a former husband.

† Glaber Rodolphus, ap. Bouquet, tom. x. p. 20. *Gesta Abbatum S. Germ. Autiss.* ibid. p. 296.

‡ Glaber Rodolphus, ibid. p. 27. *Chron. Will. Godelli*, ibid. p. 262. *Fragment. Hist. Franc.* ibid. p. 211.

§ Glaber Rodolphus, p. 20.

difficulty. So far as we are able to separate truth from falsehood (dismissing at once those odious accusations which at all seasons of the early Church were advanced against sectaries), the dissidents appear to have been enthusiasts inclining to a mystic Quietism, and professing to be guided by an unwritten inward law, dictated by the Holy Spirit, which rendered Scripture unnecessary*. It is plain that in two points they were forerunners of a doctrine propagated more happily after a lapse of 500 years; and that they denied Transubstantiation, and the efficacy of the intercession of departed Saints†. Those tenets in themselves were sufficient to ensure their destruction during the season in which they were promulgated; and after eight hours' controversy in the Royal presence, the heterodox Priests were deposed, stripped of their Sacerdotal vestments, and adjudged to the stake. So greatly was popular fury excited, that it was thought necessary, during the preparations for their death, that the porch of the Cathedral in which they had received sentence should be guarded by Constance herself, in order to prevent the hazard of an untimely massacre. When the last melancholy procession began, and the victims were being led without the walls to the burning pile, the Queen recognized among them an Ecclesiastic, named Stephen, who in other days had officiated as her Confessor. Far from being moved by any tenderness of recollection, she struck this bound and defenceless prisoner with a staff which she bore in her hand, and directed the blow so furiously that it deprived him of one of his eyes‡.

The Jews, yet earlier, had been exposed to violent persecution; and confiscation, torture, and death had followed one of those bursts of fury which during the Middle Ages seem to have periodically overwhelmed their proscribed race. The King imagined that the cause of Heaven was furthered by promoting these fanatical murders. He was more harmlessly employed when he indulged in the prevalent fancy for Pilgrimages. Having visited all the Shrines in France, he undertook a journey to Rome, in order that he might salute the Tombs of the Apostles§. On the Vigil of the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, he

* Such, we think, is the fair deduction from their reply to the enquiries concerning the means of Salvation, made by a Norman Knight, Arefast, who feigned conversion in order to betray them; and again from their answer to the Bishop of Beauvais. *Gesta Synodi Aurelianensis*, ap. Bouquet, tom. x. p. 537.

† "They esteemed it useless to pray to Holy Martyrs and Confessors: nor did they believe that the Bread and Wine which appears to be made a Sacrament, on the Altar, by the hands of the Priests, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, could be changed into the Body and Blood of Christ." *Id.*, *ibid.*

‡ The matter-of-fact exposition of the Benedictine Commentators in this place is not a little amusing. "Queen Constance is somewhat to blame in this business, to say nothing of King Robert. But we learn from it one of the fashions of their days. Married Ladies were in the habit of carrying a staff, or stick, or cane, on the head of which was generally carved the figure of some bird," ap. Bouquet, x. 539.

§ The year in which this Pilgrimage was undertaken is uncertain. There is some reason to suppose that a meeting with the repudiated Bertha occurred during it; and the consequent alarm of Constance and the comfort which she derived from

assisted at Mass in the Vatican, and excited very eager expectation among the Cardinals and attendant Priests, by depositing a silken purse upon the Altar. Grievous was their disappointment, when upon opening this supposed precious offering, they found that it contained only the words and score of a Hymn—"Cornelius Centurio,"—which the King, proud of his skill in a science at that time rarely cultivated, had composed and noted on parchment*.

A similarity of tastes induced another of the most devout Monarchs of the time, the Emperor Henry II., to propose an interview with his brother of France; and the Princes accordingly A. D. 1023. held a conference which occasioned great interest among the Ecclesiastics, at the Town of Ivois, on the frontiers of Champagne and Luxemburg. That spot was selected as having been the birth-place of the holy Gaugeric, a Saint whose merits have now perhaps somewhat faded from remembrance; and, on the eve of his Festival, the Courts assembled with great splendour in each other's immediate presence. Dukes and Barons, Prelates and Abbots, persons illustrious for station, for attainment, and for piety, thronged in countless numbers to the assembly; and Robert and Henry embraced with marks of special confidence, esteem, and affection. Their discussion was by no means confined to temporal matters; they treated of the peace of the Church, and of the general interests of Religion; and a second conference was agreed upon to be held at Pavia, in order that they might be there assisted by the presence of Italian Bishops. The Emperor, at parting, was munificent in the gifts which he distributed among the French of all degrees; in return he would not accept more than a single relic; and when he thus consented to receive a tooth of the blessed Martyr St. Vincent, he yielded solely that he might avoid the appearance of ungracious refusal. The wealth and bounty which he displayed excite unmeasured admiration in the Chronicler Balderic, who assures us that no King, either of Persia or of Arabia, however justly reputed to exceed other Princes in treasure, ever deserved comparison with the German Sovereign†. Within twelve months from the meeting the Emperor was no more.

a propitious Vision of Saint Savinians are related at length by the Commentator on the *Chronicle* of Odorannus, ap. Bouquet, tom. x. p. 166. The translation of that Saint's body and some miracles wrought by it are recorded by the same Monk. *Ibid.* p. 168.

* *Chron. S. Germani*, *ibid.* p. 303. *Chron. de St. Denis*, *ibid.* p. 306.

† *Chron. Comeracense*, *ibid.* p. 202, where may be found the particulars given in the text. It is evident that some confusion exists between this interview and one which the same Princes held on the Meuse in A. D. 1006. Glaber Rodolphus recounts of the latter, that after Robert had offered most costly presents to Henry, the Emperor contented himself by taking "only a volume of the Gospel inlaid with gold and precious stones, and a Cabinet of similar workmanship containing a tooth of St. Vincent, the Priest and Martyr." *Ibid.* p. 28. It is very unlikely that the Saint should have had a tooth ready upon each occasion.

In opposition to the advice of his chief Nobles, but yielding to the urgency of Constance, Robert had agreed to the premature association of his eldest son Hugues, a child in his tenth year. As the boy advanced to manhood, the empty possession of a title, which, as he complained, afforded nothing beyond "clothes and food," in a Kingdom of which he wore the Crown, dissatisfied the Prince; and he earnestly required some allotment of real domain. The avarice of Constance was alarmed at this demand; and she not only exercised in opposition to it the plenary authority with which she swayed her husband, but she bitterly inveighed against the ambition of her son, and suited her actions to her words, as if he had been an enemy and a stranger to her blood*. The youth, reduced to desperation by his mother's persecution and his father's weakness, connected himself with some fiery spirits of his own age; and for a while led a life of vagrancy, plunder, and marauding. But the Prodigal seems ere long to have been reclaimed, and upon repentance he was invested with a fitting portion (*apanage*). His early death extracts a profusion of regret, and a sprinkling of barbarous Iambics (written at the desire of his Confraternity) from Glaber Rodolphus, who discovers in the deceased youth a revival of his illustrious ancestor, Hugues the Great†.

Of the three remaining Princes, Eudes is represented to have been disqualified for public life either by intemperance or imbecility. Henry, already Duke of Burgundy, was a favourite with the King—Robert, the youngest, with Constance; who, in order to obtain his association, did not scruple to characterize Henry as a sluggard, a hypocrite, a sensualist, and one who, in his neglect of the Law, would tread in his father's steps‡. In this instance, we know not for what reason, the King was successful in his opposition; but he had little occasion to congratulate himself upon his triumph. The two excluded brothers united their interests after Henry's association, and, irritated by the haughtiness of their mother§, appeared in open Rebellion. Somewhat of remorse was awakened in the bosom of Robert, when arming for this more than Civil contest, by an admonition from the Abbot of Dijon; allusive to a portion of his early history upon which no farther light is afforded from other sources. He was warned that this insurrection of his sons must be considered as a retributive judgment upon similar offences committed by himself; and that it was permitted by the divine will, in order to punish the violence which he had offered in former days to his own parents. The reproof was received with gentleness and patience; vigorous measures for a time restored sufficient tranquillity in the insurgent Provinces to allow the King to renew his Pilgrimages; and on his return from one of these devout tours, he expired at Melun, deeply to

* Glaber Rodolphus, p. 38.

† Id., *ibid.*‡ Odolrici *Ep.*, ap. Bouquet, tom. x. p. 504.

§ Glaber Rodolphus, p. 40.

the sorrow of the Monks, whose good opinion[†] he had diligently cultivated, and no doubt had richly deserved *. A. D. 1031.

The nine and twenty years of the reign of Henry I. are still more barren of striking incident than the six and thirty so ingloriously occupied by his father. Constance persisted in virulent opposition to his claim, and the young King, before he could secure his Crown, was obliged to throw himself upon the protection of Robert the Magnificent (*le Magnifique*), or, as he is better known, the Devil (*le Diable*) †, Duke of Normandy, whose assistance was not purchased without the abandonment of a rich territory, Gisors, Chaumont, Pontoise, and the whole of the Vexin. After much resistance and some reverses, the Queen listened to the mediation of her uncle, the Count of Anjou; and consented to remit that which a contemporary has not too strongly termed “bestial madness ‡” with which she raged against her son. The Treaty which placed Henry in quiet possession of his throne, obtained for Constance herself certain allowances, which she lived to enjoy but a few months; and for Prince Robert, investiture with the Duchy of Burgundy, a government which he administered as weakly and as obscurely as his brother did that of France.

We read of a deplorable Famine which traversed Europe in the early part of Henry's reign, and which appears to have ravaged France three whole years with especial severity. Co- A. D. 1030
pious details have been transmitted to us of the frightful —1033.
miseries which it produced; but their citation would produce unnecessary pain, and we therefore purposely avoid it. The contemporary Monks have not been equally abstinent; yet we cannot but hope that to one of the most sickening horrors which they recite, their own accounts unwittingly furnish sufficient contradiction. They speak of the resort to human flesh as of familiar occurrence, and they give one instance in which it was exposed in the shambles, disguised indeed under another name. That the pangs of hunger have occasionally driven the sufferers to seek relief by cannibalism is a fact too well authenticated to admit of doubt; it is verified not only by the well-known instance which Josephus records at Jerusalem, but by indisputable similar examples which deform the journals of other and later sieges, and by many accounts of shipwrecks. But although Glaber Rodolphus specifies wholesale murders, tells of children decoyed to assassination, of the knife lifted against the sleeping guest, and of the foul disinterment of the dead; in every case which he produces, he adds, that the detected perpetrators were condemned to the stake. If the crime had been as prevalent and as frequently repeated as he

* Helgald records his death in the following mellifluous alliterative reduplications. *Ad Regem Regum et Dominum Dominorum demigrans, felix felicia promeruit regna. Vitu Roberti Regis*, ap. Bouquet, tom. x. p. 116.

† A title which Velly thinks Robert obtained from having refused to grant quarter. Tom. i. p. 471.

‡ Glaber Rodolphus, p. 40.

affirms, it is probable that it would either have escaped, or have defied the exaction of legal punishment.

After the death of Robert the Norman, the King of France returned in kind the debt of gratitude which he owed to that Prince A. D. 1035. for his own confirmation in power. Robert, before undertaking that Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, in the course of which he died, had endeavoured to secure the peaceful succession of his Bastard son, William, by associating him in the Ducal honours. But the minority of a child in his seventh year, who was not born in wedlock, was little likely to be respected by a fierce, turbulent, and ambitious Nobility; and a long protracted War exposed the future Conqueror of England to frequent peril. Henry A. D. 1053. at length armed in person to assist the son of his benefactor; and in a decisive engagement at Val des Dunes, in which he seems to have fought with distinguished bravery, he overthrew the insurgents, and suppressed the farther progress of Rebellion*.

To a remembrance of this timely aid, and to a marriage which William contracted with Matilda of Flanders, a niece of the King of France; perhaps above all, to the Feudal prejudice which considered any positive combat between a vassal and his Suzerain as highly criminal (a prejudice upon which William's own authority was mainly dependent), Henry owed his safety, when in the following year he became engaged in hostilities with his recent ally. This quarrel arose from protection granted by France to a Norman Baron who had signalized himself by constant opposition to William; but the Duke of Normandy, although ceaselessly harassing his enemy in detail, arranged his movements with skill so consummate, as to avoid the necessity of ever personally confronting the King†. On one occasion, having surprised and utterly routed a large division of the Royal army, he dispatched a Herald to warn Henry that his troops had been defeated. The messenger was instructed to approach the French camp by night, when, standing on an eminence, he proclaimed in a loud voice his name and office; mentioned the chief Knights who had fled or fallen in the late combat; taunted the French with the knowledge which they had thus experimentally attained of the superiority of Norman valour; and advised them to send waggons at sunrise, for the conveyance of the dead bodies of their friends from the bloody field. "Thus much," was his conclusion, "you may announce to your King on the part of the Duke of Normandy‡."

* Will. Gemeticensis, ap. Bouquet, tom. xi. p. 43. William of Malmesbury, ibid. p. 178. According to the latter writer, Henry was unhorsed in this battle by a Norman Knight, called Haimo, who was immediately put to the sword in consequence. The King generously ordered that his body should be interred with great marks of honour.

† Henry's feeling excited by these manœuvres is strongly expressed by William of Malmesbury, p. 179. "Nor was King Henry idle, but he growled (*grunniret*) that his armies should be held cheaply by William." ‡ Will. Gemet. p. 47.

The result of this politic communication fully justified the hope which had induced William to offer it. The King of France was impressed with a strong, and by no means an unreasonable conviction that a foe who could so far renounce advantage as to forewarn him of peril was not to be encountered with impunity; and he broke up his quarters and hastily retreated. Nevertheless, the War continued during four more campaigns; and, on some occasions, to the great disadvantage of the French*. It was not till the project of associating his son Philip made tranquillity desirable, that Henry resorted to negotiation. In his early domestic engagements he had been unfortunate. His first Queen, Matilda, daughter of the Emperor Conrad the Salique, died while on her passage to France after marriage by proxy. His second, of the same name (and on that account sometimes confounded with her cousin and predecessor), followed an only daughter to an early grave; and Superstition, perhaps, believed that these repeated losses were divine judgments, inflicted in consequence of a violation of the inhibited Canonical degrees. As Henry advanced in life, his solicitude respecting an heir increased in proportion to his years. In the neighbouring European Courts he could scarcely hope to form an alliance which would not expose him to a repetition of former danger, for the Royal Houses were almost universally connected by intermarriages. But there was a Princess in a remote and a hitherto unexplored clime, who had become known to him as already disappointed of a Crown. Jeroslaus, Tzar of Russia, in order to cement an intercourse with the West, had tendered the hand of his daughter Anna to the Emperor Henry III. That Monarch preferred a less exalted, but a more civilized, bride; and it was upon the rejected Muscovite that the choice of the King of France was fixed†. The marriage was most happy; the Queen, who proved of a devout temper, presented her husband with three sons, the eldest of whom, Philip, at the unusually early age of six years, was elevated by his father's anxiety to association in the throne.

To the establishment of the Norman adventurers under Robert Guiscard in Apulia, and to the connexion between Edward of England and the father of William the Conqueror, which led in after years to the change of Dynasty in our own Island, it is not requisite that we should make more than this passing allusion. It is to a French Ecclesiastic during the reign of Henry I., Berenger, Archdeacon of Angers, that we are indebted for awakening the earliest general misgivings concerning the portentous doctrine of Transubstantiation. Without impugning the authority of the Church, or coveting the dangerous honours of Heresiarchy, Berenger temperately proposed his doubts, and suggested that the dogma was not of higher antiquity than the reign of Charles the Bald, when it

* *Hist. d'aucuns des Ducs de Normandie*, ap. Bouquet, tom. xi. p. 317.

† Lambert Schafnaburg, ad ann. 1043, *ibid.* p. 59. The Emperor married Agnes of Poitiers, a daughter of William IV., Duke of Aquitaine. *Id.*, *ibid.*

had been first propounded by Paschasius Ratbertus. So discreetly did he engage in this hazardous controversy, which in later days was to become the surest pathway to Martyrdom, that, notwithstanding his positions were examined by six General and as many Provincial Councils, he escaped unscathed by their investigations; and he appears to have ended his days peaceably at a Convent near Tours, so late as the year 1079. Great pains were taken to propagate a belief in his recantation, and to show that he expired in full consciousness of his former errors*.

Before the close of Henry's reign, the important Fief of Sens became incorporated with the Crown, in consequence of the death A. D. 1055. of its Lord without issue. In the Summer of 1060, the King, while under medical discipline, neglected the injunctions of his Physician, and atoned for his disobedience by forfeiture of life. Maître Jean of Chartres, the most skilful practitioner of his time, had administered a potion, with strict orders that the patient, while under its operation, should abstain from drinking. The remedy occasioned pain and excited thirst; and, in Jean's absence, Henry called for water, and having swallowed it, died on the same or on the following day†. He was sufficiently conscious of his approaching end to receive the Sacraments of the Church, and to place the minority of his successor, Philip, under the guardianship of an uncle, Baldwin, Count of Flanders‡. In the transactions of Henry's reign, as they have descended to us, and of which we have endeavoured to sketch a faithful outline, there is but little to corroborate that which, it is but justice to add, seems the general report of contemporaries; namely, that he was distinguished for military talent, which he exhibited much to his glory§.

The minority of Philip was passed in repose; and there is not any event belonging to the immediate History of general France which need detain us during its course. The great Revolution which transferred the Norman Conqueror to England does not fall within the strict limits of our narrative, and it is the only remarkable incident of the times. The Queen, Anna, within two years from the death of her late husband, contracted a fresh marriage with Raoul, Count of Crespy and Valois. It

* Labbe, *Observationes de multiplici Berengarii damnatione, Fidei professione, et relapsu, deque ejus pœnitentiâ*, ap. Bouquet, tom. xi. p. 531. Notwithstanding Berenger's adroit trimming, he was occasionally in great danger. In a Council held at Poitiers in 1075, "he was nearly massacred." Id., *ibid.* p. 530. Some more particulars may be learned from the *Chronicon Sithiense*, p. 382, and the *Chronicon Alberici*, p. 355. In the latter, great praise is bestowed upon his misogyny; "he did not allow any woman to be admitted to his sight." A similar eulogy is offered by William of Malmesbury; who cites some laudatory verses on this theme by Bishop Hildebert, p. 191.

† Maître Jean, we know not why, "from the result obtained the name of *the deaf*." Ordericus Vitalis, p. 229. Will. Gemet. p. 48.

‡ Baldwin had married Adele of France, a sister of Henry.

§ Will. Malm., p. 175. Albericus, p. 357. Ordericus Vitalis, p. 229.

by no means appears that similar connexions between widowed Royalty and a former vassal were considered *mésalliances*; and the regret with which Philip heard of his mother's nuptials* is to be attributed, not to the station of the bridegroom, but to his having repudiated his first wife, in order to prepare the way for his second espousals. Some scandal was created in the Church by this iniquitous act, which was condemned, not on account of its intrinsic moral guilt, but because against Raoul and Anna could be detected some of those prohibitions of fanciful consanguinity by which the Canon Law circumscribed the approaches to the marriage-bed. The Count was excommunicated, and his consort, either deserted by him or compelled to submit to separation, found an asylum among her native snows. Circumstances, with which we are unacquainted, induced her to revisit France, in which Country her Tomb was discovered, six centuries after her death, in an Abbey near La Ferté in Alais†.

The institution, or rather the organization, of the exercises of Chivalry, the Justs and Tournaments which so greatly engrossed and delighted the higher classes of Society during the Middle Ages, is usually referred to the minority of Philip; and Geoffrey de Pruilley, a retainer of the Counts of Anjou, is recorded as the inventor or the legislator of these semi-barbarous sports. Strange as it may appear, this arbiter of other men's honour, whose sway extended so widely, and endured so long, was torn to pieces by the populace of Angers, in consequence of a quarrel stained by treachery, and eminently dishonourable to his memory‡. A *Passage d'Armes*, according to this code of Chivalry, consisted of the *Joute*, an encounter of only two Knights, and the *Tournoi*, a far more perilous representation of a general battle, fought between two equal bands. These amusements, notwithstanding their restrictions, were attended with considerable danger, and often terminated in bloodshed. Yet they exercised a salutary influence upon the manners of the times, and tended to promote courtesy, good faith, and generosity, among the Orders to which they were jealously confined. Their exclusiveness (for no one, unless he could unequivocally establish his claim to gentle descent, was permitted to enter the lists) strengthened the line of demarcation which separated the Aristocracy from the Many, during a season in which the Many were utterly unfit for emancipation; and their origin and ardent cultivation among the French contributed to increase the military repute of that People, and to render them, in a manner, umpires in deeds of arms to the rest of Europe.

* Gervasil *Ep.*, ap. Bouquet, tom. xi. p. 499.

† By Menestrier, in the year 1682. See the *Monitum* prefixed to the *Diplomata* of Henry I., *ibid.* p. 564.

‡ The date of this incident is variously reported. In the *Chronicon Andegavense*, *ibid.* p. 169, it is given as occurring in A. D. 1063. Another similar *Chronicle* (*ibid.* p. 30) names A. D. 1067. The *Gesta Consulum Andegavensium* (*ibid.* p. 273) A. D. 1066. M. de Sismondi has fixed it in A. D. 1068.

The death of Baldwin of Flanders, when Philip had attained his fourteenth year, left the young King without control, at A. D. 1068. one of the most critical points of life; and there is reason to believe that he soon became abandoned to the most unbridled indulgence of licentiousness. Our accounts, indeed, are derived from a suspicious fountain, and much allowance must be made before we implicitly accept the representations of an enemy. The disposable revenue of a King of France, arising from strictly legitimate sources, was little competent to supply the profusion of a dissolute Court; it was, perhaps, insufficient to maintain the dignity which it became a great Monarch to support; and custom had habituated former Princes to feed their necessities through another channel, which, by its long use, had ceased to wear any appearance of irregularity. In the disposal of Ecclesiastical dignities, the King retained to himself their first fruits; and a Bishopric or an Abbacy, which the fictions of the Church esteemed as a gift of the Holy Spirit, in reality bore a fixed money price as a marketable commodity. Against these exactions, this crying sin of Simony, the voice of Rome had vehemently A. D. 1073. been raised during the Pontificate of Alexander II.; and, after the Keys had passed to hands of far greater energy, Gregory VII., the bold and fiery Hildebrand, hastened yet more loudly to denounce the enormity. In the first year of his sway, he menaced with Interdict, Excommunication, and Deposition, a King whom he represented as the chief of those who, through "their perverted avarice, had sold the Church, and had slavishly trampled under their feet a mother whom they were bound to respect and to honour." He then drew a fearful picture of the debaucheries in which the spiritual plunder was squandered. The language assumed by the Pope in this and other similar documents bespeaks consciousness of an authority unlimited and irresistible; and the patient reception which it met from Philip almost justified the claim. The King of France promised amendment in terms of deep humility; but speedily renewed the practices of which he had professed his repentance.

The death of Count Baldwin had been succeeded in Flanders by a Civil War, of which the details are contradictory and wholly unimportant to our History. All that is certain and to our purpose is, that Philip afforded protection to Richilde, the widowed Countess of his Guardian's son and successor, Baldwin VI., and that he took arms in order to restore her eldest born, Arnulph, to the dominions from which he had been chased by an uncle, Robert of Friesland (*le Frison*). The French Army was levied hastily, and having advanced presumptuously and without due precaution, was allowed to entangle itself in a country with which it was unacquainted, and in which every step was impeded by morasses and canals; till after a total defeat near Cassel, A. D. 1071. in which Arnulph was killed, Philip was happy in saving

himself by an ignominious flight. By a Treaty, which in the end confirmed Robert of Friesland in his usurpation, the King of France received in marriage Bertha, step-daughter to that Prince by his second wife*.

In the obscure and inglorious career of Philip, neither the dates nor the order of events, perhaps not even the events themselves, are presented with certainty. After many years A. D. 1086. union with Bertha, who had borne him several children, he sought a pretext for divorce; and before the issue of his application to the Holy See could be known, he demanded the hand of Emma, daughter of Roger Guiscard, a younger brother of the celebrated Robert. The offer was accepted with alacrity by her shortsighted and interested father; and the innocent Princess was preserved from misery, dishonour, and abandonment, only by the superior discretion of her brother-in-law, Raymond, Count of St. Gilles, in Languedoc. That Noble, to whose care she was entrusted on her route to France, foresaw that Philip was unlikely to be released from his existing matrimonial ties, and he lost no time in providing Emma with a husband and protector in the Count Clermont d'Auvergne. This transaction, otherwise unimportant, deserves remembrance, as it evinces the want of both principle and power by which Philip was characterized. Unscrupulous in projecting the commission of crime, he was devoid alike of energy and of authority to secure its execution.

Nothing, indeed, but the inveterate habits of Feudalism, and the respect which they generated towards the Sovereign, appears to have preserved his Crown to the fickle and unprincipled Philip. Fortunately for his authority, the most puissant Barons, who, at a word, might have established their independence, considered the maintenance of ancient relations with their chief Lord as a point deeply affecting honour; and posts implying domestic, and even menial, service in the Royal household were eagerly coveted by Nobles whose warlike resources far exceeded those of the Monarch. A feeling of this nature, notwithstanding his brilliant fortunes, his superiority both in wealth and in power, and the immeasurable distance which separated their intellects, taught William the Norman, even after his conquest of the English Crown, to esteem himself unequal to the King with whom he had thus acquired brotherhood, and to maintain inviolate the fealty which he had once sworn to him as Sovereign. It was not till a few weeks before his death that, after frequent provocations, he was irritated by an idle sarcasm openly to unsheathe the sword. Philip had refused satisfaction for some depredation committed on the frontier towns of his vassal, and on hearing that he was confined to bed by illness, he insultingly remarked, with a gross allusion to his corpulence, "That he lay like a woman in childbed." "Whenever I go to my churching at Notre Dame I will

* Bertha was daughter of Florent, Count of Holland, and of Gertrude who in her widowhood married Robert of Friesland.

offer 100,000 tapers," was the angry reply of the offended veteran*; and no sooner could he quit his couch than he stormed Mantes, and abandoned it to the flames. This act of vengeance, however, recoiled upon himself, and the violence of exertion to which he exposed a frame weakened by disease and worn by years, rapidly hastened him to the grave†.

The separation of Normandy from England followed the death of the Conqueror; and the bloody and unnatural disputes for the Ducal Crown which ensued between his sons occupied them too closely to allow the prosecution of their father's quarrel. An atrocious act of libertinism, perpetrated about four years afterwards, is the first memorial which we receive from contemporaries of the continuance of Philip's ignoble existence. Not content with estrangement from his Queen, Bertha, whom he still held in captivity, he demanded the consent of the Church for a double adultery; and having carried off Bertrade, the most beautiful and the most abandoned woman of her time, (who was by no means loth to desert Foulques *le Rechin*‡, Count of Anjou, a husband broken by debauch and disproportioned to her in age,) he found, in Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, a Prelate sufficiently devoid of shame to celebrate the mockery of nuptials. That Ecclesiastic, indeed, had long been confined by his brother, the late King of England, who, while on his death-bed, unwillingly released him, with a bitter remark that this, his last act of private clemency, was a public wrong; for that nothing would ever free Odo from his besetting passions of sensuality, cruelty, and political intrigue§.

The Court of Rome, and the Clergy in general, witnessed this scandal with disgust; and notwithstanding the death of Bertha had removed one obstacle to the recognition of Philip's desired union, Urban II. persisted in requiring its dissolution, and proclaimed, by his Legate, that a new Ahab and a new Jezebel had arisen, who were seeking to overthrow the altars of the Most High, and to put His Prophets to the sword||. Excommunication speedily followed; and the Council of Clermont, which organized the First Crusade, at the same time directed an anathema against Philip and Bertrade. The ready compliance of the King with the injunction which deprived him of his Crown, by abstaining

* *Chron. Turonense*, ap. Bouquet, xif., p. 463.

† Ordericus Vitalis, vii., *ibid.*, p. 623.

‡ Foulques *le Rechin* (the crabbed-tempered), who, as some authorities state, had two former wives living at the time, obtained the hand of Bertrade, daughter of Simon de Montfort, by the assistance of Robert *Courte-Heuse* of Normandy, who bribed and menaced into a reluctant consent the Count and Countess d'Evreux, the uncle and aunt to whose guardianship the Lady had been entrusted. Ordericus Vitalis, viii., *ibid.*, p. 636; and see also a *Dissertation* on the marriages of Foulques, by P. B. B., ap. Bouquet, xvi.

§ Ordericus Vitalis, lib. viii., ap. Bouquet, xii., 622.

|| *Epist. ad Lugdunensem Archiepiscopum*, ap. Bouquet, xv., p. 70.

from the use of that bauble, and by never appearing in the dress of Royalty, obtained some indulgence from the Pontiff; and this specious obedience of his "dear son," as Urban continued to name the unrepentant sinner, was accepted in lieu of moral cleanness, and of a turning away from his iniquity.

In the glories and the disasters of the first great expedition directed by Europe upon the Holy Land, Philip himself had not any personal share; and the brilliant achievements which acquired so much renown for individual Knights of France are scarcely to be included within its National History. The ranks of the Crusaders were largely swollen by Norman Barons; and, among other vassals of the French Crown who enrolled themselves for the rescue of the Sepulchre, the most distinguished were Robert, Count of Flanders, Stephen, Count of Blois, and Hugues of Vermandois, brother of the King. During their absence, Philip became engaged in some hostilities in defence of the Vexin, a territory partly ceded to England, and the remainder of which William Rufus (to whom Normandy had been pledged by his brother Robert, in mortgage for an outfit to Palestine) hoped to wrest from the weak hand by which it was administered; but a brave and active opponent was to be encountered in Louis, the eldest son of Philip, who, at the head of very inferior forces, maintained a difficult and perilous contest with unexpected success, till the death of the Red King freed him from attack.

The distinguished qualities of this young Prince (Louis), contrasted with the feebleness and indolence of his Father, had obtained for him among the Courtiers the name of the Alert (*l'Eveillé*), and this popularity awakened the jealousy of Bertrade. Not without hope that she might transfer the Crown of France to the sons whom she had borne to Philip, she adopted the proverbial arts of a step-mother for the destruction of their rival. During a visit which Louis paid to England, in order to assist at the Coronation of Henry I., and, as it is said, to receive Knighthood also from that Prince's hands, Bertrade either persuaded her weak husband to solicit the King to retain his guest in perpetual captivity, or else employed the Royal signet to attest a forged letter to that purpose. Henry, influenced either by generosity or by policy, warned the Prince of his danger; and the act was disavowed by Philip, when his son, hastening back to France, required explanation. Louis having unravelled the intrigue, attempted the assassination of his step-mother, who, in return, administered a slow poison, which, but for a powerful antidote exhibited by an Arabian Physician, must have proved fatal in its effects. The Prince recovered; but the paleness of his face throughout future life avouched the extremity of danger to which he had been exposed. In order to terminate these deadly feuds, which interrupted his repose, Philip determined to A. D. 1102. associate his son in the Royal authority; and Louis, accordingly, having been invested with the title of King in his eighteenth

year, was sent to govern the Vexin, which his bravery had preserved to France*.

The Ecclesiastical censures which had visited the adultery of Philip were not yet, however, removed; and although they had hitherto been successfully defied, they were in the end to obtain nominal a. d. 1104. triumph. In a Council held at Paris at the close of the year 1104, the King of France presented himself, in penitential garb, and with naked feet, before the throne of the Legate. There he formally renounced all commerce with Bertrade for the time to come; swore that he would cease to consider her as his wife; and that he would never hereafter address, nor even see her, unless in the presence of witnesses. The pride of Rome was satisfied by this verbal submission, and no actual compliance with the terms was afterwards required†. Bertrade assumed the title of Queen, no longer disputed by the Clergy; and the wedded pair lived together without restraint, without scandal, and without reproof. One other victory was still in reserve for this singular woman, to whom, whatever may have been her crimes, the merit of a commanding intellect cannot justly be denied. So powerful was her ascendancy over those whom she designed to captivate, that she succeeded in reconciling the husband whom she had abandoned with his more favoured successor; and Philip was received and entertained at the Castle of Angers, where he amicably shared one table and one chamber with the compliant and unresenting dotard whom he had wronged in the tenderest point of honour‡. For her issue by the Count of Anjou, Bertrade meditated an advancement in inheritance similar to that which she had vainly striven to attain for her adulterous brood. In both cases her measures were equally unscrupulous; but in the latter of the two they were most successful. Her son Foulques (who was afterwards destined to wear the Crown of Jerusalem) succeeded to the heirdom of the Fief of Anjou, on the assassination of his elder half-brother, Geoffroi-Martel, whom Bertrade had involved in an unnatural war with his father§.

The last scenes of Philip's life were in strict accordance with his former weakness. Long addiction to gluttonous excesses had occasioned a disgusting corpulence, and, at fifty-seven years of age, premature decay warned him of his approaching end. On the first attack of the disorder which proved fatal, he assumed the habit of a Benedictine; and, peremptorily forbidding his interment among the Tombs of the Kings of France in St. Denis, he ordered preparations to be made for his sepulture in a Church of St. Benedict, on the Loire. "That Saint," he observed, "is

* *Ordericus Vitalis*, viii., ap. Bouquet, xii., p. 650.

† Absolutions by Pascal II., ap. Bouquet, xv., p. 29, addressed to the Archbishops of Rheims, Sens, and Tours.

‡ *Chron. Andegavense*, ap. Bouquet, xii., p. 486. *Ordericus Vitalis*, viii., *ibid.*, p. 650, note.

§ *Chron. Andegavense*, *ibid.*, p. 485.

gentle and merciful; he receives favourably⁷ all sinners who desire amendment, and who, by submission to his Rule and Discipline, seek to reconcile themselves with God." On the other hand, he esteemed St. Denis as far too illustrious a Martyr not to be offended by the neighbourhood of bones so deeply tainted with sinfulness as his own. He expressed a consciousness that he fully merited deliverance to Satan; and he therefore entertained a lively fear that, unless he took precautions against such a contingency⁸, his fate might A. D. 1108. be similar to that which was recorded to have befallen July 29. Charles Martel*.

CHAPTER III.

From A. D. 1108 to A. D. 1180.

Louis VI. *le Gros*—War in Normandy—Battle of Brenneville—Peace of Gisors—Association of Louis *le Jeune*—Unsuccessful attempt of William Clito on Flanders—His Death—Acquisition of Poitou—Death of Louis *le Gros*—Louis VII. *le Jeune*—Quarrel with Rome—Interdict—Burning of Vitry—Parliament at Vezelay—Preaching of St. Bernard—Second Crusade—Disasters and Return of Louis VII.—His Divorce from Eleanor, who marries Henry Plantagenet—Rivalry between Louis VII. and Henry II. of England—Birth of Philippe-Auguste—Treaty of Montmirail—Martyrdom of à Becket—Louis encourages the Sons of Henry in Rebellion—Defeat of the French at Verneuil—Failure of an Attack on Rouen—Peace of Montlouis—Pilgrimage of Louis VII. to Canterbury—His Death.

LOUIS VI., although better known in History by the sobriquet the Fat (*le Gros*), which he owed to his hereditary unwieldiness, than by the more honourable title the Alert (*l'Eveillé*), which, as we have already seen, he deservedly acquired in early youth, claims our regard as being the first of his Line who exhibited any activity. From the moment of his association, he had been occupied in feuds with insurgent vassals—the Counts of Corbeil and Mantes, the Lords of Puislé, of Coucy,⁹ of Montfort, of Montlhéri, and of Rochefort, who mutually assisted each other, and disputed the Royal authority even within that narrow territory which the King claimed as his own immediate domain—a Kingdom which extended over a space of not more than forty leagues by thirty; which was nearly comprised in the five modern Departments of the

* Ordericus Vitalis, lib. xi., *ibid.* 706. The memory of Charles¹⁰ Martel was grievously defamed by the Monks; and it seems that Hincmar, in a Synodal Letter attributed to him, reported that the Hero's body had been carried off to Hell, and that, when his Tomb was opened, nothing was found in it but a fearful Dragon and a horrible stench. Velly, i., 183.

Seine, the Seine and Oise, the Seine and Marne, the Oise, and the Loiret; and which drew its whole resources from Paris, Orleans, Etampes, Melun, and Compiègne*. In order to anticipate the intrigues of Bertrade in favour of her own sons, Louis hastened to celebrate his Coronation immediately on his Father's decease; and we find him, after it had been solemnized, replunged into a labyrinth of petty wars, almost inextricably confused, and the unravelment of which is not, fortunately, demanded for the attainment of any general results.

A more important dispute, which may be considered, not, indeed, as the cause, but as the prelude of the long wars which afterwards desolated the two rival Kingdoms, arose, in the early part of the reign of Louis, with Henry I. of England. The Castle of Gisors, on the river Epte, as the frontier post of France and Normandy, was jealously watched by the Ruler of each of those Countries; and it was stipulated that if the neutral Baron by whom it was occupied should ever cede its possession to either party, the new Lord should raze
 A. D. 1109. its fortifications before the lapse of forty days. Henry, having secured the fortress, eluded the condition; and, during five years of alternate negociation and hostility, maintained his unjust acquisition. At the close of that period, a Peace,
 A. D. 1114. disadvantageous to France, confirmed to Normandy the possession of some disputed Fiefs, and annexed to the Crown of England the Sovereignty of the Provinces of Maine and of Bretany. Louis profited by this, the first repose which he had enjoyed since his accession, to demand the hand of Adelaide, a
 A. D. 1115. daughter of Humbert of Maurienne, whose House was shortly afterwards advanced to the dignity of Counts of Savoy †.

But the seeds of future war were abundantly imbedded in the recent Treaty with England, which, by its inequality, provoked a rupture as soon as the weaker party felt strong enough to renew the encounter. Pretexts were easily found on both sides. Louis complained of the detention of the Count of Nevers, whose seizure and imprisonment by Thibaud of Blois he attributed to the suggestion of the King of England. Henry objected that Louis had undertaken the protection of William Clito, (the son of his own brother Robert *Courte-Heuse*, whom Henry retained in prison,) now of mature age to govern his Duchy during the captivity of his father. The Norman Barons, for the most
 A. D. 1117. part, espoused the cause of their young Prince, and their Province became the theatre of a bloody and destructive war,

* M. de Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, tom. v., pp. 7, 85.

† Louis had been affianced, in 1104, to Lucienne, daughter of the Count of Rochefort; but that marriage, which never was consummated, was dissolved three years afterwards by the Council of Troyes.

stained with the infamy of most ferocious retaliation*. Louis throughout its course distinguished himself by personal valour, and in many instances by Chivalric courtesy; a breach in which duty was then esteemed far more dishonourable than the perpetration of an atrocious cruelty. The two Kings, after many detached operations, at length met undesignedly, at the head of a few hundred A. D. 1119. retainers on either side, on the plain of Brenneville near Aug. 20. Noyes. The French, after some ineffectual charges, were completely routed, and when Louis, having escaped capture only by his unrivalled bravery†, was compelled to fly, 400 prisoners remained in the hands of the conquerors. So bloodless, however, at that time was the field of battle to the warriors of high rank protected by their complete mail, that the Chronicler Orderic assures us that only three lives were lost in this combat‡. Louis in his flight was extricated, by the guidance of an unknown peasant, from a forest in which he had become entangled. On his arrival at Andely he received his standard, a trophy returned by the generous forbearance of Henry, who at the same time transmitted to his nephew William Clito his captured horse and armour§.

The victory of Brenneville, however, by no means ensured a termination of the war; and Louis soon renewed his desultory hostilities. It was reserved for spiritual authority to reconcile the quarrel. During the Schism in the Church occasioned by the dispute with the Empire concerning Investitures, Calixtus II., driven from Italy by the Antipope Gregory VIII., assembled a Council at Rheims||. The chief object of this meeting was to pronounce the Excommunication of the Emperor Henry V., and of the pseudo Pontiff whom he supported; but the King of France profited by its occurrence within his own dominions, to make an exposure of his grievances, and to appeal to the power of the Church for redress. The points in dispute were tumultuously debated by the partizans of each King; and Calixtus was far too discreet to offend, by a hasty decision, either of the powerful rivals between whom he was called to arbitrate. Henry I. seldom wanted a show of argument by which he could speciously veil injustice, and he artfully represented the

* The episode of Eustache de Breteuil, as related by Ordericus Vitalis, xii., ap. Bouquet, xii. p. 716, is full of horror. Eustache tore out the eyes of a hostage; and Henry, in reprisal, abandoned his own grand-children, the innocent daughters of Eustache, to outrages the most barbarous. He afterwards besieged their mother, Julienne, his natural daughter; and having reduced her to extremity, permitted her to escape with life only upon terms, the acceptance of which is scarcely less surprising than the demand. *Regio nempe jussu coacta, sine ponte et sustentamento de sublimi ruit, et nudis natibus usque in profundum fossati cum ignominia descendit. Ibid.*

† Velly, *Hist. de France*, tom. ii. p. 14, where he does not subjoin his authority, relates that an English Knight having seized the bridle of Louis, called out "The King is taken!" "Do you not know," replied the King, "that at the Game of Chess the King is never taken?" and at the same moment, with one blow of his sword, he felled the boaster dead.

‡ Ordericus Vitalis, xii., ap. Bouquet, xii. p. 722.

§ Id. *ibid.*

|| Suger, *ibid.* p. 50.

painful imprisonment of Duke Robert in terms better adapted to the description of a visit of pleasure. "It is not that I treat my brother as an imprisoned and enchained enemy," was his declaration; "it is a noble stranger, tossed about by frequent storms of Fortune, whom I have placed in the security of a Royal abode; whom I entertain with costly luxuries, and provide with every sort of amusement and delight*." The precise terms of reconciliation afterwards concluded at Gisors have not descended to us; but Peace was proclaimed much to the satisfaction of the suffering Normans, notwithstanding the necessity by which they were compelled to abandon William Clito. Louis received homage for the Duchy, with which he invested the eldest son of Henry, whose memorable shipwreck off Barfleur was speedily to convert his father's triumph into mourning, and to darken the remainder of his days by a sorrow which refused consolation.

The Peace of Gisors procured repose for Normandy during more than three years. We then read of an armament which the King of England persuaded the Emperor Henry V. (the husband of his daughter Maude) to assemble for the invasion of France†; and if we were to confide in the swollen representations of a contemporary, the numbers mustered by Louis in opposition "devoured the surface of the Earth, and overspread plain, valley, and mountain after the fashion of locusts." It was on this occasion that the King of France received for the first time the Oriflamme at St. Denis‡. Neither army, however, whatever might be its amount, passed its own frontier. A revolt in his native dominions induced the Emperor to agree to Peace, and his death in the A. D. 1124. following year terminated the line of Franconia§, and dissolved the connexion which had made Germany instrumental to the policy of Henry of England.

Philip, whom the King of France associated in the year 1129, was

* Ordericus Vitalis, xii., *ibid.*, p. 732.

† Suger, *ibid.*, p. 50.

‡ The Oriflamme was originally the Banner of the Abbey of St. Denis, and was received by the Counts of the Vexin, as *Avoués* of that Monastery, whenever they engaged in any military expedition. On the union of the Vexin with the Crown effected by Philip I., a similar connexion with the Abbey was supposed to be contracted by the Kings; and accordingly Louis the Fat received the Banner, with the customary solemnities, on his knees, bareheaded, and ungirt. The Banner was a square Gonfalon of flame-coloured silk, unblazoned, with the lower edge cut into three swallow-tails. Ducange, *Gloss. ad v. Auriflamma*. The Monks affirmed that it had been brought down from Heaven either to Clovis or to Charlemagne. The *Avoué*, or Advocate of an Ecclesiastical establishment, was usually selected from the neighbouring powerful Lords; he enjoyed many lucrative privileges and occasionally Fiefs, on condition of defending his Church in the Secular Courts, or, if necessary, in the Field. Pepin and Charlemagne were Advocates on a grand scale of the Romish Church. Mr. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, i., 151 (4to.). Ducange, *ad v. Advocatus*.

§ Many years after Henry's death (in 1138) a Hermit asserted himself to be that Emperor, and was recognized as such by numerous followers; until, the imposture having been detected, he was compelled to receive the tonsure in the Abbey of Cluny. Englehusius, p. 1100. Robertus de Monte *ad ann.* 1138.

killed by a fall from his horse in the streets of Paris ; and, A. D. 1131. in order to confirm the succession, Louis the Young (*le Jeune**), the next Prince in age, was substituted in the place of his deceased brother. The King, at the moment, was labouring under severe illness, from which, however, he recovered ; and neither a frame of body proverbially denoting inactivity, nor even increasing years appear to have diminished the energy of Louis. Although perpetually engaged in wars with some one or other of his chief vassals, he acquired a far more paramount influence over their entire Feudal body than had ever yet been allowed to any of his predecessors ; and however frequently individuals disputed his authority, the Aristocracy at large on all occasions of moment recognized and respected him as their Sovereign.

The protection which, at an earlier period of his reign, he had extended to William Clito was continued by him unremittingly ; and at no time at which a chance of restoring him to his inheritance offered itself, was Louis wanting in its promotion. When Charles the Good (*le Bon*) of Flanders was assassinated at the foot of the altar in the Cathedral of Bruges, by a band of conspirators whom his well-intentioned but perhaps mistaken policy had irritated, the succession to his dominions was disputed by many claimants. William Clito was among them, and Louis declaring himself in his behalf, in conjunction with that Prince proceeded against the murderers of the late Count with a severity which soon rendered their cause unpopular among the Flemings. Invention, indeed, was exhausted for the discovery of tortures which should protract the approaches of that death which they were designed ultimately to inflict ; and never assumedly was Cruelty more successful in the execution of her odious task†. Clito was mortally wounded while besieging the town of Alost ; and the King was compelled to assent to the election of Thierry of Alsace, a grandson of that Robert of Friesland whose arms, in a former reign, had been successfully employed against France.

On the death of William Clito, the right of Henry I. of England to the possession of Normandy could no longer be disputed, and the jealousy of the rival Kings henceforward wanted a pretext for open display. Henry, nevertheless, covertly assisted the rebellious Barons of France whenever they were engaged in a struggle against the Royal authority, and some English succours were present in the Castle of Livry, during a siege in which Louis was wounded by its garrison‡.

The fatigues of another active campaign, during which his chief efforts were successfully directed against St. Briques on the Loire, materially affected the King's health, and produced some A. D. 1133.

* So called in contradistinction from his father, who then became the Old (*le Vieil*). Other reasons have been given for the appellation ; as that the surrender of Aquitaine was a *young* trick. But this is not a French idiom.

† Suger, ap. Bouquet, xii., 55, relates punishments too horrible for transcription.

‡ Suger, *ibid.*, p. 56.

consequent change in his domestic policy. The sway which he had hitherto endeavoured to establish chiefly by the sword was now sought by diplomacy; and he opened pacific negotiations with the A. D. 1135. Counts of Blois and of Vermandois, the two most persevering among his opponents. By the death of Henry I., and by the troubles which ensued both in England and in Normandy upon the usurpation of Stephen, the influence of Louis was greatly strengthened; and the cruelties which Geoffrey Plantagenet inflicted upon the latter Country during his brief invasion, so far alienated the affection of its inhabitants, as to prevent the consolidation of a power which, in the hands of so enterprising a warrior, might have proved not a little dangerous to the King of France*. Fortune, indeed, appeared to heap her favours with an unrestrained hand upon Louis during the evening of his days; and his last and most important acquisition was reserved for his very death-bed. The Count of Poitou, before undertaking a Pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella, tendered the hand of his eldest daughter, Eleanor, and the inheritance of his dominions to the eldest son of the King of France. A splendid embassy accompanied the Prince to receive his bride, whose portion, extending from the Banks of the Adour to those of the Loire, more than doubled his patrimonial territories. Before the A. D. 1137. arrival of Louis the Young in Guyenne, his father-in-law Aug. 1. had died in Spain; and the new-married pair, while on their route to Paris, received intelligence of their elevation to the throne of France by the decease of Louis the Fat.

Little is known of the early administration of the new King, who succeeded to a far larger and better organized domain than had been swayed by any former Prince of the Line of Capet. The Royal authority, however, still demanded assertion by the sword; and although details are either wholly wanting, or are uncertainly transmitted to us, it is plain that the eight opening years of the reign of Louis VII. were for the most part actively employed in waging or in repressing domestic war. A dispute concerning the patronage of vacant Bishoprics, the disposal of which was arrogated to themselves by the Clergy, and which the King was loth to surrender, involved him in a quarrel with Rome. The Ecclesiastical liberties, as they were termed, were strenuously advocated by St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, the ablest and the most energetic A. D. 1141. Churchman of his Age; and Innocent II. issued a sentence of Interdict against France; a spiritual censure which only one Monarch (Henry) of the Third Race had been fortunate enough to escape. Its penalties were heavy, for during the period through which

* Stephen Count of Blois was grandson of William the Conqueror by Adela, a sister of Henry I. The widowed Empress Maude, Henry's sister, had married Geoffrey Plantagenet Count of Anjou, in 1129; and she disputed with Stephen the succession both to England and to Normandy. Geoffrey invaded the latter Country, which he brutally ravaged; but from which, after thirteen days' occupation, he was compelled by a severe wound to retreat.

it remained in force, divine worship and all its consolatory accompaniments were suspended in whatever city or palace happened to be the residence of the offending King.

The alienation from the Holy See was increased in consequence of a feud between Louis and Thibaud Count of Champagne and Blois. In order to prevent any dangerous pretension upon the dowry of his Queen, Louis destined the hand of her younger sister Petronille, who was entitled to a certain portion of inheritance, to one of his own kinsmen, Raoul of Vermandois, the Brave (*le Brave*), or the One-eyed (*le Borgne*), as he is variously termed from the loss of an eye in battle. Raoul, who had attained his fiftieth year, was already married to a sister of the Count of Champagne, but the facility with which repudiation was obtained on the plea of forbidden relationship enabled him to put aside this lawful wife, and to form the newly proposed alliance. In the War which ensued with the justly offended Thibaud, Louis attacked and stormed the town of Vitry in Champagne; and, during the tumult of the sack, the principal Church, in which the majority of the inhabitants had sought refuge, was fired and burned to the ground. Thirteen hundred victims perished in this miserable calamity*; and the King, struck with remorse and terror, eagerly solicited pardon from Rome by an abandonment of all his former opposition. The reconciliation, however, was not concluded till the Pontificate of A. D. 1144. Celestin II.

Somewhat, doubtless, is to be attributed to feelings of compunction generated by this unhappy event, in the decision which not long afterwards engaged Louis in the most important transaction of his life, but there were other and very powerful motives which induced him to take the Cross. His temper was religious according to the Religion of his day, and he believed that many acts committed by his subjects while under Interdict demanded his personal expiation. His deceased brother, during the short season in which he had been associated in Royal power, had devoted himself by vow to service in the Holy Land; and Louis imagined such an engagement to be in some degree binding upon his successor. But above all, the fervour of St. Bernard's preaching; the necessities of the Christian settlers in Palestine, who, since the fall of Edessa, appeared to be threatened with destruction; and the strong contagion of an example displayed by the bravest and noblest spirits around him, were not likely to be without effect upon a youthful, chivalrous, and ardent Imagination. Asia was the chief field of promise for military glory; and Ambition singly might have proved sufficient to kindle his desire for a share in the harvest of Fame.

* *Hist. Franc. Anonyma*, ap. Bouquet, xii., p. 116. *Auctarium Gemblacense*, id. xiii., p. 272.

In an assembly of his Nobles held at Bourges, and afterwards in a far more numerous *Parliament**, as it is termed, convoked A. D. 1146. during the following Easter at Vezelay, Louis announced his design of personally engaging in the new Holy War. At the foot of the mountain which overhangs that city were ranged, as in an amphitheatre, the huge throngs which had overflowed the Cathedral, the Public Square, and even the Town itself; and when St. Bernard harangued them from the chair of State which he shared with the King, deafening shouts of "The Cross, the Cross," echoed from the enthusiastic multitude. The badges which he had prepared for distribution, and the reception of which pledged the wearer to undertake the Pilgrimage, were speedily exhausted, and the clothes of the zealous Preacher were torn into shreds by his own hands, in order to furnish the requisite symbols †.

The King and his consort Eleanor were the first two personages who enrolled themselves in the devout band, and they were followed by the most illustrious names which France afforded. The command of the expedition was offered to St. Bernard, but that single-minded advocate of the Faith measured his own powers too discreetly to be seduced by the splendid lure. His bodily frame, weakened by frequent mortifications and emaciated by abstinence, in itself was manifestly unfitted for the fatigue and perils of the projected voyage. "Who am I," observes the Recluse, "that I should marshal the array of a camp, or become a leader of armies! What can be more remote from my profession, even if I possessed sufficient strength and skill †?" But he continued to labour with unremitting perseverance in a service more accordant with his habits; and, passing into Germany, he roused an enthusiasm similar to that which he had awakened in France; and associated the Emperor Conrad and his chief Princes in the service of the Cross. The memory of St. Bernard would be defrauded of its brightest portion of honour, if we omitted to notice that he successfully exerted himself to rescue the Jews from the impending massacre which less enlightened zeal was urging, as a preliminary to the Crusade.

Having provided money, chiefly by the sale of privileges to *Communes*, (the rich united Burghers of towns, who, since the commencement of the preceding reign, had begun to acquire Charters,) and by levying subsidies from Convents; having arranged his line of advance, which the ignorant presumption of the French Barons determined should be by land,

* *Eodem anno Castro Vezeliaci magnum Parliamentum congregavit. Suger.*

Tous les Princes des Gaules furent invités à se trouver à cette grande réunion, qui fut désignée sous le nom de Parlement, synonyme de celui de conférence; car c'étoit plutôt des hommes indépendans que des sujets d'un même Roi qui devoient y venir parlementer ensemble. M. de Sismondi, tom. v., p. 304. See also Ducange, ad v. Parliamentum.

† Odo de Diogilo, ap. Bouquet, xii., p. 92.

‡ *Ep. Bern. ap. Baronii Annal. Eccl. xiii., p. 321.*

through the valley of the Danube to Constantinople ; and having entrusted the Regency during his absence to Suger Abbot of St. Denis, to whom Raoul of Vermandois and the Archbishop of Rheims were afterwards nominated assessors, Louis, at Whitsuntide, received the Oriflamme, was invested with the Pilgrim's scrip and staff, A. D. 1147. and departed for Metz, the rendezvous of his followers. The numbers in his train are variously stated, but it is confidently affirmed that he mustered 70,000 heavy-armed cavalry ; and the lowest estimate, including the Women and Pilgrims who thronged the camp and profited by its escort, amounts to between 150,000 and 200,000 souls. The route upon which he was afterwards to proceed had already been traversed by the Emperor ; but a sufficient interval of time was allowed between the advance of the two armies to prevent the exhaustion of the country through which they passed. In the German States, the French were received hospitably, and they paid liberally Oct. 4. for their supplies ; but on their arrival at Constantinople, the King pressed earnestly for the replenishment of his Exchequer ; and, in his despatches to Suger, he spoke of " the infinite perils and the labours scarcely tolerable " which they had encountered before their " safe and joyful " halt at the Greek Metropolis*. The Germans, either from their own intemperance, or from the treachery of Manucl Comnenus, had suffered bitterly upon entering his dominions ; and mutual accusations, of violence on the one hand and of ill faith on the other, are profusely advanced by the Historians of their respective Empires. From the relation in which the recriminating parties stood to each other, it is probable that the balance of injury may be pretty equally adjusted. The French observed a stricter discipline, and consequently were less aggrieved than the Germans ; and after an amicable conference with Manuel†, Louis crossed the Bosphorus, and pitched his camp at Nice.

During the few days of repose which the King there allowed himself, in order that he might obtain intelligence of the operations of Conrad and shape his own course accordingly, rumours of a fearful overthrow were doubtfully circulated. The evil news, however, was too soon confirmed by the appearance of the shattered remnant of the Imperial army ; which, escaping from its defeat at Iconium, retired upon Nice, with scarcely one-tenth of the force which, a few weeks before, had quitted the walls of that city, flushed with the confidence of approaching victory. The disaster of his allies induced the King of France to attempt the longer of the two routes which led to Antioch ; not, that through the central Provinces of Asia Minor, which had been preferred by the Germans, but one which, following the windings of the coast, might be estimated at about 400 leagues. These maritime districts were still in possession of the Greeks ; and the combined armies would meet a

* *Epist. Lud. VII.*, ad Sugerium, ap. Bouquet, xv. p. 488.

† Ducange, *Dissertation xxvii.* on Joinville.

friendly, or at least not a hostile, population, instead of being harassed by fierce and uncivilized mountain-tribes, or by yet more avowed enemies.

But the habits of the allied Nations were little in unison : dissensions commenced early in their march ; and Conrad, humbled in his pride, wearied with the unfruitful service, and smarting under wounds which demanded repose for their cure, on arriving at Ephesus notified his intention of embarking for Constantinople, whence, in the ensuing Spring, he promised to return to the prosecution of a vigorous warfare. The Feast of Christmas was celebrated by Louis at Ephesus ; and since, in consequence of the mildness of the climate, no obstacle presented itself to a winter campaign, immediately on the close of the Holy Season the march was renewed. But the French Knights viewed with impatience the tediousness of the long space which yet remained in prospect. Huge rivers were to be forded at their mouths ; bold and frequent promontories were to be rounded ; the wide circuit of numerous bays was to be tardily and painfully skirted ; and to those who had as yet never faced an enemy, these slow toils appeared far less endurable than the rapid onset of combat. They determined, therefore, to bend inward ; and, having forced their passage through the Saracens who occupied the intermediate country, to penetrate in a direct line to the Gulf of Satalia*, nearly opposite the shores of Cyprus.

In accordance with this plan, they continued to advance along the course of the Mæander ; while the Saracen light cavalry harassed their movements, and each bank was occupied by a numerous corps hovering on their front, rear, and flanks. The river, however, was passed triumphantly, notwithstanding the superior position of the Moslems ; and the French arrived at Laodicea with a loss so trifling that they may be forgiven for attributing their success to miraculous interposition. But from that point onward they were doomed to misfortune. Provisions failed, and neither food for the men nor forage for the horses could be obtained, even if obtained at all, unless at the sword's point by foraging parties ; yet the constant vigilance of an enemy who cut off every straggler, rendered it imperative that the Crusaders should march in large and compact bodies. At length, an imprudent movement separated the van from the main battle, and caused the loss of full half the army. When the leaders of the advanced guard, tempted by the luxuriance of a rich plain, which afforded the long-desired supplies, had neglected communication with their comrades still entangled in the mountain-passes, the Moslems perceived their advantage, and hastened to profit by it. Throwing themselves between the two divisions, and occupying the surrounding heights, they overwhelmed the rear of the Crusaders, captured their stores and baggage, and, but for a seasonable alarm, which produced the return of the columns in front, would have

* "*Attalia*, which our Countrymen, unskilled in the Greek idiom, corruptly call *Satalia*." Gul. Tyr., xvi., 25, p. 390.

slain them to a man. Forty of the most distinguished Chiefs fell round their King in this unhappy engagement; and Louis himself was indebted for safety chiefly to the ignorance of his pursuers, who were unacquainted with his person. He defended himself with rare valour, and more than once during the perilous night which succeeded his rout was compelled to find shelter in some friendly tree, or under some crag which afforded a hiding-place*.

Twelve days march through an unknown country still remained to the defeated and dispirited army before it could reach Satalia. Two great rivers were to be crossed in the presence of a hostile force, and supplies were to be gathered in tracts which the flight of their inhabitants had rendered literally desert. From these dangers, the French were extricated by the singular military talents of an individual, of whom it is to be regretted that no other particular beyond his name has been recorded. A Sir Gilbert was appointed what, perhaps in modern phrase, would be termed a Quarter-Master General†, and under his guidance they reached Satalia without further molestation.

The land route from Satalia to Antioch, the first Principality in Syria under the dominion of the Franks, was still estimated at forty days, and it lay principally through the defiles of Cilicia, almost proverbial for their difficulty. Three days' sail, on the other hand, would cross the intervening sea, but the port by no means afforded a sufficient number of vessels for the transport of an army, which, after all its losses, was still most numerous. Many of the Knights had been deprived of their horses in the recent disasters, and were unprepared, or rather, indeed, were wholly unable, on account of the heaviness of their armour, to complete the expedition on foot. Their impatience reluctantly extorted from Louis consent to a separation which he justly felt was opposed both by honour and by Kingly duty. Having purchased the escort of some Greek horsemen, who, for 500 marks, engaged to convey the French infantry as far as Tarsus, he embarked with his Nobles and reached Antioch securely‡. The fate of the abandoned army was not long deferred. They commenced their projected march; were deserted by the Greek cavalry at the first appearance of the Saracens; and, after a brave but unsuccessful attempt to move onward, were compelled to retreat again to Satalia. Under the walls of that town, within which they were refused admittance, they were left wholly without commanders, by the embarkation of the only two Barons whom the King had persuaded to

* Odo de Diogilo, vi., 60.

† *Accipiunt itaque Magistrum nomine Gislbertum et ille socios quibus assignaret milites quinquagenos.* Odo de Diogilo, *ut supra*. Neither the title nor the description of the duties performed appear to imply the command of the army which some writers have assigned to Sir Gilbert.

‡ An important Despatch from Louis to Suger, containing a rapid abstract of his dangers, may be found in Bouquet, xv., p. 495.

remain, Archambaud of Bourbon and Thierry of Alsace. Rendered desperate by the hourly attacks of the Moslems, they once again renewed their attempt upon the interior; the result, as may be anticipated, was most destructive: they were cut off in detail, partly by the sword, partly by famine; and about 3000 who survived purchased their lives by an abandonment of Christianity.

Louis was received with distinguished honour at Antioch, a Principality at that time swayed by Raymond of Poitiers, an uncle of the Queen Eleanor. The retinue which accompanied the King, although small, was composed of the choicest Knights of France, and Raymond hoped to employ them in forwarding his own ambitious views upon Aleppo. Louis, on the other hand, impatiently coveted the fulfilment of his vow, and considered every moment lost which detained him from Jerusalem. Suspicions also were excited of the fidelity of his Queen; and her lightness of demeanour exposed her to imputations of a scandalous commerce with both a youthful Saracen Slave, and yet more with her uncle himself, who, at the close of fifty years, retained a very handsome person. The subsequent conduct of Eleanor has given weightier credit to these accusations than they might otherwise have deserved; and it is very probable that they actuated Louis in the speedy retreat which he made, by night, from Antioch. It is certain that the estrangement between the Royal pair, which ultimately led to their separation, may be traced to the moment of their departure.

Having performed his devotions in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the King of France hastened to St. Jean d'Acre, in order to unite himself with the Latin Princes and with the Emperor Conrad, who, in compliance with his promise, had recently arrived from Constantinople. The cortège which attended each of the Western Monarchs was most brilliant in point of rank; but the myriads which had swelled their gorgeous outset from Europe had disappeared, and the bones of their once uncounted followers were for the most part whitening among the sterile mountains of Pamphylia. In order that they might escape the disgrace of an altogether fruitless expedition, they undertook the siege of Damascus, which failed in consequence of want of military skill or of concert; or, as was asserted, and perhaps not without truth, owing to the treachery of the Syrian Christians, the hated and despised *Pullani**. Some attempt was afterwards meditated against Ascalon, the frontier hold of the Soldan of Egypt; but continued disasters had quenched the enthusiasm by which success might yet have been won. Conrad set the example of return; and the year spent by Louis in Palestine after the Emperor's departure was employed in exercises, not of arms, but of piety. His

* "The new inmates of the Country, called *Pullani*, planted in the neighbourhood of the Saracens, differed but little from them either in Faith or manners, and seemed to be a hybrid Race between Christians and Saracens." Gul. Neubrigensis, iii. c. 15, and to a similar purpose many other contemporary authorities.

capture by the Greeks on his homeward-voyage, and his subsequent rescue by Roger, King of Sicily, are fables exploded by his own despatches*. After a short delay in Calabria, upon the shores of which Country he first landed, and an interview with Pope Eugenius III. at the mouth of the Tiber, Louis re-entered his own dominions, by disembarking at St. Gilles on the Rhône, in October, 1149.

The King of France returned to a discontented People and to pennyless coffers; and he no longer brought with him the unbroken spirit and the glowing temperament which had marked his earlier years. On the contrary, he was stung to the soul by his discomfiture; and it was not without a deep feeling of humiliation and chagrin that he listened to the repeated warnings of Suger, that his Crown might be endangered by longer absence. The first few years after his resumption of government swept away most of those who had hitherto been actors on the public scene; and in their course, Suger himself, Thibaud of Champagne, Geoffrey of Anjou, Raoul of Vermandois, and St. Bernard, far greater than any of them, terminated their mortal career†.

Eleanor had given birth to a second Princess since her return from Palestine, but the matrimonial dissensions nevertheless continued unabated. Her consort's increasing devotion was ill adapted to the giddy temper of the Queen, and having long complained that she was wedded to a Monk rather than to a King, she in the end appealed to Ecclesiastical authority for a divorce, upon the convenient plea of consanguinity. Louis, dissatisfied with her ambiguous reputation, readily assented to this divorce; and nicely scrupulous to avoid any charge of rapacity, announced his intention of restoring her valuable portion‡. With such attractions, she was soon beset by numerous suitors. The wooing, in some instances, was by no means of a gentle nature; and, on her route through their respective governments, both Thibaud of Blois, and a Plantagenet who bore the name of his late father, Geoffrey, endeavoured to secure her hand by treachery and violence. From both these pretenders, however, she escaped in safety, and on arrival in her own Fiefs, her choice was fixed on a brother of the latter of them, whom report indeed affirmed to be the favoured lover on whose account she had surrendered the Crown of France. Henry Plantagenet was not yet King of England, but by his marriage with Eleanor he added Aquitaine and Poitou to his A. D. 1152. paternal inheritance of Normandy§.

* See an Essay by M. de Burigny; *Mém. de l'Acad. des Ins.*, xli. p. 615; Hénault, *Abrégé Chron.* i. p. 209; and a Note by M. de Sismondi, v. p. 555.

† Geoffrey Plantagenet ob^d Sept. 7, 1151. Thibaud, Jan. 8, 1152. Suger, Jan. 13, *cod. ann.* Raoul, March, *cod. ann.* St. Bernard, August 20, 1153.

‡ Hume has not justly appreciated these motives; and he speaks somewhat coarsely of Louis as "more delicate than politic." Ch. vii.

§ *Chron. Turonense*, ap. Bouquet, xii. p. 474. Louis in 1154 married Constance, daughter of Alfonso VII., King of Leon and Castile. The new Queen died in 1160, leaving issue one daughter.

This transfer both of a wife and of a Province to the same hand was not likely to be regarded with indifference by the loser ; and seldom has History afforded more substantial motives for the rivalry of Princes than those which, during the remainder of his life, actuated Louis A. D. 1154. against Henry. When the latter, on the death of Stephen, was acknowledged by the English as their King, his resources not less than his talents far exceeded those of his competitor ; yet we find him, in compliance with Feudal custom, paying homage to his Liege Lord, and swearing on his knees "to be his man," and to afford him true and faithful service for the great Fiefs which he held under his Crown—Normandy, Aquitaine, Poitou, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and all their dependencies. The crafty policy of the King of England deprived his brother Geoffrey of the aid with which Louis had promised to support his claim on Normandy ; and after the death of that ill-used Prince, Henry further prevailed upon the King of France to consent to a marriage between the two Royal Houses. At the time in which A. D. 1158. Margaret of France (a daughter of Louis by his second Queen) was betrothed to Henry *Courtmantel* of England, the former was but six months, the latter not quite four years old. It was necessary to await the attainment of the bridegroom's seventh year before the Pope would grant a Dispensation for the completion of their marriage ; but meantime the bride elect was to be educated in England, that she might be assimilated to the habits of her future husband ; and her portion in the Vexin was to be placed under the custody of the Templars*.

The first approach to open hostilities between the two Kings occurred in the very year which followed the signature of this A. D. 1159. political and family alliance. Henry pressed the claim of his wife upon the County of Toulouse, and Louis armed in behalf of his brother-in-law, Raymond†, who was in actual possession. The city of Toulouse, of which the King of France undertook the immediate defence, was probably too strong to admit any hope of capture ; for while Henry, making a parade of Feudal loyalty which forbade personal conflict with his Sovereign, abstained from its assault, he unscrupulously attacked the Royal troops in other quarters. Little advantage, however, could accrue to either party from a continuance of War ; A. D. 1160. and, at the following Whitsuntide, a Treaty was concluded, which reconciled the belligerents, but which at the same

* This Treaty is printed by Lord Lyttelton, *Hist. of Henry II.*, vol. iii. p. 359 (4to.). Me de Braquigny has again printed it and discussed its provisions at great length in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des Ins.*, xliii. p. 368, where he has satisfactorily proved the age which we have assigned above to the bride and bridegroom, and has pointed to many anachronisms and mistakes in Roger Hoveden and William of Newbury. The original draft of the Treaty is preserved among the Harleian MSS. 215.

† Raymond had married Constance, a sister of Louis and widow of Eustace of Blois, son of Stephen King of England.

time reserved the claim upon Toulouse, which had caused their quarrel, for ulterior discussion.

Fresh reason for irritation, however, soon arose. Constance of Castile, the second wife of Louis, died in giving birth to a Princess; and the King, anxious for a male heir, and willing to conciliate a factious vassal, contracted a new marriage with most indecent haste. Not a fortnight elapsed from the decease of Constance, before her widowed Lord became the bridegroom of Alice of Champagne*. Henry, who viewed this connexion with jealousy, as likely to detach from him an important ally, sought to counteract its ill effects by premature celebration of the nuptials of his son with the Princess Margaret, and by the demand of her portion from the custody of the Templars. The children were accordingly married at Neuburg, and the Vexin was surrendered by its guardians. So ably were Henry's measures preconceived, and so prepared was he at all points for War, that Louis, notwithstanding his deep sense of grievance, consented to mediation, and renewed the former pacific terms of the violated Treaty. Oct. 4. Nov. 2.

In the Schism which scandalized the Church by the election of two Popes on the death of Adrian IV., France and England embraced the same party. Fourteen suffrages in the Holy A. D. 1159. College legalized the election of Alexander III.; and the minority of nine Cardinals, who, together with the Roman populace, declared for the Antipope Victor, derived its weight only from the support of the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa. After mutual Excommunication and much Theological evil-speaking, Alexander, notwithstanding his right was acknowledged by most of the Christian Powers, was compelled to retreat before his rival's predominance in A. D. 1162. Italy, and to seek an asylum at Montpellier. Even then, however, he was nearly abandoned by the Prince in whom he had confided; Louis corresponded with Victor, whose temper, while he was engaged in solicitation, appeared more compliant than that of his competitor; and he had the still further weakness to present himself at a conference in the frontier town of St. Jean de Losne, which Frederic had appointed for the consideration of means by which the Schism might be terminated. Barbarossa failed at the rendezvous; and the King of France, alarmed at the reception which he met from the Chancellor of the Empire, clapped spurs to his horse, and, declaring that he had fulfilled his portion of the agreement, hastily retired†. At Toucy on the Loire he rejoined Alexander and Henry II.; and the two Kings, prodigal of respect for the Pontiff of their choice, jointly performed the office of *Stratores* or Equerries. Having themselves dismounted, they placed the Holy Father on his mule between them, and each holding

* Daughter of the late Thibaud.

† *Hist. Vezeliacensis Monast.*, ap. Bouquet, xii. p. 331.

one rein of the bridle, accompanied his triumphant entrance into the city.

But the obligation by which Henry believed that he had attached Alexander to his interests, while thus befriending him during the uncertainty of his fortunes, neither was, nor indeed ought to have continued, binding when the King sought to trample on the privileges of the Church. It is wide from our purpose, to detail the origin, or the progress of the great quarrel between Henry II. and Thomas à Becket; and it may be

enough to state that Alexander openly condemned the *Con-*
 A. D. 1164. *stitutions of Clarendon*, to which the Archbishop had given
 Jan. 25. reluctant assent; and that when Henry, by fresh demands
 and extortions from his Clergy, and by a charge of Treason
 advanced against the Primate himself, compelled à Becket to fly from
 England, the expatriated Prelate found an honourable reception in the
 Court of Louis.

While Henry was thus placing himself in a false position by rashly
 engaging in a conflict with a Power from which no temporal Prince had
 as yet escaped unscathed, the hopes which he had cherished of obtaining
 the marital succession to the Crown of France for his son were dissipa-
 ted by the birth of a male heir to Louis. After eight-and-twenty

years of marriage to three separate wives, the wishes of the
 A. D. 1165. King of France were crowned by the appearance of Philippe-

Aug. 22. Auguste*, or the Heaven-born (*le Dieu-donné*). Alexander
 also, whom the King of England had needlessly irritated,
 now possessed sufficient strength to venture upon a return to Italy,
 notwithstanding the persevering enmity of Barbarossa had raised in
 Pascal III. a successor to the deceased Victor†; and the disembarassed
 Pontiff, on his almost universal recognition as Head of the Church,
 strenuously espoused the cause of à Becket, whom he nominated his
 Legate in England.

Petty disputes, inconclusive hostilities terminated by frequent inter-
 views, and Treaties signed only to be again broken, form the chief rela-
 tions between France and England, till, on the death of

A. D. 1168. Pascal and the election of Calixtus III., Frederic hoped to
 Sept. 20. attach Henry to his new Antipope, by offering succour
 against Louis as the price of apostacy. Contrary to his

expectation, these bribes were rejected, and the King of England,
 having proposed a fresh conference at Montmirail, con-
 A. D. 1169. cluded a Treaty of Peace with his rival. Louis on that oc-
 casion confirmed some acquisitions made by Henry, in

* Auguste, as is generally supposed, from the month of his birth; but Mezeray
 gives a more Courtly reason; *surnommé pour ses beaux faits le Conquérant, que Paul*
Emile a traduit par le mot Auguste; et en cela a été suivi par tous les Historiens
modernes. Abr. Chron., ii. p. 578. Velly, ii. p. 81, agrees with Mezeray, and adds
other fanciful reasons.

† Victor III. died at Lucca, April 20, 1164. He was immediately replaced by
 Guido, Cardinal of Crema, who assumed the title of Pascal III.

Bretagne and Auvergne, and received homage from the English Princes, his sons. The harmony of the conference at Montmirail was interrupted by a turbulent scene between Henry and à Becket; and even Louis, for a short time, resented the Archbishop's unbending resistance to Kingly authority. But the estrangement lasted only during a few days, and when Henry expected that the Prelate would be unconditionally delivered to him, he was surprised by a counter-assurance that the King of France would maintain the usage of his predecessors, who had invariably thrown open their dominions as a refuge for persecuted Exiles, and above all others for Ecclesiastics. On the one side, this continued protection afforded to a rebellious subject; on the other, the want of respect implied by the exclusion of Margaret from a share in her husband's Coronation, celebrated by Henry with a hope of confirming his own power, renewed the jealousy which had now become almost habitual; and we read again of some hostile movements followed anew by an insincere Peace. Even after his reconciliation with the Primate, when the chief cause of enmity might be thought extinguished, Henry was at Bayeux on his return from a military expedition against Bourges, at the moment when he petulantly uttered A. D. 1170. the few fatal words which occasioned à Becket's murder, and aroused the general indignation of Christendom.

In the clamour which that event excited, Louis, as may be expected, was among the loudest complainants. Partly from policy, partly from abhorrence of an act which he no doubt esteemed a sacrilege demanding the fullest Judgment of Heaven, he invoked St. Peter to unsheathe his sword, and the Universal Church to avenge the innocent blood which had been poured out in her service*. Nevertheless, when, upon the prompt submission and the humiliating atonements discreetly offered to Rome by the King of England, for a crime which he protested was involuntary, Alexander granted absolution to the Penitent, Louis also was compelled to remit his anger. The Legates who enquired into the allegations brought by him against his adversary, in order to promote an adjustment of their differences, were perhaps surprised at the easiness of their task; and Henry, who was prepared to submit even to the scourge at the Martyr's Tomb, was not likely to object to the chief demand made by the King of France, that the Coronation of his daughter should not be longer deferred. The solemnity was A. D. 1172. accordingly repeated, and the Prince and Princess were Aug. 27th. jointly crowned by the Archbishop of Rouen, at Winchester.

This association in the Royal dignity which custom had authorized in both Kingdoms, and which bestowed a title without conferring actual power, was unworthily misrepresented by Louis, in order to promote dissensions in the English Court. It was not difficult to persuade an heir

* *Epist. Lud. vii. ad Alex. III. ap. Bouquet, xvi. p. 466.*

apparent that the course of Nature might be tardy ; and that his father, by the recent Act, had not shared with him the mere pageant of a Crown, but had really placed in his control the reins of Government. The King of France affected to believe that Henry had in fact abdicated ; and when he invited to Paris his sons who were secretly instigated by their mother, Eleanor, he received and acknowledged Henry *Courtmantel* as Sovereign of England ; he encouraged his younger brothers, Richard in his pretensions upon Aquitaine, Geoffrey in those upon June 1173. Bretany ; he swore never to abandon them till they had established their claims ; and at the head of a brilliant train of Nobles he marched to invest Verneuil.

Henry, for once, appears to have been taken by surprise ; but a force at the service of any leader who could afford its expense supplied his ranks thus denuded of his chief continental vassals. Bands of adventurers trading in War and making a merchandise of the sword, had recently been formed in Europe ; and with about 10,000 of these mercenaries (variously called *Brabançons* from the district by which they were chiefly furnished, *Routiers* from their being scattered (*rompus*) unless when on active service*, or *Cottelets* from the (*couteaux*) short swords which were their distinguishing offensive weapons), he hastened to the relief of the besieged city. Before his arrival, it had been perfidiously occupied and burned to the ground in breach of a conditional surrender ; but this treacherous act was fully punished in the sequel. The French were overtaken in a disorderly retreat, which they had commenced on the appearance of the Brabançons, and their defeat was attended by slaughter proportioned to the thirst of vengeance which animated the conquerors.

Henry pursued his success till he was recalled to England by a threat of invasion ; and it was upon this return that he disarmed popular resentment, and obtained the willing aid of his subjects, who had hitherto regarded him as a blood-stained outcast, by undergoing at Canterbury that Penance so notorious in History. Having ensured the safety of his insular dominions, he re-embarked for Normandy, fully determined upon vigorous operations. But Louis had just received a signal discomfiture before Rouen, in which his disgrace was increased by a just imputation of a breach of good faith. He had proclaimed an armistice on the August 1. Festival of St. Laurence, for which Saint he entertained peculiar respect ; and while the garrison, relying upon the Royal promise, were negligently amusing themselves without the walls, he was persuaded to attempt a surprise. A Priest, who happened to be gazing

* *Routiers*, *ruptuarii*, *parce qu'on les trouvait rompus ou débandés quand on les engageait*. M. de Sismondi, v. 504. But may not the German *Ritter* afford a more probable derivation ? especially as Mezeray, ii. 575, says, *Les Cotteaux estoient la plupart Fantassins, et les Routiers Cavalerie*. Du Gange gives other sources, *ad v. Rumpere*.

at the surrounding prospect from one of the city turrets, observed an unusual movement in the camp of the besiegers; and, sounding the alarm-bell, he recalled the dispersed soldiers in sufficient time to repel the meditated attack with shame and loss to the assailants*.

No sooner, therefore, had the English disembarked, than Sept. 29. Louis, dispirited by this overthrow, signified a wish to negotiate. By a Peace signed at Montlouis, the League with the rebellious Princes was dissolved, and Henry, having received assurances of submission from his insurgent sons, not only pardoned their adherents, but even granted them possession of some Castles for their security.

Each of the Kings, now advanced in years, became desirous of repose; and in order to cement their interests a new family alliance was projected between Richard the Lion-hearted (*Cœur de Lion*) and Alice of France. The story is dark and intricate; but it is said that Henry himself, whose habits were most libertine, became enamoured of the young Princess who had been committed to his guardianship as a future bride for his son †. The marriage was postponed under various excuses, and when Louis, in order to remove the prevalent scandal, obtained from the Pope the menace of an Interdict upon all the dominions of the King of England, unless the nuptials were immediately celebrated, Henry demanded a personal conference with the King of France at Yvry; and having there discussed the political questions upon which they disagreed, still continued, upon pretexts of which we A. D. 1177. are uninformed, to evade the fulfilment of his matrimonial compact.

The association of his son Philippe Auguste, who approached his fourteenth year, was a favourite object with Louis; but it was protracted by a singular accident. The young Prince A. D. 1179. while hunting was separated from his companions, and lost in the Forest of Compiègne. Great part of a night was spent by him in fruitless attempts at extrication, till at length, when almost exhausted by cold, hunger, and fatigue, he was relieved by the guidance of a Charcoal-burner. But the alarm excited by his previous wanderings, and afterwards by the sudden appearance of this rude peasant, who in the darkness illumined by his brazier seemed to be a supernatural Being, so far

* Gul. Neubrigensis, ii. ap. Bouquet, xxi. p. 117.

† Lord Lyttelton, iii. 359, attaches credit to the imputation, or at least believes that Henry was passionately in love. The allusion in the *Philippis*, iv. 128, is very covert; but Roger Hoveden speaks plainly in an account of a conference held some years afterwards between Philippe Auguste and Richard I. *His auditis, Rex Angliæ respondit quod sororem ipsius sibi in uxorem ducere nullâ ratione possit, quia Rex Angliæ, Pater suus, eam cognoverat, et filiam ex eâ genuerat: et ad hoc probandum multos produxit testes qui parati erant modis omnibus hoc probare. Pars posterior ap. Script. post Bedam, p. 392. Benedict. Petroburg. ap. Bouquet, xvii. p. 515, writes much to the same purpose.*

disturbed the Prince's fancy, as to occasion a dangerous fever*. Louis, anxious for the preservation of his son, undertook the performance of an act which was already esteemed one of the most powerful means of intercession with Heaven; and which, from former services afforded to the Saint, he flattered himself would be peculiarly efficacious in his own case. He vowed a Pilgrimage to the Shrine of à Becket; and after a magnificent reception by Henry at Dover, and the tender of costly oblations at the Martyr's Tomb†, he learned the agreeable news of his son's convalescence immediately on his return. Before he could reach Paris, however, Paralysis attacked himself and deprived him of the use of his right side.

The King's illness accelerated the Coronation of his heir; and flattery affirmed that the public joy ought to be greatly increased by a recollection that the blood of Charlemagne flowed in the veins of Isabelle of Hainault, the bride who shared this solemnity; and that a happy omen for the future reign must be drawn from this commingling of lineage between the Second and Third Races‡. But the marriage, on the other hand, was viewed with little complacency by the great vassals of the Crown, who felt jealous of an aggrandizement which so far elevated above themselves one of their own body; and the Queen and her four brothers, who had exercised great influence over Louis, testified especial discontent at a measure which they foresaw must diminish
A. D. 1180. their authority. All real power, indeed, was transferred to
Sept. 18. the young King, from the moment of his inauguration.

Louis survived almost a year longer, but in imbecility both of mind and body. In his foreign Policy he had been invariably deluded by the superior abilities and the unscrupulous intrigue of his English rival, but his internal Government had been mild, equitable, and beneficent, and his memory was deservedly cherished by his subjects.

* Rigordus ap. Bouquet, xvii. p. 4. The apparition was sufficiently terrific to justify the boy's alarm. "A certain peasant, lofty in stature, blowing up the hot coals upon his brazier, fearful in look, blackened with charcoal, ugly-featured, and carrying a huge hatchet on his shoulder."

† According to Benedict. Petroburg. ap. Bouquet, xvii. pp. 437, 438, the Saint himself suggested this Pilgrimage, by appearing to Louis in a Dream. The King's offerings were a magnificent golden cup, exemption from Customs upon all French goods employed for the use of the Monastery, and a hundred pipes (*modios*) of Wine to be delivered annually from the cellars of the Castle of Poissy.

‡ Isabelle was lineally descended from Ermengarde, sister of Charles Duke of Lorraine, brother of Lothaire II., and uncle of Louis V.

CHAPTER IV.

From A. D. 1180, to A. D. 1223.

Philippe Auguste—War with the Count of Flanders—Peace—Disputes with England—Death of Henry^{II}.—Affairs of the East—III^d Crusade—Return of Philip—His perfidious invasion of Normandy—Death of Richard I.—Philip's marriage with and separation from Ingeburge of Denmark—Interdict—Arthur of Bretagne—Conquest of Normandy and Poitou—Condemnation of John of England by the Court of Peers—Duplicity of Rome—The Legate insists upon a Peace with England, and suggests a War with Flanders—Philip relieves Dam, but is compelled to burn his Fleet—Battle of Bouvines—Truce—Crusade of Children—Crusade against the Albigenes—Joined by Louis of France—Establishment of Simon de Montfort—Louis, invited by the Barons, invades England—Death of John—Retirement and Treaty of Louis—Tyranny and death of Simon de Montfort—His Son Amaury repulsed from Toulouse—Character, Death, and Will of Philippe Auguste.

THE early years of the reign of Philippe Auguste were chiefly spent in litigation with Philip, Count of Flanders, relative to the Vermandois, a Province which the King of France claimed as his Queen's dowry, and which her uncle was most unwilling to relinquish. The mediation of Henry II. more than once prevented open hostilities; and that Prince, actuated by a liberality strongly contrasted with his usual policy, and with the opposite conduct which had been pursued towards himself under similar circumstances by Louis the Young, endeavoured to soothe rather than to excite the Family quarrel. Each party at length, however, unsheathed the sword. The Count of Flanders invaded France with a powerful Army furnished by his Free cities; and the Bourgeois of Ghent, of Ypres, of Bruges, of Lille, and of Arras mustered against the choicest professed Chivalry of Europe. They ravaged the whole district between the Somme and the Oise, and penetrated even so far as Dammartin, a post not more than nine leagues distant from Paris itself. There, however, in spite of a vaunt that he would shatter a lance against the gates of the Capital, the Count, on hearing of the King's approach, thought it discreet to arrest his march. Philip followed on his retreat, till the two armies were in each other's presence not far from Amiens. But the superiority of a regularly-trained gendarmerie over the contingent provided by a commercial population, and the distress likely to arise in a manufacturing Country from protracted War, seem to have operated forcibly on the Count's determination; and although hitherto the success of the campaign had manifestly inclined to his scale, he consented to a Peace, the terms of which were disadvantageous, and which, indeed, stipulated for the abandonment of the chief objects in dispute. A. D. 1185.

The death of Henry *Courtmantel* on the 11th of June, 1183, involved Philip in a dispute with Henry II. respecting the dower of Margaret; the restoration of which to France had been stipulated in the case, which had absolutely occurred, of her marriage being unproductive of issue. The two Kings held frequent conferences at the foot of an Elm Tree which stood near Gisors, so exactly on the frontiers, as to overshadow a portion of the territory of either Monarch; and the discussions were long-protracted, and for a time appeared likely to terminate amicably. New difficulties, however, arose; the hand of the widowed Princess was demanded by Bela, King of Hungary, and her portion was necessarily to

be regulated afresh. The guardianship of the Duchy of A. D. 1186. Bretany afforded another prolific subject for litigation.

Aug. 19. Constance, the widow of Geoffrey, third son of Henry of England, had borne two daughters to her late husband, and was pregnant at the moment of his decease. The birth of a son (that Arthur whose pitiable fate is so familiar a story to English ears) removed all cause for dispute between the Immediate and the Sovereign Lord of the Fief; and Constance speedily entered into a second marriage with the Earl of Chester, a vassal of the former. But Philip, as if bent on War, revived the long-slumbering question respecting his sister Alice; and Henry, beginning to feel the infirmities of advancing A. D. 1187. life, purchased a Truce for two years by the abandonment of some disputed territory.

A projected Crusade appeared to ensure the continuance of Peace between the two Kingdoms, and it was encouraged by Henry, probably much more with that hope than with any design of its real execution. The impetuosity of Richard *Cœur-de-Lion*, however, notwithstanding the earnestness with which he promoted the Eastern expedition, more than once interrupted the harmony necessary for even its preparation. So far did disunion proceed, that Philip in his anger gave orders for uprooting the Elm of conference; vowing that the unlucky spot upon which it grew should never again be the scene of fruitless interviews*. In the hostilities which followed, Henry was unsuccessful; he lost Mans and Tours, and he had the additional bitterness of feeling that they had been wrested from him chiefly by the unnatural defection of his own offspring. But although Richard had united himself with France, the aged King still cherished a belief that John, his youngest son, whom he had ever distinguished by more than due fondness, returned his affection with sincerity. What then was his grief and astonishment on finding that son's name at the head of a list of traitors, who had entered into covert engagements with France, and to whom, in the outset of nego-

* Gul. Armoricus, ap. Bouquet, xiii. p. 69. Benedict. Petroburg., *ibid.* 483, 486. Radulph. de Diceto, *ibid.* p. 631. The History of this Elm is also sung at considerable length in the *Philippis* of Gul. Brito. iiii. p. 100. &c. *ibid.*

ciation, he was requested to extend pardon? The unexpected revelation broke the heart of the distracted father, and he expired at Chinon, cursing the hour of his birth. A. D. 1189. July 6.

The departure of the armament for the Holy Land was retarded by the decease of Henry; but that event increased the ardour with which Richard I., who succeeded him, contemplated an expiation which he hoped might appease the remorse occasioned by remembrance of his filial disobedience. The superstition of the times, indeed, confidently affirmed that when the Prince approached his parent's corpse, a few hours after his decease, blood flowed from its breathless lips and nostrils, in token of the presence of its murderer. Philip turned to his own account the impatience thus excited in the young King. He refused to consider the Treaty into which he had recently entered with his predecessor as any longer binding; and having renewed his pretensions to the Vexin, he consented to their postponement only after Richard had agreed to increase a promised subsidy from 20,000 to 24,000 marks of silver.

The necessities of the East had become most pressing; and during the forty years which had elapsed since the II^d Crusade, repeated disasters had gradually prepared the overthrow of the Latin Kingdom. Before the death of Baldwin V., by which the A. D. 1185. Line of Anjou was extinguished, the Crown of Jerusalem had been tendered successively to the Kings of France and of England, by the Templars and the Hospitallers who claimed its disposal. Each of those Sovereigns, however, found pretext sufficient to excuse a declension of the perilous and unsubstantial honour; and the intrigues of Sibylla, on the decease of her son Baldwin, transferred the Royal title to her second husband, Guy of Lusignan. But it seemed that as the strength of the Christian Monarchy declined, an Infidel Power was to acquire proportionately increased vigour; and the renowned Saladin, after having subdued Egypt, Damascus, and Aleppo, and having united under his single rule five of the Moslem Kingdoms which surrounded Palestine, captured her weak King, and obtained possession of the Holy City itself by the great Victory at Tiberias. Tyre was rescued from surrender by the valour of Conrad of Montferrat, at the moment in which she was about to open her gates. But exclusively of that city, of Tripoli and of Antioch, every other strong hold in Palestine had yielded to the arms of Saladin, when William, Archbishop of Tyre, undertook the mission which was to suspend his Historical labours, and to arouse Europe to fresh exertions for the rescue of his brethren.

The Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, whose great host was first in motion, had already perished in the ford of the Selef before the preparations of Philip were completed. At length, having conferred a restricted Regency during his absence upon his mother, Adela, and his brother, the Cardinal of Champagne; having taken fit precautions respecting the minority of his son Louis, at that time three

years of age; having replenished his Treasury by an unpopular impost, the *dîme Saladine*, a tenth at least, payable upon the fee-simple of all property* (excepting that of the Cistercians, the Carthusians, the Monks of Fontevraux, and Lepers) by those who did not enrol themselves in the Holy Service; and having arranged a Convention with *Cœur-de-Lion*, he received the Oriflamme, and after a short abode at Lyons, to which city the allied armies marched together from Vezelay, he embarked at Genoa, not having any port of his own in the Mediterranean. The English proceeded from Marseilles; and the two armaments, reuniting in Sicily, wintered at Messina, where they were detained by foul weather and contrary winds. In that Island commenced the jealousy which contributed to render their subsequent operations abortive. The Normans, preferring a male to a female Sovereign, had set aside Constance (daughter of Roger, and consort of the Emperor Henry VI.) their legitimate Queen, and had transferred the Crown to her Bastard brother Tancred. The first act of the new King was to strengthen his uncertain power by the imprisonment of Jane, widow of his predecessor William II., and sister of *Cœur-de-Lion*. Although fear extorted the release of this illustrious captive as soon as the English landed, the anger of Richard was easily kindled into flame by a recollection of her injuries; and on some quarrel which accidentally arose between the Citizens and his troops, he forcibly occupied Messina, and planted his standard in the very quarters which had been set apart for the French. Philip, who hastened to mediate, and who succeeded in preventing further violence, felt aggrieved at this breach of respect towards himself; and Richard, on the other hand, loudly complained that he had not received such assistance as his sworn confederate was pledged by oath to afford.

This growing dissatisfaction was secretly fomented by Tancred, in the hope of avenging himself upon Richard. He represented that the Duke of Burgundy had made private overtures in the name of the King of France for a combined attack upon the English army; and it is said that when Richard expostulated with Philip upon this treachery, he was met not with denial but with recrimination. The desertion of the Princess Alice was again objected to him; and he was accused of a violation of compact with the Daughter of France in order that he might complete the nuptials which it was known that he was preparing with Berengère of Navarre. On the day of the arrival of that intended bride, Philip, unwilling to be present at a ceremony which
A. D. 1191. dishonoured his sister, embarked for St. Jean d'Acre, under which city he arrived on the 13th of April.

The memorable siege of Acre had already engrossed the utmost efforts of the Crusaders for nearly two years. Infinite misery had been inflicted and endured during that period; and the hopes of the garrison were

* Rigord. ap. Bouquet, xvii. pp. 25, 26.

almost exhausted when the spirit of their enemy derived fresh vigour from the powerful reinforcement afforded by the King of France. Philip, however, remembered the Convention into which he had entered with his brother in arms; and, notwithstanding the jealousy which of late had interrupted the intimacy of their union, he felt it to be a point of honour that Richard should not be deprived of his share of glory in a conquest, which might already be deemed secure. During an interval therefore of nearly two months, till the June 8. English Fleet cast anchor in the bay, the French were employed in chivalrous pastimes rather than in any serious prosecution of the Siege; and the many gallant actions achieved by the Knights exhibited individual prowess without forwarding the ultimate object of the War.

Not the Confederacy which beleaguered Troy, nor the Camp in which a far more recent Poet than Homer has fabled the confusion excited by beauty scarcely less resplendent or less mischievous than that of Helen, presented more numerous elements of discord than did the Christian host under Acre when it was joined by *Cœur-de-Lion*. Such of the Germans as had survived the disasters consequent upon the loss of their Emperor, the famine which had wasted them during their passage through Lycaonia, and the more dangerous indulgences which awaited their arrival at Antioch, were marshalled under the Landgrave of Thuringia. Conrad of Montferrat, protected by the King of France, now openly advanced his pretensions to the Crown of Jerusalem; although the reigning Monarch, Guy of Lusignan, had recovered his liberty; and each, perhaps, was engaged in treacherous correspondence with the Infidels whom he affected to be combating. The Hospitallers and Templars fought under their respective Grand Masters; the Pisans and the Genoese obeyed their native Generals; and the peculiar French, led by Philip, carefully separated themselves from the motley band of English, Normans, Bretons, and Aquitainers, who followed the standard of Richard.

A severe illness for a time detained each of the rival Princes from action, and on their recovery, both found ample reason for dissension, arising out of the very Treaty which had been framed expressly to promote their union. By the terms of that Convention, all the profits of their enterprise were to be equally shared. Philip accordingly claimed a moiety of the Isle of Cyprus, which Richard had conquered in his passage from Sicily, and of some payments which had been made to him by Tancred. The King of England, in return, demanded the partition of Flanders and of the Barony of St. Omer, which had accrued to Philip since his embarkation. It soon became clear to each, upon a closer examination of the Treaty, that it must be restricted to acquisitions made in the Holy Land, and accordingly it was renewed with that limitation.

Acre, at length, exhausted internally, and desperate of relief from without, proposed to surrender almost at discretion; but even the boon of life was not granted unconditionally to the wretched garrison; and after some unavailing negotiation with Saladin, the city was placed in the hands of the Christians, upon terms which the inhabitants well knew the Sultan would never consent to ratify. Unless Saladin by setting free two hundred Knights, and fifteen hundred foot-soldiers whom he held in imprisonment, by the payment of 200,000 golden bysants, and by the restoration of the true Cross which he had captured at Tiberias, should purchase the redemption of the hostages within forty days, they were to be altogether at the disposal of their conquerors. The Sultan had already rejected similar propositions, and the fatal term approached without change on either part. On the 20th of August, the day assigned for the fulfilment of the capitulation, the heads of 2600 prisoners were severed from their bodies by the command of Richard I.; and a massacre not inferior in its fearful extent of numbers took place in the quarters of the French*.

From the infamy of this most bloody and disgraceful act, than which no fouler crime sullies the darkest page of the History of the Crusades, Philip, however, fortunately for his memory, is personally exempt. In intellectual attainments he was at least not exceeded by Richard; but the English Prince exhibited a superiority of bodily vigour, a greater adroitness in military exercises, and a more reckless and daring impetuosity in the field, which dazzled both the Christians and the Saracens; and which have continued even to our own days, (in which the relative value of such qualities is by no means over-rated,) to invest him with the character rather of one of the Paladins of Romance, than of a real personage belonging to sober History. Even an inferiority such as this was keenly felt by the King of France, and he was most anxious to quit a theatre upon which he could represent only a secondary part. No sooner, therefore,

July 27. was the ultimate fall of Acre assured, than he pleaded that a longer stay under the burning skies of the East must infallibly deprive him of life; and having been released by the King of England from the engagement which bound him to remain in Palestine, and having solemnly renewed the oath by which he undertook to respect, nay to defend the dominions of his ally, even as if they were

Aug. 3. his own, he committed the charge of his army to Hugh Duke of Burgundy, and embarked from Tyre, with a small train, in three Genoese galleys†. To the Lieutenant whom he thus left behind, belongs the indelible obloquy of participating in the slaughter at Acre.

* Roger Hoveden, pp. 692. 698. Rigordus ap. Bouquet, xvii. p. 36. Radolphus de Diceto, *ibid.* 641.

† Benedict. Petroburg. *ibid.* 541.

But although Philip is thus freed from a pressure of guilt and cruelty which can never be removed from his Confederates, his return to Europe was marked by acts of most dishonourable perfidy and violence. So early as in his passage through Italy, upon the shores of which Country he landed, he applied, but in vain, to the Pope Celestin III. for dispensation from that oath which he had just sworn to Richard; and no sooner had he re-entered Paris, Dec. 27. after an absence of eighteen months, than he prepared an attack upon Normandy in direct violation of the amicable engagements which he had twice solemnly contracted. As a prelude to this gross injustice, which he could not but be conscious must arouse general reproach, he endeavoured to cultivate popularity by an affectation of religious zeal; and in anticipatory expiation of the perjury which he meditated, he revenged the death of a Christian A. D. 1192. who had robbed and murdered a Jew (and who, it was said, had been crucified by the outraged Family, with a studied resemblance to the circumstances attendant on the Passion of our Lord *), by burning alive, without trial, and in his own presence, eighty victims selected from that devoted and miserable Nation.

To degrade the reputation of the ally whom he designed to injure appeared another essential preliminary to the dark course which Philip was treading; and he either invented or encouraged imputations equally groundless and odious against Richard. Thus it was affirmed that the King of England had maintained a constant treacherous intercourse with Saladin; that he had conspired with the Saracens for the ruin of Gaza, Joppa, and Ascalon; that he had procured the murder of Conrad of Montferrat; and that he had leagued with the Old Man of the Mountain (the Head of a band of Persian Fanatics, the *Assassins*, established on Mount Libanus) for the death of Philip himself. A charge so improbable as the last was likely to defeat its own purpose; and the King of France seasonably repaired his improvidence, by forging a letter to Leopold of Austria, from the Eastern Prince, in which that mysterious Chief was made to deny that any such project had ever been meditated †.

It was far more easy to excite insurrection in the dominions of Richard, than to create doubt concerning his loyalty as a Christian Knight; and in John, his faithless brother, A. D. 1193. was found a ready instrument for this base purpose. With the assistance of that turbulent, unprincipled, and remorseless Prince, Philippe attacked and overran a great portion of Normandy; and Rouen

* Rigord, *ibid.* p. 36.

† This Letter, which is printed in the *Fœdera*, i. p. 61. is examined in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des Ins.*, xvi. p. 155. The two *Memoires* of M. Falconet, according to Gibbon, contain "all that can be known of the Assassins of Persia and Syria," "poured out with copious and even profuse erudition." XI, 417. ch. lxiv.

was almost the only considerable city which repulsed his arms. The long captivity, during his return from the Holy Land, to which the King of England was doomed, by the virulent revenge of the Duke of Austria*, and by the avarice of the Emperor Henry VI., afforded time and opportunity for the development of Philip's designs; and nearly fourteen months elapsed before the King of England recovered his freedom by consenting to the payment of 150,000 marks, the enormous and iniquitous ransom demanded by his Imperial gaoler. Philip then discovered, to his cost, how little confidence was to be placed upon the alliance of a traitor. No sooner had he learned the A. D. 1194. arrival of Richard in England, than he despatched the unwelcome news to John by whom the defence of the important town of Evreux had been undertaken. The warning was conveyed enigmatically, "Take heed to yourself, for the Devil is unchained†;" and John, who well understood its meaning, profited by the early intelligence to secure reconciliation with his brother. To detail the petty incidents of the warfare which raged with little intermission during the few remaining years of Richard's life, would be a wearisome and a most un instructive task. No events in its course are worthy either of the rival of Saladin, or of the future conqueror of Normandy‡. In the contest for the succession to the Empire, the two Kings, as may be supposed, espoused opposite candidates§. Philip was in the Ghibelin interest; Richard, from consanguinity as well as from remembrance of the grievous injuries which he had received from the Suabian Family, supported his nephew, Otho of Brunswick. In Germany, how-

* The death of Leopold of Austria, which occurred at the close of the year 1194, was accompanied with circumstances which may, in some degree, excuse contemporaries for esteeming it a retributive judgment. His horse fell with him at a Tournament, and shattered his leg so fearfully, that amputation offered the sole hope of preserving life. No surgeon, however, could be found who possessed sufficient skill or hardihood to attempt the necessary cure; and Leopold, almost frantic with excess of pain, after his son had refused to execute the deed, seized an axe which he forced one of his servants to strike with a mallet until the limb was severed. Three blows were enough for the purpose; but the patient, as may be imagined, did not long survive the rude operation. The Clergy of Vienna refused interment to their deceased Prince, until the hostages detained to guarantee the King of England's ransom were set at liberty. Roger Hoveden, ap. Bouquet, xvii. p. 574.

† Roger Hoveden, *ibid.* p. 559.

‡ M. de Sismondi, vi. 169. One skirmish near Vendôme produced an important result although the engagement itself was trifling. The Royal baggage fell into the hands of an English ambuscade; and among much other rich spoil were included all the Muniments of the Crown which had hitherto accompanied the King's person. In order to prevent the recurrence of a similar misfortune, a State-Paper-Office was established, called at first *Les Archives du Palais*, and afterwards *Le Trésor des Chartes*. See the *Mém. de l'Acad. des Ins.*, xvi. p. 166.

§ Philip, Duke of Suabia, brother to the deceased Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, and uncle and guardian of Frederic II., a child of five years old, whose claim he set aside, disputed the Imperial Crown with Otho, son of Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, by Matilda (Maude), a sister of Richard I. of England. Pope Innocent III. strenuously exerted himself in favour of the latter.

ever, the quarrel between France and England was chiefly maintained by an expenditure of gold; it was in Normandy that they encountered with the sword, and wasted each other's force by most savage and unproductive hostilities. Yet it was not in a conflict with the King of France that Richard was at length to terminate his brilliant and unquiet course. An inglorious squabble with an obscure vassal, respecting the division of some treasure-trove, laid low a Warrior whose name had even then become a proverb of terror to Asia, and which still, after a lapse of six Centuries and a half, dwells upon every tongue in Europe, whenever Chivalry is the theme under discussion*.

During the few short intervals of Peace which had occurred in the hitherto troubled reign of Philip, he had not been unmindful of the Civil improvement of his People; and the inhabitants of his Capital are indebted to his activity for the first attempts to rescue its foul, narrow, and mud-embedded streets from the reproach which its Latin name *Lutetia* very justly implied. Philip expended much of the treasure, hitherto devoted solely to the revels of the Court, in works of public utility, in the construction of paved causeways and aqueducts, in founding Colleges and Hospitals, in commencing a new City wall, and in the erection of the Cathedral of Nôtre-Dâme. Before his expedition to Palestine, he had become a widower; and a fresh marriage which he contracted with Ingeburge of Denmark† was productive of much unhappiness. Contemporary report speaks highly of the virtues and the beauty of that Princess, and we are left to vague conjecture as to the reason which induced the King to separate himself from her on the very day of his nuptials‡. It seems probable, however, that his affections were otherwise engaged at the time of this marriage, and that his chief inducement to its completion was the political advantage likely to be derived from an alliance with Denmark, a Power which cherished hereditary animosity against England. No sooner was the King's capricious distaste proclaimed than a National Synod

* Richard I. was mortally wounded while besieging the Castle of Chaluz-Chaûrol, belonging to Guidomar, Viscount of Limoges. The noble declaration of Bertrand de Gourdou, the Soldier who, by discharging the fatal bolt, avenged the deaths of his father and of two brothers, the generous pardon which Richard extended to him, and its faithless violation by Marchadès (or, as Velly says, by order of Philippe Auguste, ii. p. 189.) after the King's demise, are facts too well known to need repetition.

† Daughter of Valdemar the Great, sister of Canute VI.

‡ Mezeray settles the point very quietly: *belle et chaste Princesse, mais qui avoit quelque défaut secret*. *Abrégé Chron.* ii. p. 600. The elder authorities are very uncertain and vague in their expressions. Gervase of Durham says, *Subito, nescio quia, secretò accidit ut Rex suam quam optaverat Reginam repudiaret*. p. 677. Radulf de Diceto simply notices the fact *divortium inter eos solemniter celebratum est ex insperato*, p. 645; and Rigord attributes it to Witchcraft, the King being *instigante Diabolo, quibudam, ut dicitur, maleficiis per sortiurias impeditus*. p. 38.

was readily prevailed upon to find the necessary pretext for divorce, in consanguinity between the first and second Queens; but neither the King of Denmark, brother of the repudiated bride, nor the Pope when appealed to, was so easily satisfied. After much useless discussion, Philip braved the censures of the Holy See, and notwithstanding A. D. 1196. standing menaced Excommunication, gratified a passion which he, perhaps, had long entertained for a German Lady, Mary of Méran*, by sharing with her his Crown. The cause of Ingeburge was ardently espoused by Innocent III. on his accession; and that ambitious Priest, seizing it as a pretext for the exaltation of A. D. 1200. Sacerdotal power, laid the offending Kingdom under an Interdict. When Philip resisted this despotic act, his Clergy were the chief sufferers; if they disobeyed the Pontiff, they were suspended from their functions, and were cited to perform penance in Rome; if in accordance with his commands, they refused their ministration in France, Philip expelled them from their Benefices, and confiscated their revenues. At length, fatigued rather than moved to compassion by the sufferings and complaints of his People, who firmly believed that the privation of religious offices was but a A. D. 1201. prelude to eternal destruction, Philip consented to abide by the decision of a Council. Rome was then amply bribed, and it became her policy to agree to the divorce; but when the Prelates, assembled at Soissons, entered upon the slow processes of Canonical legislation, the King was offended and humiliated at the part of defendant which they imposed upon him, and hastily withdrew from the Assembly, with an unexpected declaration, that whatever might be the sentence of the Church, he would rejoin the wife from whom he had voluntarily separated himself. The death of Mary of Méran† extricated both parties from a quarrel which had thus become more than ever involved; the children whom she had borne to the King were legitimated by a Papal decree; and Ingeburge, although ostensibly reconciled to her husband, still appears to have been deprived of conjugal rights, and to have been even retained in conventual seclusion.

With the rapacious, cowardly, and unstable temper of John, who, on the death of his brother Richard, seized the Crown of Eng- A. D. 1199. land, Philip was experimentally well acquainted; and by practising on his necessities, his fears, and his weakness, he

* Berthold, father of Mary, whose possessions lay in the Tyrol, in Istria, and in Bohemia, is called by Rigord *Dux Meraniæ et Bohemiæ, Marchioque Istriæ*, ap. Bouquet, xvii. p. 46. Roger Hoveden styles him *Dux de Genet* (or *Guest*) in *Alemania*, id. 577. Rigord in the above passage expressly says *nomine Mariam*: later writers, among whom is Henault, have called her Agnes.

† Henault states that Mary of Méran, whom he names Agnes, died broken-hearted. The event is not improbable, but it is not so recorded either by Rigord, ap. Bouquet, xvii. p. 54, or by Roger Hoveden, id. 612, passages in which the Queen's death is related.

by turns bribed, terrified, and cajoled him. Arthur of Bretany was despoiled by his uncle, and betrayed by the King of France, upon whose protection he had thrown himself; and the last act in the political life of the ambitious Eleanor* (of whom we have long omitted mention, and who was now approaching her eightieth year) was the conveyance of her grand-daughter, Blanche of Castile, from Spain, as a bride for Louis, the heir-apparent of France. This marriage was to cement Peace with England, and the rich dower† with which John accompanied it was to be the price of the abandonment of Arthur. But when the tyranny and the libertinism of the treacherous A. D. 1200. King had excited rebellion in Aquitaine, the discontent was secretly encouraged by Philip, notwithstanding the recent Treaty. With consummate duplicity, he invited his ally to a Conference at Andély, and entertained him with a magnificent show of hospitality in Paris, on both which occasions he renewed his former compacts. But these acts of seeming friendship did not prevent open war when John evaded a summons before the Court of his Feudal Sovereign; and the claims of Arthur, who then received Knighthood from Philip, and was betrothed to his daughter Mary (a child of six years old), were again advanced, as the pretexts under cover of which the King of France might prosecute his designs upon Normandy. The tragical fate of the young Prince is variously related, for the circumstances under which he was deprived of life were little likely to admit of distinct revelation. After having been taken prisoner and transferred to different places of confinement, he was given up to his remorseless uncle; and unhappily there are not any redeeming qualities in the evil character of John which induce us to reject the contemporary belief that his own hands were employed in the murder of his captive nephew ‡.

The general indignation excited by this great crime assisted the views of Philip, and from John, wholly abandoned to debauchery, he encountered little opposition. The siege of Andély delayed the progress of the French arms during five months; but its defence was conducted, not by the King of England himself, but by his valiant soldier, Roger de Lacy, Constable of Chester. On its fall, John hastily retired to England, and the entire conquest of Normandy A. D. 1204. and of Poitou succeeded his flight. The heritage of the Plantagenets, which had been separated from France during three Centuries, was regained in a single campaign almost without a struggle.

* Eleanor, on her return from this Mission, secluded herself in a Convent at Fontevraux, *Senio et longi itineris labore fatigata*, Roger Hoveden, p. 608, where she died in 1204.

† All the English possessions in Berry and 20,000 Marks of Silver. *Fledera*, i. p. 79: May, 1200. Roger Hoveden, p. 601.

‡ R. Coggleshall, *ap.* Bouquet, xviii. p. 96. Matt. Paris, p. 208 (Ed. Watts). The Count Daru, who has fully investigated the History of Arthur, pronounces against John. *Hist. de Bretagne*, tom. i. p. 415.

But the imbecility of John had not yet been visited with the full measure of disgrace which it was fated so deservedly to encounter. His Provinces in France had been wrested from him by force of arms; their alienation was to be confirmed by a solemn act of judicature, in which the King of England, arraigned at the bar as a criminal, was condemned and sentenced to the punishment inflicted on felony. Into the obscure origin of the Court of the Twelve Peers of France*, its revival or its creation by Philippe Auguste, its constitution and its authority, we by no means propose to inquire; and it is sufficient here to state, that before such a Tribunal John was summoned to answer for the murder of Arthur of Brittany; and that to repeated applications for a safe-conduct going and returning, no other answer was vouchsafed than that he might freely *come* in peace, and so *return* provided he were allowed by the judgment of his Peers†. On a promise thus restricted he did not venture to confide; and an Arrêt of disinheritance was accordingly pronounced against the contumacious vassal. Even when at length, stimulated by the reproaches of his indignant Barons, he hazarded disembarkation with an armed force..at La Rochelle, during A. D. 1206. Philip's absence, the expedition served but to increase Oct. 26. his dishonour. After eluding a personal Conference which he had demanded, but at which he durst not present himself, he bargained at Thouars for a two years Truce by assenting to the chief provisions of the judgment of the Court of Peers‡.

Fortune, however, once again placed a powerful instrument in the hands of this dastardly and despicable Prince. Philip of A. D. 1208. Suabia, the recent successful candidate for the Empire, June 22. was assassinated in a private feud, and Otho, his former competitor, was at once unexpectedly acknowledged as their Head by the Germanic Body. The approbation of Innocent III. confirmed this election, and bestowed the Imperial Crown upon a Guelf partizan whom Rome had always secretly favoured, and from whose gratitude, consequently, implicit obedience was expected. Between John of England and his nephew Otho a strict alliance had long existed; and the latter, before his accession, during a visit in which he had been received with distinguished splendour at the English Court, had pledged himself to assist in the recovery of the lost Provinces in

* Six Laics, representatives of those who placed the Crown on the brows of Hugues Capet, the Dukes of Normandy, of Aquitaine, and of Burgundy, the Counts of Toulouse, of Flanders, and of Vermandois, for the last of whom was substituted the Count of Champagne. Six Ecclesiastics, the Archbishop of Rheims and his suffragans, the Bishops of Laon, of Noyon, of Beauvais, and of Châlons, to whom was added the Bishop of Langres, suffragan of the Archbishop of Lyons. P. Brial, *ap.* Bouquet, xvii.

† *Ita sit si Parium suorum judicium hoc permittat.* Matt. Paris, p. 284. The date of this transaction is not there given, but Matthew Paris alludes to John's condemnation in another passage, p. 281.

‡ *Fœdera*, i. p. 95.

France. The promised aid of a Prince whom disaster had reduced to his single hereditary State of Brunswick had little which could give it weight at the time; yet John rewarded it by the prodigal disbursement of a pension of 5000 marks; and the current of events soon elevated the value of his bargain to a height which he never could reasonably have hoped it would attain.

For three years after the accession of Otho the resentment which the allied Princes cherished against France wanted opportunity for display, and both of them were fully occupied by domestic entanglements. At the expiration of that period, the similar opposition in which each was engaged against Rome increased their community of interests, and established a yet more intimate alliance between them. John was under excommunication on account of his struggle for the retention of Ecclesiastical patronage; Otho because he had endeavoured to strip Frederic II. of the sole possession now remaining to the once great Family of Hohenstauffen, the Crown of the Two Sicilies. The Pope, indignant at the refractory spirit manifested by an Emperor to whose elevation he had so largely contributed, undertook the defence of Frederic; and many of the great German vassals in consequence tendered their allegiance to that Prince. The policy of the King of France induced him to support this insurrectionary movement; and John, bound by alliance with Otho, always jealous of Philip and in open dissension with Innocent, was eager to take up arms for the opposite party.

In order to secure the co-operation of all his vassals in the invasion of England which he meditated, Philip denounced John as an enemy of the Church, and proclaimed that the War A. D. 1213. against him was prompted solely by motives of Religion.

An assembly of the French Barons was accordingly convoked at Soissons, and Ferdinand, or Ferrand as he is more generally named, Count of Flanders, appears to have been the chief absentee from their deliberations. That Prince, of Portuguese extraction, had married Jane, daughter of Count Baldwin IX., whom the singular caprice of the IVth Crusade had elevated to the Throne of Constantinople; and Louis, the eldest son of France, had profited by an informality in the preliminary arrangements of their nuptials (to the celebration of which the consent of the Flemish States had not been asked) to seize and to retain by force the towns of Aire and of St. Omer, to which he asserted a claim in right of his mother. Ferrand either refused to attend at Soissons, or else to stay after he had repaired thither, until those fortresses should be again surrendered to him; and the consequences of this resistance were, as we shall soon perceive, most prejudicial to Flanders.

As a proof of his own entire obedience to Rome, Philip announced at Soissons his complete reconciliation with Ingeburge; and so just and holy did the enterprise which he projected appear, that not a single

Baron demurred to assemble his contingent, and to increase by it one of the most formidable armies which had ever been gathered in France. But the Legate Pandolfo, under whose immediate eye these mighty preparations were advancing, at the very moment in which he was stimulating the exertions of Philip, was holding also a secret correspondence with John. The object of this duplicity was not the relief of the English Monarch, but the certain aggrandizement of the Holy See, without any risk from the chances of War; and the subtle Priest, by revealing to John the treachery of his own Nobles and the unbounded resources of his enemy, by deeply impressing upon his imagination the parallel case of Harold before the Norman invasion, and by persuading him that the Crown was retained on his brow only by a thread which a breath might loosen, terrified the craven Prince into a promise of almost unconditional obedience. John renounced all present and future claim to investiture; recalled to their Country and to their Benefices the Ecclesiastics whom he had banished; engaged to compensate them for the losses which they had incurred; and in all disputed cases to admit the arbitration of the Legate as final. The Pope, in return, consented to receive the Kingdoms of England and Ireland as a gift from their Sovereign, and to invest him with them as Fiefs to be held under the See of Rome, by the conditions of homage and the annual payment of 1000 Marks*.

No sooner had this ignominious Treaty been ratified with ceremonies befitting its disgraceful conditions, than Pandolfo announced A. D. 1213. to the King of France that his expedition must be abandoned, for that to attack a faithful vassal of St. Peter would be an act of mortal sin. It was in vain for Philip to represent that his vast preparations had been made not only in concert with, but even at the suggestion of Rome; that he had armed in support of the Pontifical authority, because he had been assured that by so doing he would expiate his own sins†; and that he had already expended much treasure in his military outfit. The Diplomatist of the Vatican continued inexorable; but he adroitly suggested a channel into which the armament of France might still be directed with certainty of reimbursement for its cost. The Count of Flanders, he said, had denied Philip's right to make war upon John while that King was yet under Excommunication, and such disobedience required punishment. Philip eagerly listened to the advice; swore on the moment by all the Saints, that either France should become Flanders, or Flanders France‡, and

* The homage offered to Pandolfo and the Legate's insolent behaviour are noticed by Matt. Paris, p. 199. Ed. Watts. John's Charters of resignation are printed in the *Flores*, i. p. 115. The facts, notwithstanding some doubts which have been recently suggested, are proved by evidence the most distinct.

† Matthew Paris, *ap. Bouquet*, p. 700. H. Knyghton, pp. 2418, 2420.

‡ Matt. Paris, *id. ibid.*

put his whole force in motion to enrich himself with the plunder of the sole manufacturing Country in Europe.

The French fleet, which is reported to have amounted to 1700 sail*, proceeded first to Gravelines, then to Dam; the army marched by Cassel, Yprès, and Bruges, upon Ghent, the pride of which wealthy City it announced its intention of humbling. Scarcely, however, was the investment begun, when Philip learned with indignation that the English had already captured a moiety of his ships in the roadstead of Dam, and that the remaining vessels were so closely blockaded in its harbour, as to render extrication hopeless. After having exacted 30,000 Marks, as the ransom of their hostages, from each of the great Cities which he had already captured, the King of France hastily retraced his steps in order to afford succour to Dam. Two days sufficed for his march, and he arrived in sufficient time to relieve the garrison. But to rescue the fleet was beyond his power; and in order to prevent it from becoming a prey to the enemy, he destroyed it by fire, and then in bitter revenge for its loss, committed the town itself to a similar fate. Nor did his ravages cease here. Every district through which he passed in his retreat upon the Seine was subjected to military execution; the towns were razed and burned; the peasantry were put to the sword or sold as slaves; and the French army, before its disbandment, if not covered with glory, had at least amply satisfied its lust for rapine.

But the destruction of the French fleet had so far inflated the hopes of John, that he now in turn projected a descent upon his rival's territories, and a reconquest of his lost Provinces. No longer content to adopt the shield of Rome as a defence to his weakness, he unsheathed his own sword for attack. The reluctance A. D. 1214. manifested by his Barons to second this design for a while Feb. —. delayed his operations; and it was not till the close of the ensuing Winter that he was in condition to disembark at La Rochelle.

John was to advance from the Loire, while his ally Otho made a simultaneous attack from Flanders; but the armaments, with that perverseness which so often frustrates movements intended to be combined, took the field quite independently of each other. It was not till the fickle King of England, disappointed in his empty hope of conquest by a repulse from Roche-au-Moine, had retired to his transports, that the *Imperial Army*, as it was called, in consequence of Otho being at its head, assembled in the Low Countries. On the 27th of August the hostile forces were unexpectedly in each other's presence, on the banks of a little tributary of the River Lys, near the Bridge of Bouvines. Their numbers are estimated to have been nearly equal, about 20,000

* See Henault's remarks, i. p. 236.

fighting men in each host*, and the Battle which ensued is, perhaps, the first occasion in the Wars of the Middle Ages in which the full value of Infantry was perceived. Philip was unhorsed in the heat of the engagement, and but for the almost impenetrable armour in which it was the fashion of a Knight to be cased, he would probably have been killed by the hooks and pikes of the Flemish Bourgeois. When Otho had been carried from the field by his wounded and terrified horse, and Count Ferrand himself, grievously hurt, was left in the hands of the French, the rout of the Flemings became general; but night approached; the prisoners already taken were too numerous and too valuable to be hazarded by the indulgence of pursuit; and the trumpets of Philip sounded a recall before his victorious troops had advanced more than a mile from the scene of conflict†. The return to Paris was a march of continued triumph; popular exultation was at its height; five Counts, twenty-five Bannerets, and a multitude of inferior captives followed in the train of the conquerors; the King generously abandoned the ransom of many of his most illustrious prisoners to the *Communes* by whose troops he had been so faithfully served; the Capital evinced joy equal to that which had been shown in the Provinces; and the Victory of Bouvines was long treasured in the remembrance of the French, as one of the chief epochs of their National glory‡.

This discomfiture of the Flemings and the retreat of the English relieved Philip from two great embarrassments. With Otho negotiation was superfluous, for even before the Battle of Bouvines Frederic II. had deprived him of all authority in the Empire; and the fugitive, seeking refuge after this new defeat in his Castle of Kartzberg, reappears no more in History§. Jane of Flanders obtained restoration of her Fief which Philip had confiscated; but she failed, not without imputation of design, in her efforts to procure freedom Sept. —. for her husband Ferrand||. With John, a Truce for five years was concluded, on terms perhaps more easy than he was entitled to expect.

During these events in the main Annals of France, some very memorable incidents had occurred in her Episodical History also. One, the Crusade of Children, which, if it were not avouched by undoubted

* M. de Sismondi, vi. p. 356. Henault, i. p. 237, adopts the more improbable computations which raise the French to 50,000, the Imperialists to three times that number.

† Gulielmus Armoricus (of Brittany), Philip's Chaplain, who was stationed behind the King, and who sang Psalms during the whole Battle, has narrated the incidents most vividly, *ap. Bouquet*, xvii. p. 99.

‡ Regularly paid troops were first introduced into the French army after the Battle of Bouvines, and received the name *Soldats*, *par ce que le Roy les soudoyait*. Henault, i. p. 238.

§ He died in 1218.

|| He remained in prison till 1226.

authority, would be incredible, and if it had not terminated miserably would have been ludicrous, we shall recite as nearly as possible in the words of a contemporary*; from which indeed, on account of its singularity, there might be some hazard in departing. "In the Summer of 1213, a certain Boy, a Boy truly in years, but in wickedness thoroughly adult, at the suggestion of the Enemy of the human race, wandered up and down among the Cities and strong towns of France, as if he had received a mission from Heaven, and always chanting in the French Tongue, 'Lord Jesus Christ, give us back the Holy Cross!' adding many ejaculations. Vast multitudes of Boys of the same age were induced by what they saw and heard to follow this guide; and, infatuated by some Diabolical spell, they quitted fathers, mothers, nurses, and friends, and chanted the same stave with their Præcentor. Wonderful as it may appear, no bars, no bolts, nor persuasions of their kinsfolk, could hinder them from pursuing the course which this their Master advanced towards the Mediterranean Sea, passing over the intermediate Country in an orderly and disciplined march, and chanting as they went along. So great was the throng, that no City could hold them in its walls. Their Chief rode in a Chariot, strewed with cloaks, and surrounded by an armed body-guard which shouted round its wheels. The crowd at length became so dense, that they trampled down each other. Blessed was that hand esteemed which could gather up even a thread or purloin any of the nap from the clothes of their leader. In the end, through the machinations of that old Impostor Satan, all of them perished either on Land or in the Sea."

Respecting another, and a far more important, transaction we feel proportionably greater difficulty. The Crusade which Innocent III. and the Cistercian Monks excited against the Albigenses in the Southern Provinces of France would be deprived of its chief interest if we ventured upon abridgment; and its whole details are manifestly too extensive for our contracted limits. The narrative indeed demands and deserves entirely independent treatment; and, fortunately, in its outset, it is enough separated from the National History to permit commencement at the point in which the connexion becomes more immediate; after a survey of its preliminary course, rapid indeed, but sufficiently distinct to render the events which follow intelligible.

The inhabitants of Languedoc, of Provence, and of the neighbouring districts, appear to have been greatly in advance of their Northern brethren in all the Arts of cultivated life; and doubtless to that superiority of civilization is to be attributed their more early discovery, and their consequent abhorrence of the corruptions of Rome. Without inquiring too closely into the disputed origin of the names *Valdenses* and *Albigenses*,

* Matt. Paris, p. 242. Bernard Guido, in his Life of Innocent III., estimates the number of these children at 90,000; part of them embarked at Marseilles, part at Brindisi, *ap. Muratori. Script. Ital.* iii. p. 482.

or into the precise nature of all the doctrines which those Sects professed, it is evident that several of their tenets may be identified with those which became more firmly established in the XVIth Century. The Romish Hierarchy as yet, however, had been unaccustomed to opposition, at least in Spiritual affairs; and it was swayed at the period upon which we are about to enter by one of the most intelligent, enlightened, and unscrupulous Pontiffs, who ever sought to extend the influence of his See. Innocent III. in organizing the persecution of the *Catharins*, the *Patarins*, and the *Pauvres de Lyons*, exercised a spirit, and displayed a genius similar to those which had already elevated him to almost universal dominion; which had enabled him to dictate at once to Italy and to Germany; to control the Kings of France, of Spain, and of England; to overthrow the Greek Empire; and to substitute in its stead a Latin dynasty at Constantinople. In the zeal of the Cistercian Order, and of their Abbot, Arnaud Amalric; in the fiery and unwearied preaching of the first Inquisitor, the Spanish Missionary, Dominic; in the remorseless activity of Foulquet, Bishop of Toulouse; and, above all, in the strong and unspitting arm of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, Innocent found ready instruments for his purpose. Thus aided, he excommunicated Raymond of Toulouse, as Chief of the Heretics, and he promised remission of sins, and all the privileges which had hitherto been exclusively conferred on adventurers in Palestine, to the champions who should enrol themselves as

Crusaders in the far more easy enterprise of a Holy War A. D. 1209. against the Albigenses. In the first invasion of his territories, Raymond VI. gave way before the terrors excited by the 300,000 Fanatics who precipitated themselves on Languedoc; and loudly declaring his personal freedom from Heresy, he surrendered his chief Castles, underwent a humiliating penance, and took the Cross against his own subjects. The brave resistance of his nephew Raymond Roger, Viscount of Beziers, deserved but did not obtain success. When the Crusaders surrounded his Capital, which was occupied by a mixed population of the two Religions, a question was raised how, in the approaching sack, the Catholics should be distinguished from the Heretics. "Kill them all," was the ferocious reply of Amalric; "the Lord will easily know His own*." In compliance with this advice, not one human Being within the walls was permitted to survive; and the tale of slaughter has been variously estimated; by those who have, perhaps, exaggerated the numbers, at 60,000, but even in the extenuating despatch, which the Abbot himself addressed to the Pope, at not fewer than 15,000 †.

Raymond Roger was not included in this fearful massacre, and he repulsed two attacks upon Carcassonne, before a treacherous breach of faith

* Raynaldi *Annal. Eccl. ad ann. 1209*, § 22. *Hist. de Languedoc* (Vai et Vaissette), xxi. pp. 57, 169.

† *Epist. Innoc. III. xii. p. 108.*

placed him at the disposal of De Montfort, by whom he was poisoned after a short imprisonment. The removal of that young and gallant Prince was indeed most important to the ulterior project of his captor, who aimed at permanent establishment in the South. The Family of De Montfort had ranked among the Nobles of France for more than two Centuries; and it is traced by some writers through an illegitimate channel even to the Throne*: but the possessions of Simon himself were scanty; necessity had compelled him to sell the County of Evreux to Philippe Auguste; and the English Earldom of Leicester which he inherited maternally, and the Lordship of a Castle about ten leagues distant from Paris, formed the whole of his revenues. Much distinction had attended him in the IVth Crusade; and personal valour, austerity of manners, an iron frame both of mind and body, inflexibility of purpose, ambition tempered by subtlety, and fanaticism which inspired a conviction that perfidy and cruelty became virtues when employed in behalf of his Faith, combined to render him one of the heaviest scourges which has ever been wielded by Persecution.

Without following De Montfort step by step in his cruelties and his conquests, we shall proceed at once to his great Victory at Muret, in which the overthrow and death of Pedro King of A. D. 1213. Aragon deprived the Toulousains of their last and most Sept. 12. powerful ally. The object of the Crusade might have been then thought accomplished; for of the Albigenses, few, if any, were remaining for sacrifice. But the fervour which had originally supplied the army of the Church with combatants by no means subsided simultaneously with the cause which had given it birth; and new votaries perpetually coveted Indulgences which were to be purchased by a short and easy warfare.

In the Spring of 1215, Louis of France, the heir of Philip, notified his intention of serving the prescribed term of forty days against the Albigenses; and this first personal interposition of one closely connected with the Throne, was regarded by De Montfort with jealous suspicion. The usurpations of that victorious soldier had not yet been formally confirmed; and it seemed probable that Louis might either assert claims for himself, or be persuaded to undertake the protection of his near relative the Count of Toulouse. These fears, however, proved groundless. Louis, who was actuated by motives of devotion, not of policy, having performed his vow, returned to the North; and, not many months after his campaign, the IVth Council of Lateran declared the Preaching against the Albigenses to be at an end; and, stripping Raymond of Toulouse of all his possessions, except the County of Venaissin, and the Marquisate of Provence, conferred their investiture upon Simon de Montfort. Philip, in the following year, admitted this new April 1216. vassal to the performance of homage, received him with

* To a natural son of Robert.

marks of distinguished favour, and acknowledged his establishment under the substantial titles of Duke of Narbonne, Count of Toulouse, Viscount of Beziers and of Carcassonne.

Meantime, the discontents in England had nearly transferred that Kingdom to foreign rule. John eagerly sought to be relieved from the *Great Charter* which he had sworn to observe; and the Pope, not less anxious to maintain the power of a vassal whose obedience he had now A.D. 1215. secured, than he had formerly been to secure that obedience, pronounced the Charter to be vile, shameful, illegal, and iniquitous*, and excommunicated the Barons who adhered to that compact. By promises of the spoil of their opponents, John, whose treasury was exhausted by prodigal expenditure, tempted a ferocious band of adventurers disengaged from the Albigensian Crusade, and from other services in which they had of late years been occupied, to embark in his cause; and the Barons, on the other hand, in order to free themselves from the tyranny of a perjured King, sought assistance from Philip, and invited his Son Louis to take possession of the Crown of England.

Philip, however, was by no means inclined to provoke a dispute with Rome, which had openly declared John to be under her protection; and the course which he adopted was probably a juggling trick concerted with his son, in order to elude the resentment of the Vatican, and yet not to lose the chance of gratifying his ambition. He refused assent to the preparations of Louis, without opposing any effectual obstacle to their completion. The young Prince, accordingly, manned upwards of 400 sail, and, landing in the Isle of Thanet, marched at once upon London. In that Capital, he was hailed with enthusiastic joy; the chief insurgent Barons tendered their homage; and received counter-assurances that he would protect their existing laws and privileges, and restore their confiscated Fiefs†. So general was the revolt, that the Castles of Dover and of Windsor were the only fortresses of the South which remained faithful to John, who not daring to confront the invader retired upon Winchester. The claim, however, which Louis asserted was untenable, even if the act of the Barons in dethroning their King had possessed any show of legitimate right. It was founded upon the title of his wife, Blanche of Castile, daughter of Eleanor, a sister of John. But not only was John the parent of children whose succession could not be justly affected by the deposition of their father, but there existed several descendants from collateral branches elder than that of Eleanor‡.

* *Litteræ* Inn. III. *Baronibus Angliæ*. Sept. 1215. *Fœdera*, i. 136.

† *Matt. Paris*, 282.

‡ The title assumed by Louis spoke his own misgiving: he called himself *Premier-né du Seigneur Roi de France*, than which nothing could be more remote from pretension to the Crown of England. Besides John's children, the Princess of Brittany, the Emperor Otho, and the Queen of Leon had rights prior to those of Blanche.

It was to the sword, therefore, the ultimate arbiter of most contested Kingdoms, that the final appeal was likely to be made; and the chances of its decision were apparently most unfavourable to the reigning Family.

This seemingly falling cause was accelerated in its decline by the death of Innocent III.; its ruin was arrested by that of John himself, which succeeded about three months afterwards. July 16. Chagrin at an important military loss affected the Tyrant's Oct. 19. health; and it is probable, as some contemporary writers affirm, that his days were terminated by poison*. The Barons had not failed to perceive that Louis, instead of warring for their emancipation, had already occupied every Castle which fell into his hands with a French garrison; and they became keenly alive to an apprehension that by elevating him to the Throne, they were in truth only substituting the yoke of foreign conquest for that of domestic oppression. From the rule of the eldest son of their late King, at that time a child in his tenth year, they had little to fear, and with him also they might barter for a Constitution. Henry III., accordingly, received a daily increase of partizans, and it was only in London that the authority of the invader continued undisputed.

Louis marked this growing disaffection with anxious vigilance; and when he received warning that Honorius III., the successor of Innocent, was about to issue against him the most solemn A. D. 1217. Excommunication with which the Church of Rome was used to accompany her censures, he determined upon a personal application to his father for assistance. Philip, at least openly, refused all aid; and the French Prince, upon his return to England, found that his short absence had materially diminished his party. A defeat at Lincoln (in which the rout was so total, and the spoil so May 19. rich, that the conquerors in derision named the engagement Lincoln Fair†) yet further contributed to his dismay; and the dispersion of a fleet, which Blanche, whose energy and affection were unwearied, fitted out with reinforcements, deprived him of all hope of future success. It was by no means the policy of the supporters of Henry III. to protect a Civil war; and the Earl of Pembroke as Regent willingly accepted the first overtures made by Louis for Peace. By Sept. 11. the Treaty which permitted his evacuation of England, he released all his partizans from their allegiance, and formally renounced his pretension to the Crown; at the same time most honourably stipulating, that the Barons by whom he had been supported should be

* Matt. Paris does not notice the rumour of poisoning, which, however, is credited by H. Knyghton, 2425, and by W. Hemingford, *ap. Gale. Script. Rer. Ang.* ii. p. 560.

† H. Knyghton, 2429. R. Coggleshall, 113. Roger Hoveden, 184. *Annales Waverleienes*, 205.

restored to their Fiefs, with full immunity for the part which they had taken*. Unlike most other discomfited invaders, Louis quitted the shores from which he had been repulsed, with the consolatory reflection, that those by whom he had been invited, and whom he was compelled to abandon, were not exposed to destruction on account of their fidelity.

During these occurrences in England, the continued barbarity of De Montfort had provoked a renewal of War on the Rhône; and acts of treachery the most savage marked every variety of fortune which he underwent. His ascendant, however, was manifestly passed; and the universal detestation which his cruelty had inspired predominated over even the terror of his name, and armed almost every hand against him. Toulouse was in perpetual revolt, and defied all his efforts, whether of fraud or of violence; till, during a third siege to which he

A. D. 1218. had led his forces, a huge stone, discharged from a mangonel

June 25. on the walls, terminated the career of this unrelenting

Fanatic. His son Amaury, by whom he was succeeded in command, was compelled, after many fruitless assaults, to abandon the enterprise. To the prowess of a son of Raymond VI., who shared the name and authority of his father, whom he greatly exceeded in energy, was owing the gallant rescue of Toulouse, and the subsequent recovery of a considerable portion of the lost dominion. But the Court of Rome witnessed with regret the downfall of that power which De Montfort had erected under its auspices; and if assisted Amaury, by allowing him a moiety of the twentieth just imposed upon the Clergy of France, for the service of the Vth Crusade.

With the force raised by this subsidy, Louis of France repaired to join Amaury in the investment of the Castle of Marmande.

A. D. 1219. In blindness of zeal against imputed Heresy, the young

Prince was scarcely exceeded by any enthusiast of his time, but a more delicate sense of honour than seems to have been cherished by the Ecclesiastics who accompanied his camp saved him from the infamy of violating his pledged faith, when he was urged by them to condemn to the stake the whole garrison, which had capitulated on assurance of personal safety. Amaury did not equally respect the laws of War; and while Louis was engaged in protecting one portion of the inhabitants, who, relying upon his promise, had laid aside all means of defence, his confederate, treading in the steps of his father, commanded an indiscriminate massacre of the remaining population. Babes and women were included in the sacrifice, which swept away 5000 victims. But this inhuman slaughter disappointed the hopes of its perpetrator, and instead of alarming the Toulousains into prompt submission, it increased the pertinacity of their resistance. When they learned further-

* The Treaty is printed, *Fœderu*, i, 148.

more, that the Papal Legate in the besieging army which moved down upon them had registered a vow, not to permit one human Being, male or female, old or young, to survive, nor one stone to surmount another within their gates, this ardour was heightened to desperation; and Raymond and the 1000 Knights who followed his banner found unexpected support from Burghers hitherto unused to arms. The diseases of a hot climate and of an unhealthy season, and frequent sorties of a garrison thus resolute, thinned the ranks of the Crusaders. Division also was rife in their Councils; for the zealots looked with suspicion on the comparative moderation of Louis. As the term of Feudal service expired, his troops gradually withdrew; and after Aug. 1. about six weeks, employed under the walls of Toulouse, with great loss both of lives and of reputation, he burned his engines and artillery, and commenced a hasty retreat.

Three years of ineffectual struggle succeeded, during which Amaury was almost entirely stripped of his father's conquests, and lost every hope of restoration. The spirit which had so A. D. 1222. long animated the Languedocian Crusaders had become extinct, or was diverted into other channels; and the open perils of Egypt or of Palestine seemed to those whom Devotion still engaged as soldiers of the Church far more tolerable, and less to be dreaded than the secret vengeance of the Provençal dagger, which sooner or later overtook every partizan of the hated Race of De Montfort. Thus destitute and discouraged, Amaury offered to cede to Philip that inheritance which in truth he no longer possessed: but advancing years and infirmities had deadened in the King's breast all passion for uncertain enterprise; and he found sufficient pretext for declining the specious offer, notwithstanding it was urged upon him by the solicitation of Rome.

Already indeed was Philip under the influence of a disease which, after many months of slow languishing, terminated his life. During a long reign of forty-four years, he had more than A. D. 1223. doubled in extent the territory which had descended to him July 14. from his predecessor; he had elevated himself from the dubious tenure of the mere Head of a Feudal Aristocracy to the confirmed authority of a Feudal King; he had laid the foundation of a Constitutional Monarchy; he had advanced Literature and the Arts by inviting to the School* of Paris the most distinguished Students of his Age, and by expending large sums in remunerating their discoveries; and although we may smile at the contemporary flattery which assimilated his Capital to Athens, and pronounced France to be more highly cultured than Egypt during its zenith†, no scanty praise is due to a

* It was not dignified with the title *University* till the reign of St. Louis. Velly, ii. 255.

† *In diebus illis studium literarum florebat Parisius, nec legimus tantam aliquando fuisse scholarium frequentiam Athenis vel Ægypto, vel in quâlibet parte mundi, quanta locum*

Prince who, amid the prevalent barbarism, ignorance, and darkness by which he was surrounded, excited or assisted the intellectual improvement of his People. Architecture was among his favourite pursuits; and instead of confining himself, as had hitherto been customary with Royal Builders, to the erection of Churches, he raised many useful edifices for secular purposes also. Yet, notwithstanding the liberal disbursements which he was ever prepared to make for works of public utility, so admirable were the regulations which he had introduced into Finance, that the vast treasure bequeathed by his Will is a subject of just surprise. The Church, as may be supposed, was a large sharer in his legacies. "Christ," says an Ecclesiastic of the time, "was the heir of this King gorged with riches*." His executors were instructed in the outset to apply 50,000 livres (a sum estimated at the present value of 1,200,000)† to make conscientious restitution in all cases in which they believed that the King had committed an injustice. The Templars and Hospitallers, the Abbey of St. Denis, that of St. Victor which he had founded near Charenton, and the Poor of Paris were especially remembered; and 20,000 livres were given to Amaury de Montfort for the extirpation of the Albigenes. The last, and, in most instances, the least considerable, donations were reserved for his own Family; and for his widow Ingeburge and his son Philip‡ 10,000 livres each were considered a sufficient provision. Louis, his successor, was to enjoy the residue of his accumulated wealth; and the sum which he was thus to inherit was either purposely left blank, or was erased from the Will§.

CHAPTER V.

From A. D. 1223, to A. D. 1248.

Louis VIII.—Conquests in Poitou—Baldwin of Flanders—Crusade against Raymond VII. of Toulouse—Siege and capture of Avignon—Retreat and Death of Louis VIII.—Blanche and Thibaud of Champagne—Louis IX.—Disaffection of the chief Nobles during his Minority—Siege and capture of Toulouse—Subju-

prædictum studendi gratiâ incolebat. Gul. Armoricus *ap.* Bonquet, xvii. 82. Is it worth while to mention here that Parisius (and similarly Gabius, Tarquinius, &c.) is the Low Latin usage for Parisiis? *Lutetia Parisius* is *Lutece en Parisy*.

* *Chron. Tironense*, 303.

† *M. de Sfsmondi*, vi. 525.

‡ Philippe *Hurepel*, ou *le Rude*, a son by Mary of Méran, whose legitimacy was always contested.

§ Gul. Armoricus, *ap.* Bonquet, xviii. 114. The Will is printed more correctly there than it is by Duchesne, v. 261.

gation of Raymond VII.—War against Thibaud of Champagne—His elevation to the Throne of Navarre—Majority of Louis IX.—Purchase of the Crown of Thorns—Foundation of *La Sainte Chapelle*—Enmity of Gregory IX. against the Emperor Frederic II.—The Imperial Crown tendered by the Pope to Robert of Artois—Reply of the French Court—The English invade Poitou—Their disasters—Truce—Innocent IV. elected Pope—Fixes his residence at Lyons—Illness of Louis IX.—He assumes the Cross—Marriage of Charles of Anjou with Beatrice of Provence—Stratagem practised by the King to increase the number of Crusaders—Prolongation of the Truce with England—Louis embarks for the Crusade.

THE short reign of Louis VIII. presents few incidents worthy of record, and may indeed be considered as little more than a supplement to the long and glorious rule of his father. So strong an assurance did Philippe Auguste entertain of the stability of his power, that he had neglected the precaution hitherto observed by every King of the Third Race; and Louis celebrated his *Sacre* without previous Association. Henry III. of England refused attendance at the Coronation, and instead of presenting himself at Rheims, he sent an embassy to demand restitution of the Fiefs which had been conquered from his father. Under the pretext of revenging this insult, and tempted by the weakness of a Minority, Louis, in opposition to the expressed prohibition of Rome, determined to wrest from the English Crown the remainder of its Continental possessions. In the Summer of 1224 he overran Poitou, captured La Rochelle, the only town which appears to have offered any serious resistance, and extended his conquests along the whole Northern bank of the Garonne.

A popular movement in Flanders excited by a remarkable event, which still remains, and must now for ever remain one of the unresolved problems of History, soon diverted the arms of Louis to another quarter of his dominions. Twenty years before, after the Latin conquest of Constantinople, the united suffrages of the French and Venetians had raised Baldwin IX., Count of Flanders, to the Throne of the Eastern Empire. His reign was of short duration; and after eleven months of turbulent rule, he was taken prisoner by the Bulgarians, in a victory which they obtained near Adrianople. The subsequent fate of the captive Emperor was unknown; rumour indeed stated that a horrible death had been inflicted by the Barbarian King Joannice; but so little credit was attached to this report, that Henry, brother of the absent Prince, delayed for sixteen months his assumption of the Crown to which he was proclaimed successor. On Henry's death, the sceptre of the East passed to a new Family; and the misfortunes of Baldwin were almost forgotten, when a personage whose features were admitted strikingly to resemble those of the lost Emperor, A. D. 1225. with such alterations only as were attributable to increased age and lengthened suffering, presented himself in Flanders, April —, and related a not improbable story of frightful captivity in Bulgaria;

and of his method of escape; and finally, as the rightful Baldwin, demanded re-investiture with the Government, which had passed in due succession to his daughter Jane.

Jane was eminently and deservedly unpopular among her subjects; her sway was harsh; she lived in scandalous defiance of public repute and feminine honour; she had allowed her husband Ferrand to linger through ten years of imprisonment, by her refusal to defray his ransom; and she supported her despotism by an unnatural alliance with his gaoler, the King of France. On these accounts, and from the remembrance of his gentle rule, the tale of the real or pretended Baldwin was received with open and assenting ears; every town in Flanders admitted his claims with avidity; and Jane, flying before the general revolt, sought refuge in Paris, and demanded aid from Louis.

While the King of France was actively engaged in preparations for armed interference, the tardy and faithless alliance of Henry III. was *promised* to the Flemings. A War in the Low Countries afforded prospect of rich spoil, and was therefore most alluring to the French Knights; in England, on the other hand, distracted parties, empty coffers, and the childhood of the Sovereign, formed insurmountable obstacles to any energetic policy. Before Louis, however, proceeded to open hostilities, he summoned the claimant to attend a Council assembled at Peronne, to decide upon his pretensions; and Baldwin (as he must be called), having obtained a safe-conduct, unhesitatingly repaired to the Tribunal. A Papal Legate was assessor to the King of France, and before those arbiters the Countess Jane affirmed that the Impostor, who assumed her father's title, was Bernard de Rays, a Hermit of Champagne, well known to resemble him in person. The claimant replied satisfactorily to numerous interrogatories relative to his former life, but, it is said, that he failed on three particulars. He was unable to state the place at which he had performed homage to Philippe Auguste; that at which he had been admitted to Knighthood; and both the place and the day on which he had espoused Mary of Champagne. Louis accordingly rejected his appeal; but with fitting respect to the safe-conduct which he had granted, he dismissed the stranger under an escort to his frontiers. The decision of the Council however proved fatal to the cause of Baldwin, and the wretched man, finding that his adherents decreased, attempted escape in disguise. On his arrest and deliverance to Jane, she condemned him to the gibbet after the infliction of exquisite tortures. The memory of the Princess, in consequence, has never been free in her own Country from the horrible suspicion of parricide. "I myself, even in the present day," says the Chronicler Oudegherst*, writing in the XVIth Century, "have found this opinion so rooted in the hearts of the People, especially in the City

of Lille, that it was impossible to eradicate it." The means adopted by the Countess to remove the impression entertained against her were more likely to be effectual in her own times than with posterity. She despatched Envoys to Adrianople; and, on their return, she circulated a report of the discovery of the spot in which her father had been interred, of a supernatural light which environed it, and of miraculous cures which had been performed in its vicinity. This defence will now be received, and perhaps not unjustly, as affording corroborative evidence of the guilt which it sought to disprove.

The project of a new Crusade to the Holy Land was warmly espoused by Honorius III., and he laboured to produce a sufficiently good understanding between the Kings of France and of England, to permit their confederation with the Emperor Frederic II. for the recovery of Jerusalem. Two years, however, were to pass before this armament could be completed; and the Pope, reluctant that so long a period should elapse unappropriated to the service of the Church, resolved to employ it in completing the ruin of the Count of Toulouse. True it is that Raymond VII. had tendered submission the most entire, had fervently disavowed any participation in Heresy, and had altogether abandoned the protection which at an earlier season he had afforded to the Albigenses. But he had *once* dared to withstand the Vatican, and cordial and permanent reconciliation with that Court was therefore to be esteemed impossible.

Having arrested the progress of some menaced hostilities between France and England in the neighbourhood of Bordeaux, Honorius accordingly refused the absolution for which Raymond had applied to a National Council assembled by a Legate in Nov. —. the presence of the King of France at Bourges; and Louis was bribed by a grant of the tenth of all Ecclesiastical Revenues in his dominions for the ensuing five years (if the war should continue for so long a term) to undertake the commission of the Church, "since no other hand," said the presiding Cardinal, "is so well able to purge the Earth from the sinfulness of Heresy."

The right of Amaury de Montfort to a territory which his father had won by the sword, and which himself had similarly lost, was still esteemed sufficiently valid to be made the subject of barter; and he ceded to Louis all the conquests of the former Crusaders, in consideration of the promised reversion of the dignity of Constable of France. Meantime, Raymond, deserted by every ally excepting the Count of Foix, learned with consternation that the host moving down for the avowed object of his destruction amounted in horsemen only to the huge number of 50,000 combatants.

In common with most of the Country immediately on the left of the Rhône, Avignon, the first important town in the line of the French

A. D. 1226. march, formed a portion of the Kingdom of Arles, and therefore was nominally subject to the Empire. But it had long virtually established independence, and was governed by its own Magistrates. With Raymond of Toulouse, the Avignonese maintained an amicable, and even an affectionate, intercourse; but hopeless of either receiving succour from his hands, or of opposing effectual resistance by themselves, they hastened to negotiate with Louis, offering supplies and a free passage over the Rhône by their bridge, provided his army would forbear from traversing their streets. The haughty Prince, prompted by the Legate, replied, that he must pass with his sword drawn, and followed by all his troops in military June —. pomp, through the very heart of their City; and the Magistrates, justly irritated on receiving this unexpected and unreasonable demand, closed their gates, and prepared for defence.

The contest was manifestly unequal; nevertheless, Avignon was strongly situated by nature; it was well fortified, amply provisioned, and numerously garrisoned; and we are assured, in the only and very brief account transmitted to us of the ensuing struggle, that the besieged returned unsparingly and in kind every weapon which the perverse skill of the times supplied for mutual destruction; that they invented engines which counteracted the engines of their enemies; and that they inflicted many deadly wounds upon the French*. After numberless assaults, and the loss of 20,000 lives by disease, fatigue, scantiness of food, and the sword, during three months close investment, Louis at Sept. 12. length found himself master of the City by capitulation.

But the conquest was barren of results; the season was too far advanced to admit much farther progress during the remainder of the campaign; and Raymond, with the hope of obtaining an increase of his own force, and of meeting a feebler enemy in the ensuing Spring, avoided battle, and gave way, although the French advanced within four leagues of his Capital. In one respect his anticipations were justified.

Louis, fatigued and disappointed, prepared for return to the Oct. 29. North; and on his arrival at Montpensier in Auvergne, he died there after a few days illness. The most generally received opinion attributes his death to the same epidemic disease which had occasioned so much ravage in the camp at Avignon; but there were not wanting some who, unwilling that a King should perish by an ordinary cause, reported that he was the victim of poison. Even an author was found for the crime; and Thibaud of Champagne, one of the most skilful of the Troubadour Poets†, and, according to the fantastic custom of the time, an avowed lover of Queen Blanche, notwith-

* Matt. Paris, p. 333.

† De La Ravaillière published, in 1742, in two volumes 12mo., an edition of *Les Poésies du Roi de Navarre*, illustrated with Notes and Dissertations.

standing the disparity of their ages, was said to have drugged the cup. This most heinous charge, however, appears to be very slenderly founded; and no other motive is assigned than the inadequate one of some heated words which passed after the surrender of Avignon.

The fluctuating conduct of Thibaud during the turbulent season which ensued upon the death of Louis VIII. contributed to strengthen the suspicion that he was inflamed by a passion for Blanche. That Princess, endowed with commanding intellect, and distinguished for personal charms, approached indeed her fortieth year at the time of her husband's decease, and Thibaud was much her junior*. Yet, although we dismiss the scandal of the contemporary Monk† (prompted, as there can be little doubt, by a very pardonable National hostility), as too gross for either transcription or belief, it is by no means improbable that Blanche might employ the influence of Beauty as well as that of Royalty, to control a vassal whose chivalrous gallantry partook of the nature of religious devotion, and whose support was most important for the preservation of her authority.

The ten years of the Minority of Louis IX., during which his Government was administered by his mother, were marked indeed by an almost perpetual struggle with the great Feudatories jealous of her power; and Thibaud was found by turns in the ranks of each party. The chief discontented Nobles were Philippe *Hurepel* (or *le Rude*), Count of Boulogne, an uncle of the young King, whose qualities are justly betokened by the addition to his name; Pierre de Dreux, Count of Brittany, whose opposition to the Church had obtained for him the *sobriquet* of *Mauclerc*; Savary of Mauléon; and Hugues X. of Lusignan, Count de la Marche. Of these great Members of the Nov. 29. *Baronnage*, the first was the only one who attended the Coronation of Louis; and before the close of the following year, so powerful was their cabal, that if they had not been prevented by the armed interference of the Bourgeois of Paris, a service which Louis ever after gratefully acknowledged, they would have obtained A. D. 1227. mastery of his person, by carrying off from Montlhéri both himself and his mother.

Notwithstanding the many dangers which assailed her power, Blanche skilfully conducted to a triumphant close the War against the Albigenses, which had been bequeathed to her by her husband. In the outset, a few successes of Raymond VII. were sullied by very odious cruelty, not to be palliated even by the remembrance of former inflictions from the barbarous fanaticism of the Crusaders. But the reviving spirit of the Toulousains was effectually subdued by a frightful measure of devastation suggested by Fouquet, their sanguinary and unrelenting Bishop.

* At least thirteen years. M. de Sismondi, vii. p. 17.

† Matt. Paris, p. 334.

Taking the City as a centre, he distributed the neighbouring territory, as far as the belt of mountains by which it is surrounded, into a number of equal portions; and upon each of these rays, as they may be termed, a merciless troop of the besiegers moved daily, uprooting vineyards, trampling down harvests, and firing cottages, till the whole vicinage presented the face of a Desert. During three months of patient suffering, the miserable inhabitants of Toulouse witnessed from their ramparts this hourly destruction of their property; at the end of that period, Raymond agreed to an almost unconditional surrender. He abandoned to Louis all his possessions in France, to the Legate April 12., all those in Arles, on permission to retain as a Fief during life a small allotment of his great hereditary territories. Even that Fief, at his death, was to form the portion of a daughter whom he engaged to bestow in marriage upon the King's third brother, Alphonse. A large monied payment, the rasure of the fortifications of Toulouse and of thirty other towns, the admission of French garrisons into the remainder, and the disbandment of his *routiers*, completed the ruin but not the humiliation of this most unhappy Prince. He was further enjoined to offer rewards for the arrest of his own heretic subjects, and to employ the little force remaining to him in the subjugation of his most faithful ally, the Count of Foix*. Barefooted, and in his shirt, he was disciplined on the naked shoulders by the Legate, in the Porch of Nôtre Dâme at Paris; and after receiving absolution, and undergoing six weeks imprisonment in the Tower of the Louvre, he was permitted to offer homage for his Fief, and was dismissed to its administration.

This annexation of Languedoc to France by the Treaty of Paris was followed by the establishment of the Inquisition in Toulouse, through the subtle operation of which most accursed Tribunal it was hoped that all freedom of opinion would speedily be extinguished. But, in another attempt, the very excess of precaution which Rome adopted frustrated its own purpose. In order to insure unity of doctrine, it was stipulated that Raymond should maintain at his own cost, during ten years, certain Professors of the Canon Law and of Theology. To this Faculty, however, others became gradually annexed; and the original bigoted Institution formed a nucleus, round which, in opposition to the design of its founders, was accumulated a School of Liberal Science in the University of Toulouse.

Before the conclusion of this War in the South of France a formidable conspiracy had been organized in another part of the Kingdom, where Mauclerc, Count of Bretany, appeared in arms after renouncing alle-

* The Count of Foix obtained Peace on hard terms, a few months afterwards, but Trencavel, Viscount of Beziers, another ally of Raymond, was stripped of his dominions, and compelled to take refuge in the Court of Aragon.

giance to the Crown. The chief operations of the malecontents were directed against Champagne, which they ravaged with a vindictive spirit, in consequence of Thibaud's adherence to the Regent. Even his title to his Fiefs was questioned, and Alice, Queen of Cyprus, the daughter of an elder brother of his father, was invited to France in order to assert her pretensions. Thibaud denied the legitimacy of his cousin; and the Process was referred to the lingering adjudication of both the Canonists and the Civilians*. Meantime, Blanche found means to protract the arrival of a formidable succour which Henry III.

of England had promised to the insurgents; nevertheless, A. D. 1230. at the close of the Spring of 1230, that Prince disembarked. May 3. at St. Malo. His unwarlike temper, however, avoided the field, and the few months which he passed in France were chiefly spent in idle festivity at Nantes. But his very presence was sufficient to excite alarm; and Thibaud, upon whose Fief the whole storm of War had fallen, was at length compelled to yield to its fury. In order to expiate the great crime of the late King's murder, with which he was still charged, and which necessity compelled Oct. 26. him in part to admit, he consented to devote himself to service in Palestine; and the chief object of the War having been thus attained, the King of England gladly recrossed the Channel. In the following summer, a Truce, renewable at the ex- A. D. 1231. piration of three years, was signed at Saint Aubin de Coursier, which, embracing every Member of the League, terminated the Civil wars of Blanche's Regency.

Thus far Blanche had been eminently successful; and the Barons, who at first had submitted to her with impatience, or had opposed her with obstinacy, now began to feel accustomed to the sway at which they had murmured as exercised by one who was both a Woman and a Foreigner. The intrigues of Thibaud, however, still required vigilance. That Prince, ever fluctuating in his policy and hating repose, once again changed his party, and was negotiating a family alliance with Mauclerc of Bretany, the most formidable and the most persevering of the Regent's enemies. But some unexpected events removed her fears. At the very moment at which Thibaud had most occasion to dread an unfavourable decision, transferring his Fief of Champagne to Alice, the hopes of the Queen of Cyprus were extinguished by the sudden death of her great advocate and supporter, A. D. 1234. Philip Hurepel; whose bounty defrayed the expense of Feb. —. her Process, and whose subtle spirit well knew the argu-

* Henry II., Count of Champagne, an elder brother of Thibaud's father, by Isabelle, Heiress of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, had daughters, of whom Alice, married to Guy of Lusignan, King of Cyprus, was the eldest. Thibaud pleaded that the marriage of Isabelle was uncanonical, having been contracted while she had a former husband living, and therefore that Alice was illegitimate.

ments most likely to prevail with the Courts at Rome. A death so opportune was not likely to escape suspicion, and Thibaud was accused of having administered poison, on evidence which seems not more conclusive than that which before imputed to him the similar murder of

Louis VIII. Not long afterwards, the Crown of Navarre

April 7. devolved upon him by the death of his uncle Sancho VII. without issue*; and in order both to direct his undivided attention to establishment in this new Kingdom, and also to terminate a vexatious dispute concerning his ancient inheritance, he willingly agreed to a compromise. Alice, deprived of her chief stay, renounced all pretensions upon Champagne and Brie, in consideration of an annual allowance of 2000 livres; and Blanche, at the price of 40,000 more, annexed to the Crown of France Chartres, Blois, Sancerre, and Châteaudun. Thus, having replenished his coffers, Thibaud, abandoning his

intrigues in France, departed for Pampeluna with a brilliant

May —. retinue, and received his Crown without opposition. Little addition, however, was made to his real power by this increase of dignity. Champagne and Navarre were too far apart to afford mutual support, and each had separate interests which involved it in disputes by no means advantageous to the other.

The marriage of her son was the next point which awakened very natural anxiety in Blanche; and so dexterously did she conduct this arrangement, that it by no means diminished her mater-

May 27. nal control. The consort whom she selected, after much secret enquiry, was Margaret, eldest daughter of Raymond Berenger IV., Count of Provence; and under pretext of the tender age of the bride and bridegroom (the former of whom had not yet completed thirteen years, the latter barely nineteen), she established regulations concerning their intercourse, which effectually prevented the young Queen from obtaining much conjugal influence. During the day-time, they were always carefully separated; and it was only by stratagem, and under considerable fear of detection, that the King, by means of a private staircase, enjoyed some stolen interviews with his wife, whenever he could obtain permission to visit the Castle of Pontoise, which, on that account, became a favourite residence†.

Jan. 14. Eleanor‡, next sister to the Queen of France, was soon afterwards married to Henry III. of England; and the

* Blanche of Navarre, mother of Thibaud, was sister of Sancho VII., who, jealous of his natural heir, concluded a Treaty with James I. of Aragon, in 1231, by which the two Kings mutually adopted each other as successors. James was the survivor; but upon Sancho's death he was too deeply involved in War with the Moors to profit by this arrangement, and he allowed Thibaud to take undisputed possession of his Throne.

† Joinville, p. 126. *Ed.* 1761.

‡ Her brother Pierre, who settled in England, built the *Savoy Palace*, so named from its founder.

alliance, although not productive of any immediate amity between the brothers-in-law, in the event materially affected the politics of the two Kingdoms.

At length the attainment of his one and twentieth year nominally emancipated Louis from the rule of his mother; but he appears no otherwise to have exhibited independence than by commissioning a body-guard. Even that act of Royal prerogative is explained away by a contemporary legend, to which little more than a passing allusion is necessary*. According to the veracious report of the Annalists, the "Sultan of the Arsacides," better known as the Old Man of the Mountain†, employed two of his fanatic *Assassins* to despatch King Louis; but afterwards repenting this mission, he warned the unsuspecting Prince of his danger by other messengers, who enabled him to discover the first agents early enough to prevent their crime. It is added that both the first and second party were dismissed by Louis not only with personal immunity, but enriched with costly presents. Perhaps, however, some difficulty might arise in assigning a motive for either the enmity or the forbearance of the Oriental Despot; who probably also, at the season to which the Fable is referred, was unacquainted with the very existence of such a person as the King of France.

The little public interest belonging to the first years of the Majority of Louis IX. is strongly evinced by the importance attached to an event which, in more stirring times, would have received only an incidental record in the Monastic Chronicles. Baldwin II., expelled by the Greeks from the Latin Throne of Constantinople, was wandering through the European Courts to solicit aid for the recovery of his dominions. The Pope, Gregory IX., warmly espoused his interests; and the Byzantine Crusade was preached by the Vatican with far greater earnestness than that which at the same moment was arming for the rescue of Palestine. Louis IX. granted to the mendicant Emperor large confiscations from the Jews; the reception of which, as the money was originally procured by usury, he believed would pollute his own coffers. But the necessities of the Latin Monarch demanded a still larger supply; and, for their relief, he was compelled to abandon altogether a treasure which he had hitherto only pawned. Louis undertook to redeem from the Venetian‡ and Genoese Merchants, to whom it had been pledged, the Crown of Thorns, the most precious Relique§ possessed by the Eastern Capital. On the payment of 13,134 *perperi*§ to those unimaginative money-

* Rigord, *ap. Duchesne*, v. p. 35. The story is examined in the *Mem. de l'Acad. des Ins.* xvi. p. 159.

† See p. 63.

‡ Nicolo Quirini was the Venetian who had made the chief advance.

§ A Constantinopolitan coinage, each pira of which is equivalent to about twelve modern francs.

changers, and of 10,000 livres in addition to Baldwin himself, the transfer was negotiated, although even then certain difficulties were to be overcome. In the first place, the Relique was not without some ambiguity of title; for the Abbey of St. Denis already boasted *one* Crown of Thorns, the genuineness of which had been attested by Miracles*. But there were precedents in Ecclesiastical History for similar double claims, and the obstacle therefore was by no means insuperable. It was less easy to satisfy the conscientious scruples entertained by Louis against the commission of Simony; a Sin within which the Church included all bartering for Reliques. But the ready wit of Baldwin evaded this objection also, by making over the Crown of Thorns to the King of France freely and gratuitously; and by receiving, not at all in return, but as an equally gratuitous and free gift, the sum necessary for his own reimbursement.

After the adjustment of these important preliminaries, two Dominicans were sent to Venice, to convey the price and to receive the

A. D. 1239. purchase. Six months were consumed in their mission;

Aug. 18. and, on their return, the King, laying aside his robes, and baring his feet, advanced half a league, without the walls of Paris, in order to take personal charge of the inestimable acquisition. The shrine which enclosed the Relique was a burden too holy to be supported by any shoulders excepting his own and those of his brother Robert; and thus borne, it was conveyed amid a numerous escort of Prelates and Barons, and an enthusiastic throng of the populace, who hailed its arrival by chanting Hymns and Litanies, first to Nôtre Dâme, and afterwards to the Chapel of St. Nicolas without the precincts of the Palace. That tabernacle having been beautified and enriched, or rather having been rebuilt, by the pious munificence of Louis, became at a later period the depository of many other important Reliques; and few edifices in Christendom have excited more keenness of curiosity, or have been visited with a more profoundly reverential awe than *La Sainte Chapelle* of Paris †.

Yet, notwithstanding the devout spirit which animated Louis in this transaction, and the sincerity which he exhibited more fully at a later season of his reign, he was far from lending himself to the usurpations of Rome, or from becoming instrumental to the secular aggrandizement which the Popes were labouring to consolidate. We do not attach implicit faith to the *wording* of the document which we are about to cite below from Matthew Paris; a Historian invariably hostile to the Vatican, and who may be supposed therefore, without impugment of his general

* Rigord, *ap. Duchesne*, v. pp. 29, 33. *Greg. Turonensis de gloria Martyr.* p. 11.

† Nangis, *Chron.* (Achery), 33. Nangis *Gesta Lud.* l. IX., *ap. Duchesne*, v. p. 333. *Chron. S. Bertini*, *ap. Martinii*, *Theas.* iii. p. 170. *Chron. S. Denys.* ii. 56. Gibbon, ch. lxi.

veracity (which is unquestionable), to have easily believed a report in accordance with his peculiar opinions. Nor, even if the words be admitted, is it in our power to determine what portion of them is to be attributed to Louis himself, and what to the Council of Barons by which he was assisted. After all these deductions, affecting only its accidents and accompaniments, the main fact, however, must be received as a striking proof that France, as a Nation, at the period under our present review, by no means yielded blind obedience to Ecclesiastical despotism.

The virulence with which Gregory IX. pursued that quarrel with the Emperor Frederic II., which characterized his whole Pontificate, was most unseemly in the Head of the Christian Church. Not only did he impede the progress of the Crusade gathering for Palestine, because Frederic was its chief promoter; but when all Europe was menaced with a fresh influx of Barbarism, and the Mogol Tartar Hordes, bursting from their savage fastnesses, had already desolated the plains of Hungary, the Pope interfered to prevent the assistance which the Emperor had demanded from his brother Sovereigns. As if, indeed, he had been leagued with the Pagan invaders, Gregory selected the very moment of their onset to issue the extreme censures of the Church against the Prince whom the Mogols first attacked. He A. D. 1239. excommunicated Frederic; he subjected every town in March 20. which he might fix his residence to an Interdict; he released his subjects from their oaths of allegiance; he degraded him from the Imperial dignity; and he even despatched a Legate to tender the Crown, of which he affected the disposal, to the acceptance of Robert of Artois, brother to the King of France*. The specious offer was declined; and it is concerning the manner only of the refusal that any hesitation can exist. The following is the relation of Matthew Paris. When the Legate had finished his harangue, the Council of French Barons and Prelates thus prudently replied, "With what manner of spirit, and with how rash a daring, has the Pope disinherited so great a Prince, who has neither a superior, nor indeed an equal, in Christendom! how has he hurled him from his Imperial eminence, without conviction or admission of the charges objected to him! If his deposition were even merited, it could be adjudged only by a General Council. No reliance is to be placed upon his enemies, among whom the Pope is known to be pre-eminent, when they testify concerning his transgression. Towards ourselves as yet he is blameless; for he has proved a good neighbour, nor have we observed in him any defect either of worldly fidelity or of Catholic Faith. We know furthermore that he has been a faithful soldier for our Lord Jesus Christ, opposing himself with confidence to perils both on the sea and in battle. In the Pope we

* Before the Imperial Crown was offered to Robert of Artois it had been refused by Abele, third Son of Valdemar, King of Denmark, and by Otho, Duke of Brunswick. Albericus, cited in the notes on Raynaldi *Annal. ad ann. 1239*, § 89.

have not found so great Religion. On the contrary, he who ought to have assisted and protected one who had undertaken the service of God, sought to overwhelm him in his absence, and wickedly to uproot him. We will not plunge ourselves into danger by attacking so potent a Monarch as Frederic, whom so many allies will assist against us, and who, moreover, will receive support from the justice of his cause. What cares Rome for an effusion of blood, however prodigal it may be, so as her own vengeance is gratified? If through us and others she should triumph, she will tread under foot all the Princes of the World; uplifting the horns of boasting and of arrogance, because she has overthrown Frederic the mighty Emperor. But that we may not appear to treat the Papal mandate lightly, well as we know that the Romish Church has issued it more out of hatred to the Emperor, than out of any love towards ourselves, we will send some well-advised ambassadors to Frederic, who shall diligently enquire and certify to us what are his opinions regarding the Catholic Faith. If nothing but that which is sound be discovered, why should he be molested? But if, on the other hand, there be any evil heart of unbelief either in him, or even in the Pope himself, or in any other man, that man we will pursue to the very uttermost*.” The embassy, it is added, was despatched; and Frederic, having been vehement in his professions of Orthodoxy, the French Court not only refused to assist in his proposed degradation, but drew yet more closely the bonds of amity by which it had heretofore been united with him.

It is unnecessary that we should detail the failure of both the Crusades, the disasters of Baldwin at Constantinople, and those of the
 A. D. 1240. King of Navarre and the French Barons, whom he left prisoners in Syria; and, without turning aside to these foreign expeditions, we shall continue the thread of domestic History. The investiture of the King's Brother Alphonse with the Fief
 A. D. 1241. of Poitou once more awakened the slumbering jealousy of the great vassals of the Crown; and more especially of the King of England, who, far from admitting the right obtained by Philippe Auguste †, through conquest, had already bestowed upon his brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall, the title of Count of Poitou. Notwithstanding the reluctance which his Parliament had expressed against War, Henry III., accompanied by this chivalrous brother, (flushed by the recent glories which he alone among all the Crusaders
 A. D. 1242. had obtained in Palestine, and justly proud of being the March. deliverer of his Christian brethren,) disembarked at the mouth of the Gironde, intending to unite his forces with

* Matt. Paris, 518. Raynaldus, however, attributes this insolent message to the invention either of the Monk of St. Alban's, or that of some one of his transcribers, *veneno Hæresius imbutus: ut sup. §. 38.*

† The English maintained that the surrender of these conquests formed one of the conditions upon which they permitted the retirement of Prince Louis in 1217.

those of Hugues Count de la Marche*, who was already in arms; and relying upon the promised aid of Raymond of Toulouse and of the King of Navarre.

The Count de la Marche, however, afforded but scanty assistance; and neither Raymond nor Thibaud had commenced any movements, when Henry found himself at Tailleburg on the Charente, in the neighbourhood of an enemy greatly superior to him in numbers. In this peril he employed the diplomacy of his brother, and the Earl of Cornwall, unarmed, and in the habit of a Pilgrim, was despatched to the French camp, in the hope that he might negotiate an armistice for twenty-four hours.

The scene which ensued affords a noble subject for the Pencil. Among the retinue of the French King were many of the Barons who had been lately redeemed from the prisons of Gaza by the prowess of Richard; and who, after having been abandoned by Thibaud and their own Countrymen, were indebted for their freedom to the undaunted constancy of the English Prince. No sooner, therefore, did they recognize their deliverer, in the very garb which he had borne with so much honour in Palestine, than they acknowledged his presence with shouts of gratitude and joy. Thronging around him with eagerness and affection, they formed his escort to the tent of Louis, and announced him to the King as the most illustrious champion of the Cross, and as their own chief benefactor. Louis was not of a temper so moulded as to resist this generous contagion; he received the Princely Envoy with marked distinction, thanked him for the services which he had rendered to France and to Christendom, and without hesitation consented to the proposed armistice†.

Profiting by this arrangement, Henry retired, during the night, upon Saintes; but his military array at dawn little resembled that of the preceding sunset. Many of his troops had abandoned their ranks in the darkness and confusion of retreat, either through accident or with the intention of deserting; all who remained were dispirited; and in a skirmish which ensued at the expiration of the armistice, and which, but for the obstacles presented by numerous vineyards intersecting the ground, might have become a general engagement, the English were driven from the field. The Count de la Marche lost no time in negotiating a separate Peace; and Louis was far from reluctant to grant conditions tending to dissolve a League, which, notwithstanding his opening success, might eventually prove dangerous. Meanwhile the Bourgeois of Saintes observing with dismay that Henry was preparing to expose them to the perils of a siege, notified to the King of France their readiness to submit. The army of Louis was already on its march for a general attack, when Henry was opportunely warned of the faithlessness

* The Count de la Marche had married Isabelle, relict of King John, notwithstanding her former abduction.

† Matt. Paris, 590.

of his allies, and of the imminent hazard of capture which he must consequently encounter. Abandoning the table at which he had been seated, he fled with precipitation to Blaye on the Garonne; and on mustering the shattered remnant of fugitives who had succeeded in traversing the sixteen intervening leagues from Saintes, he found himself almost wholly deprived of horses and baggage. The Barons of Aquitaine temporized, until, under pretext of indemnification for their losses, they had exhausted the thirty barrels of coin, with which the King of England had laden his transports, in order to defray the expenses of his armament; and they then, one by one, fell away, and obtained reconciliation with Louis. Raymond of Toulouse, indeed, persevered, and his arrival at Bordeaux, for a while, restored some confidence to the defeated and betrayed Monarch. It would be unjust also to the memory of a humbler vassal if we omitted to record his loyalty. The Castle of Mirembau, on the frontiers of La Saintonge and of the Bourdeleois, was invested by the French; and Hertold, its Lord, after effecting his passage through the enemy to Bordeaux, offered to return, and to defend it to extremity, if such a measure were likely to prove advantageous to the English. Henry, who by that time had discovered the hopelessness of his enterprise, released his faithful retainer from his perilous allegiance; and when Hertold surrendered Mirembau with a declaration that he yielded most unwillingly, and only to a superior force, Louis, also, touched by this rare display of courage and fidelity, restored the Castle to his command, requiring no other guarantee of his future obedience beyond the payment of homage*.

~~An~~ attack upon Bordeaux and the meditated expulsion of the English from Guienne as well as from Poitou, were prevented by the customary effects of War in an unhealthy climate. Dysentery, as we may believe that malady to have really been which passed under unnumbered names, and was attributed to a myriad of fanciful causes, consumed 20,000 victims; and when Louis himself was attacked, he wisely broke up his camp, and returned to Paris. Before the close of the year, however, he renewed the Treaty of Peace with Raymond of Toulouse, who had hitherto been successful in Languedoc; but who upon personal intercourse with the King of England had admitted a tardy conviction of the incapacity of his ally. Henry, thus left alone, consented A. D. 1243. to a Truce for five years; which he was compelled to pursue April 7. chase by the ignominious cession of the Isle of Rhé, together with some other fortresses which he had mastered during the Winter, and by an annual payment of 1000*l.* sterling†. Notwithstanding the murmurs of his suffering People, he levied fresh exactions to supply the expenses of a Summer which he consumed in festivity with the Gascons; and when he landed upon the shores of England,

* Matt. Paris, 593.

† Id. 600.

he summoned his Barons to await his disembarkation, and Sept. 23. to receive him with the triumphant pomp of a Conqueror*.

A personal change in the occupant of the See of Rome had not produced any revolution in the policy long maintained by the Popes towards the Emperor. Celestin IV., who succeeded Gregory IX., filled the Chair of St. Peter during only eighteen days; and nearly twenty months were then passed before the College of Cardinals, reduced in its numbers to seven or eight Members, agreed in another election. The general outcry of the Christian Princes at length prevailed; and some threats on the part of even the devout Louis to exercise an ancient privilege granted by Saint Clement to Saint Denis, which empowered the Kings of France in cases of necessity to appoint a Cisalpine Pope †, hastened the decision of the reluctant Conclave. Sinibaldo A. D. 1243. of Fiesco, a Genoese, and hitherto a strenuous partizan of June 24. the Imperial faction, was proclaimed Sovereign Pontiff at Anagni; and the hopes of the Ghibelins were greatly excited at this elevation of Innocent IV. Frederic was better acquainted with human nature than most of his courtiers; and he replied to their congratulations sagaciously and almost prophetically, "We have lost a friend in the Cardinal, and we have added to our enemies in the Pope ‡."

This prognostic of the Emperor was speedily verified. Whether Innocent were conscious of treachery on his own part, or whether he were really warned of its existence, on that of Frederic, must ever remain doubtful; but after having agreed to an amicable Conference, and even having advanced some stages towards the A. D. 1244. meeting, he unexpectedly abandoned his Court by night, at June 27. Sutri, and having disguised and lightly armed himself, he mounted a swift horse, outrode all his retinue, and traversed thirty-four leagues of a difficult road before dawn. At Civita Vecchia, he threw himself on board a galley which awaited his arrival, and proceeded onward to Genoa §.

But it was not upon the weak support of his native Republic that Innocent rested his hopes of ulterior success. He felt assured that by imputing evil designs to the Emperor, he should arouse indignation in the bosoms of the King of France and of his mother, both of whom had hitherto been distinguished by Religious zeal. With this expectation he traversed Savoy, and entered Lyons, a City, nominally dependent upon the Empire, but really governed in part by November. its Ecclesiastical Body, on whose devotion to himself the Pope might fully rely, and in part by a Municipality which held the Ghibelins

* Matt. Paris, 604.

† Id. 602. Henault considers this opinion of Matthew Paris to be *absolument détruite*.

‡ R. Malespina ap. Muratori, *Script. Ital.* viii. p. 965. Villani, vi. 4.

§ Matt. Paris, 637.

in abhorrence. The position also of that City upon the borders of France, from which it was divided only by the Saône*, gave facilities to the negotiation which he contemplated; and it does not appear that any residence could have been selected more opportune for his purpose.

Louis, however, although deeply impressed with respect for the Church (a respect which the ignorance surrounding him frequently rendered subservient to practices of ascetism and superstition), entertained also correct notions of Kingly dignity; and he forbore from lending himself as an instrument by which the degradation of the Emperor might be compassed. † To a petition offered by 500 Cistercians at once, in a scene well-concerted to affect the Imagination‡, he replied soberly and discreetly that he would protect the Church against any violence which Frederic might offer, so far as he was permitted by honour§; and that he would freely afford an asylum to the exiled Pope, if the great Council of his Nobles (which no King of France could disregard) should grant assent.

A circumstance also had occurred, about the very time at which Innocent arrived at Lyons, which rendered Louis more than ever disinclined to break with the Emperor. His health had been greatly affected since the expedition to Poitou, and during an attack of dysentery, in which he was deprived of speech, and considered by his attendants to be fast approaching the agonies of death, he recovered sufficient strength and utterance to demand investiture with the Cross, which in case of recovery should bind him to service in Palestine.

Nov. 27. The Holy Badge, in spite of the opposition of his mother and of his consort, was brought to his sick couch; and we are told that from the moment at which the irrevocable vow was pledged, his amendment commenced. An intimate correspondence with Frederic was the necessary result of this union with the projected Crusade.

At the Council which Innocent IV. convened at Lyons, and in which the excommunication of Frederic was renewed, Louis declined attendance; nevertheless soon after its dissolution

July 16. he agreed to the Pope's request for a personal interview, which accordingly took place at Cluny. Seven days were passed together, in private communication, which Queen Blanche alone was permitted to share: it may be conjectured, however, that the King exerted himself as a mediator, and it is plain that definitive arrangements were not concluded, because a second Conference was fixed for the ensuing Easter, at which Louis promised that he would endeavour to persuade the Emperor also to be present.

* One portion of the City on the Western bank of the River was actually in France.

† *Flexis genibus, junctis manibus, obortisque lacrymis.* Matt. Paris, 649.

‡ *Quantum Honestas permitteret.* Id. Ibid.

The Royal authority was greatly strengthened towards the close of the same year, by the acquisition of an important Fief, and at the same time by the prevention of a marriage which might have consolidated the South of France into a rival independent Kingdom. Raymond Berenger, Count of Provence, being without male issue, determined to pass over his three elder daughters, who were richly married to the King of France, the King of England, and the Earl of Cornwall. He framed a Will, therefore, leaving his dominions, after the payment of a trifling and inadequate compensation to the disinherited claimants, to Beatrice the fourth and youngest of his children, who, being as yet unmarried, was free from any ties which, like those of each of her sisters, were likely to compromise the independence of her Country. Some years afterwards, Raymond of Toulouse became an approved suitor for the hand of Beatrice; and no doubt was entertained that the Pope would dissolve the existing marriage of this Prince with Margaret de la Marche*, and thus enable him to contract the desired engagement. The union of his Fiefs (much as they had been curtailed) with those of Provence would have created a Power nearly equalling that of the Capets in territorial extent, far exceeding it in wealth and civilization.

Before the necessary Dispensation, however, for these nuptials was procured, death overtook Raymond Berenger; and no sooner was the testamentary disposition of his States made public, A. D. 1245. than two fresh candidates for the hand of Beatrice presented Aug. 19. themselves in Pedro, son of James of Aragon, and in Charles, Count of Anjou, brother to the King of France. The pretensions of the latter were espoused by the Provençal Nobles, who foresaw entanglement in Civil War from either of the other connexions. Louis, in the recent interview at Cluny, had, perhaps, secured the countenance of the Pope, who temporized and amused the Count of Toulouse with hopes of the Dispensation which in the end he peremptorily refused. Immediately on the demise of Raymond Berenger, 500 French Knights took military possession of his vacant Fief in the name of the Queen of France. Neither the Spanish Prince, nor the Count of Toulouse † was sufficiently strong enough to enter upon armed resistance to this prompt movement; and Charles of Anjou, the most ambitious, the most enterprising, and perhaps the most able of the four sons of Blanche, obtained without opposition from his rivals, and with the cordial good will of his new subjects, a Bride distinguished for great personal beauty, and dowered with a portion which, however splendid in itself, was regarded by the fortunate suitor only as a stepping stone to yet higher elevation.

* Velly, ii. 399, doubts whether this marriage had ever been actually celebrated.

† Raymond of Toulouse afterwards engaged himself in the Crusade, but died before the term fixed for his embarkation. In him terminated the male line of the Counts of Toulouse, who had been invested by Charles the Bald in 849. His Fiefs were inherited by his daughter Jeanne, wife of Alfonso, Count of Voitiers.

From the moment at which Louis had assumed the Cross, the fulfilment of his vow appears to have been the object predominating in his thoughts; and amid the many proofs of high-minded integrity which the life of this most upright Prince exhibits, one instance of pious roguery occurs, which not only was permitted by his conscience, but was even suggested by his zeal. The anecdote, however light, is by no means unworthy of record in grave and sober History; both as it affords a curious illustration of National manners, and also as it attests the proneness of Human Nature to measure actions more by their result or their motive, than by any abstract moral standard. In a Parliament which Louis had convoked at Paris, a considerable body of his most illustrious Barons followed the example of their Sovereign, and the number of Pilgrims was largely increased by a stratagem which the King did not think it either beneath his dignity or inconsistent with his honour to practise upon those who hesitated. At the great Festivals, it was an established custom for the chief Feudal Lords to present their vassals with *livrées*, a custom which may still be traced in the *étrennes* of later days. The King notified his intention of celebrating Mass on Christmas morning before dawn; and each of the numerous Courtiers who thronged to this matin service, on his entrance to the Royal Chapel in the twilight, was invested with a cloak, which he gratefully received as an honourable token of his Master's favour. When the Sun rose on the wondering Congregation, every man perceived his neighbour to be decorated by a Cross, unconscious that a similar badge was embroidered on his own shoulder. This act of virtuous swindling had been arranged by the King himself; and so correctly had he estimated the temper of his times, that childish as the deception may appear to our present judgment, few, if any, were found bold enough to retract the involuntary pledge which had been thus unfairly extracted from them.

In order to secure the friendship of that Power from which he was most apprehensive of hostilities during his absence, Louis offered to extend the Truce which he had concluded with England into a permanent and definitive Peace; and the base upon which he was willing to negotiate, as Matthew Paris has stated it, appears by no means inequitable. He proposed to surrender the conquests made by Philippe Auguste in Aquitaine, provided Henry would cede all pretensions upon the Duchy of Normandy. The King of England was little able effectually to prosecute his claims upon either of those Provinces; and he would have acted with more sober policy if he had accepted the commutation, than he evinced by employing the high-sounding words which are attributed to him in reply; that he would not impede the Crusade by objecting to the prolongation of the Truce for any desired term, but that neither would he pacifically abandon any of his claims*.

* Matt. Paris (Ed. Watts), p. 692.

This answer, although not quite satisfactory, was sufficient to remove any immediate alarm ; but the bitterness with which Innocent IV. continued his quarrel with the Emperor created serious impediments to the progress of the Crusade. All the Ports in which the French armament might most conveniently winter belonged to Frederic, as King both of Jerusalem and of the Two Sicilies ; yet the Excommunication under which he laboured, prohibited Christian Knights from entering his harbours. No remission of the Ecclesiastical sentence was to be expected ; for the Pope, instead of listening to the mediation which Louis had offered, actively supported two claimants to the title of King of the Romans, in which the Emperor sought to confirm his son Conrad. On the death of one of these rivals, Henry, Landgrave of Thuringia, Innocent, after failing in numerous applications to Princes of greater influence, roused the ambition of William, the young Count of Holland, and by dint of bribery procured his election. Conrad, unable to make head against this Pretender, retired to his father in Italy ; and the Pope eagerly but vainly endeavoured to divert the zeal of the Crusaders from the rescue of Palestine, to the gratification of his own personal hatred.

But the menaces and the Indulgences with which he alternately sought to terrify and to allure were alike unsuccessful. The confederated Barons abided by their promise ; Louis with great efforts, and at vast expense, constructed the Port of Aigues-Mortes* for their embarkation ; and created a new Town on the pestifential shores of Languedoc, in order that he might obtain free access to the A. D. 1248. Mediterranean. He assumed the Pilgrim's scrip and staff ; received the Oriflamme at St. Denis, with the customary solemnities ; appointed his mother Blanche Regent during his absence ; and accompanied by his Queen and by his brothers, Robert of Artois and Charles of Anjou, embarked, with no great number of followers, on the 25th of August. It is said that his fleet did not amount to more than thirty-eight vessels of heavy burden, and a few lesser transports †.

* Aigues-Mortes is now a desolate town, half a league distant from the Port, which has become almost inaccessible from an accumulation of sand.

† A MS. cited by La Chaise, *Hist. de St. Louis*, lib. vi. c. 27. p. 356 ; but respecting which M. de Sismondi remarks that neither the date nor the authenticity are specified, vii. 387.

CHAPTER VI.

From A. D. 1248, to A. D. 1270.

Personal history of Joinville—The Crusaders arrive at Cyprus—Landing at Damietta—Occupation of that City—Long delay in it—Advance of the Army—Battle of Mansourah—Death of the Count d'Artois—Second Battle—Sickness and distress of the Crusaders—Their retreat—The King is taken prisoner—Negociation—Revolution in the Saracen Government—Great danger of the prisoners—Renewal of the Treaty—Release and embarkation of the King—Distress of Queen Margaret—The King disembarks at Acre; and resolves to continue in the Holy Land—Operations during his stay in Palestine—Internal state of France during the Regency of Blanche—Crusade of Shepherds—Death of Raymond of Toulouse—of Queen Blanche—Louis returns to France—His domestic administration—Dearth of contemporary authorities—Cession of Aquitaine to Henry III.—Death of the Heir-apparent, Louis—Edict suppressing private wars—Treaty with Aragon—Reforms—Pragmatic Sanction—Arbitration, between Henry III. and his Barons—Affairs of Italy—Charles of Anjou accepts the Crown of the Two Sicilies—Disasters of the East—Louis projects a new Crusade—Expedition to Tunis—Pestilence—Sickness and Death of Louis IX.

THE First Crusade of Louis IX. has been narrated by a Chronicler who possessed close personal access to the King, and who A. D. 1248. deserved the intimate confidence which he enjoyed; and even at the risk of being thought tedious, we shall therefore more frequently refer to his minute but correct and characteristic representations, than to the general, and therefore loose and less vivid statements of writers not so immediately connected with the scenes and actions which they relate.

John, Lord of Joinville, was the representative of an ancient and illustrious House in Champagne, of which Province he was also hereditary High-Seneschal. His wealth, however, appears by no means to have corresponded with the dignity of his birth and station; the larger part of his estate was appropriated to the payment of his mother's dower; and when he had resolved to accompany Louis IX. in his expedition, and to maintain at his own cost the moderate retinue of nine Knights, that portion of his lands which remained free from the mortgages by which he provided funds necessary for his outfit, furnished a rental of only 1200 livres*. It is probable that he was about twenty years of age when he assumed the Cross; and notwithstanding the enthusiasm by which he was animated, some tender feelings prevailed, as the moment

* On his arrival at Cyprus, Joinville had only 240 livres remaining in all; and several of his retinue would have abandoned him, if the King, hearing of his distress, had not made him an allowance "like a kind lord" of 800 livres tournois. We refer throughout to Johnes's translation of Joinville.

of departure drew near : so that when he passed his Castle of Joinville, he durst not raise his eyes, lest his courage should fail at the remembrance of a beloved abode, and of two children whom he was leaving, perhaps for ever. He embarked at Marseilles, in August ; and the Priests and Clerks, mounting the forecastle while the Mariners unfurled the sails, chanted "*Veni Creator*" lustily, till the canvass was filled by the winds.

The piety of the Chronicler, and the strong impressions of awe which a landsman necessarily feels when he is launched for the first time upon the great deep, are most naturally expressed. " I must say here, that he is a great fool who shall put himself in such danger, having wronged any one, or having any mortal sins on his conscience ; for when he goes to sleep in the evening, he knows not if in the morning he may not find himself under the sea." Three weeks were sufficient for the voyage to Cyprus ; in spite of a fearful delay off a " a great round mountain " on the coast of Barbary, which, like some Capes described in Romance, appeared to defy the progress of his vessel. During two nights and a whole day, the crew made all sail ; and when they imagined themselves to be full fifty leagues beyond the hated rock, " it was all the same, they still had the mountain near at hand." By the advice of the Dean of Mauru, " a very discreet Churchman," they made a procession round the masts of the ship. The day chanced to be Saturday, and the holy man assured his companions, from experience in his own Parish, that he never knew any natural evil, arising from want of rain, or other causes, which was not relieved by God and His Mother, provided they were solicited by processions, made thrice, with becoming devotion, on that day. Joinville at the moment was suffering so acutely from want of habituation to the sea, that he was obliged to be supported under the arms, in order to enable him to partake of the votive service ; but no sooner was it completed than they lost sight of the mountain, and proceeded without further difficulty to Cyprus.

Louis, who was in advance of his main armament, had collected plentiful stores in that Island ; and it was probably during his stay there that he resolved upon his final destination, by adopting a favourite political maxim of his times, that the Holy Land was to be conquered in Egypt. The wine-casks, bought two years before and left in the open fields, were piled up like great houses ; and the masses of grain, similarly heaped together, appeared as so many green mountains. The corn, indeed, in all the outer coating which was unprotected by thatch or roofing, had sprouted under the rains ; but when that crust was removed, all beneath was as fresh and fair as if it had just been threshed. In the course of the winter, Louis held much friendly communication with several Eastern Princes ; who are described by Joinville, under the titles of the Great Cham of Tartary, the King of Armenia, a vassal of the

Sultan of Connie, and the Sultan of Babylon, who imagined that the French were about to make war upon his enemy the Sultan of Hamault*. The zeal of Louis perceived in these overtures from Infidel Powers a golden opportunity for missionary efforts; and he despatched to the Cham of Tartary two Black Monks skilled in the Saracen language; who among the inducements to conversion which they were instructed to offer, were the bearers of a rich tent of fine scarlet cloth, embroidered on the inside with portraiture of the Annunciation and of other mysteries of the Christian Faith.

On Whitsun eve in the following year, eighteen hundred vessels quitted Cyprus for Egypt. It was a pleasant sight to be-
A. D. 1249² hold; for it seemed as if the whole sea, as far as eyes could reach, was covered with cloth, from the great quantity of sails that were spread to the wind. But at Lymesson, where the King landed in order to hear Mass, of full 2800 Knights who had embarked with him, only 700 were mustered. The rest had been dispersed in a gale, and, for a time, much apprehension was entertained regarding their safety. On the morrow, however, the diminished army proceeded to Damietta, where the Sultan of Egypt had gathered his whole force in order to prevent a landing. They were handsome men to look at, and with their horns and *nacaires*, or kettle drums, they made a noise frightful to hear, and which seemed very strange to the French. The Sultan † wore arms of burnished gold, of so fine a polish, that when the Sun shone on them he seemed like the Sun itself. Louis, however, was undismayed by this parade of war; and when urged to await the arrival of his missing force, he argued that delay would encourage the enemy, and that a second gale might still further lessen his own numbers.

Joinville was among the first who landed, on the morrow; and of all those whom he had brought with him from France, not one, either friend or servant, was by his side on this most perilous occasion. The Knights as they sprang to shore, formed a *pavisade* or barrier with their shields and stuck their spears in the sand with the points inclining outward. Against this *cheval-de-frise*, the charge of 6000 Saracen cavalry was un-
availing; and, after an idle demonstration, the horsemen wheeled round, and galloped back to their original position.

As soon as the Oriflamme was landed, Louis jumped from his vessel into the sea, which rose to his very shoulders, and with his shield round his neck, his helmet on his head, and his lance on his wrist, in spite of the remonstrance of the Legate, Odo, Bishop of Tusculum, he waded

* This was not the Great Cham himself, but one of his Tributaries named Ercatay or Erchalchai. Connie is Iconium or Coni. Cairo was called Babylon by the Crusaders. Hamault is properly Haman, one of the possessions of the Lord of Aleppo.

† This was not the Sultan Nedjm-addin himself, who was absent from the army with an ulcerated leg, which afterwards proved mortal. It was probably his General Fachr-addin, Commander of the Mamlouks.

forward till he had joined his Knights ; by whom he was not easily restrained from making a course alone against the Saracens. But so great a risk was now altogether unnecessary, if indeed any circumstances could ever have rendered it advisable. A report of the death of the Sultan* alarmed the inhabitants of the City ; and its garrison, astonished at the firmness of the Christians, who on foot had dared to await their onset, (a daring to which in their native wars they had never before witnessed a parallel,) evacuated Damietta, after setting fire to its warehouses. Much loss accrued to the conquerors by this burning ; but so hasty was the retreat of the Turks, that they neglected a most important military operation, and left their bridge of boats standing. " Let us ask ourselves," is the devout comment of Joinville upon this most unexpected success, " what grace did not God the Creator show us in preserving us from death and danger?" A few hundred infantry had put to flight a host of well-appointed horsemen ; June 7. and a strong and powerful City, which heretofore had defied all attacks but those slowly urged by famine†, had been abandoned without the advance of a single engine against its ramparts.

The seeds of discontent, however, were scattered among the Crusaders soon after this splendid success, by an injudicious disposition of the spoil. According to ancient custom, one-third had invariably been apportioned to the King, and the remainder distributed among the Pilgrims. Louis, on the contrary, reserved for the future supply of his army the entire stock of provisions taken from the enemy, and proclaimed that every other article should be delivered at the Legate's quarters on pain of Excommunication. Much of the plunder, no doubt, was surreptitiously appropriated to private use ; for the entire produce of its sale amounted to not more than 6000 livres. This sum was placed at the disposal of John de Valeri, " a good and discreet man," who refused the office, and strenuously objected to the innovation. Louis, nevertheless, persisted, sorely to the dissatisfaction of many ; and this evil feeling was increased both by the exactions made by the Royal officers from the sutlers and merchants who followed the camp, and by the disorderly and licentious conduct of an army revelling in plenty.

So badly at one time was the camp sentineled, that the Saracens frequently entered it by night, and bore away the heads of those whom they had massacred in their sleep, receiving from the Sultan a besant of gold for each of their mangled trophies. The King forebore to advance till he should receive intelligence of his brother of Poitiers, one among

* The Sultan really died some time afterwards, during the advance of the Crusaders. But Aboul Moucassin, from whom we derive the Arabic account of this expedition, mentions that an Emir named Nedjm-addin was killed during the landing of the French. The identity of the name probably occasioned the false report.

† During the Vth Crusade John of Brienne, King of Jerusalem, had starved Damietta into surrender, after blockading it fifteen months.

the Knights who had separated from him in the gale before mentioned*; and who did not re-appear till the expedient of the Saturday procession had been twice practised, on Joinville's assurance of its former success in his own instance. Happy was it for the Count that he did not attempt to rejoin the army on either of the first two days devoted to vows for his security; for on both of them, storms so hideous prevailed at Damietta, that twelve score vessels, great and small, were wrecked and sunk, with the loss of their crews.

On the arrival of the Count of Poitiers, after a delay of more than five months at Damietta (a want of prudence to which all the subsequent disasters may be attributed †), it was resolved that the army should move onward; but the object of march was still undetermined, and both Alexandria and Cairo were proposed as its destination. In behalf of the former were urged the advantages of its excellent harbour; but the advice of the Count of Artois prevailed, who vowed that he would never enter Alexandria till he had occupied Babylon, the main seat of the Egyptian Empire; adding that whoever wished to kill a snake must begin with the head. The first Canal which impeded
Nov. 20. their march, was crossed by a dam framed in a single day; and the chief danger then encountered arose from the treachery of a band of 500 Saracens, whom the Sultan had sent, under a pretext of assistance ‡. One of these traitors, watching his opportunity, felled a Knight in the vanguard from his horse; but they were attacked by the Templars, on the moment, so fiercely, that not a man among them escaped being slain or drowned.

It is unnecessary to pause upon Joinville's account of the Nile, and of its mysterious origin in the Terrestrial Paradise. The
Dec. 20. French marched upon that branch of it from which is derived the Canal of Aschmoum flowing towards the City of Tennis§;

* It seems doubtful whether Alfonse Count of Poitiers was separated during the gale, as Joinville asserts, or whether, according to the *Gesta Dei per Francos* (89. 98) he embarked from France with a large reinforcement several months after the departure of St. Louis.

‡ M. de Sismondi (vii. 405) has cited a dictum of Napoleon on this point, which must be deemed conclusive, both on account of the military skill of that great man, and his personal acquaintance with the Country of which he was speaking. "If on June 8, 1249, St. Louis had manœuvred as the French did in 1798, he would have arrived at Mansourah on the 12th. He would then have traversed the Canal of Aschmoum dryshod; for it is the season at which the waters of the Nile are lowest. He would have reduced Cairo on the 26th, and have conquered the whole of Lower Egypt within a month after his disembarkation. Montholon," *Notes et Mélanges de Napoléon*, i. 82."

‡ It is difficult to understand how this pretext could be believed by a General who had just beaten the troops of the Sultan, and was in full hostile march upon his Capital.

§ The River of Rexi, as Joinville calls it; but if Rexi be, as it probably is, Raschit or Rosetta, this is plainly a mistake; for the march of the French was not between the Rosetta and the Damietta branches of the Nile, but altogether without the Delta.

and they found the Emir Fachr-addin* encamped upon the opposite bank. *Beffrois* and *Chats-chasteils*†, and other military engines were here constructed, and an attempt, like that which had before succeeded, was made to throw a dam across the Canal. But the Saracens dug wide and deep pits on their side; the reflux of the stream into which carried away the fresh-piled earth, and ruined in one A. D. 1250. or two days the labour of three weeks or a month. Meantime, numerous skirmishes ensued, in which the Crusaders suffered piteously, from the effects of the formidable Greek fire‡, now classed among the *deperdita*. "No one can possibly save us from this peril, but God our benignant Creator," was the declaration of the brave Sir Walter de Curel, when a shower of this combustible was launched from a *perriere* near the *Chat-chasteil* which he was guarding in company with Joinville. "I therefore advise you all to cast yourselves upon your hands and knees, and to cry for mercy to our Lord, in whom alone resides all power." The King himself whenever he heard a discharge of this fire fell upon the ground, and, with extended arms and eyes turned to the heavens, cried with a loud voice, and shedding heavy tears, "Good Lord God, Jesus Christ, preserve me and all my people!" These sincere prayers, adds the Seneschal of Champagne, were of great service; and never, if we may judge from his description of the fire, were prayers more needed. "In appearance it was like a large tun, and its tail was of the length of a long spear; the noise which it made was like to thunder, and it seemed a great dragon of fire flying through the air, giving so great a light with its flame, that we saw in our camp as clearly as in broad day."

The *Chats-chasteils* while under the guard of the Count of Anjou were burned in the day-time by this fire; and Louis, anxious to relieve his brother from a disgrace which heavily oppressed him, constructed fresh engines at infinite cost, by transporting over land every boat which could be spared from the fleet. The timber thus employed was estimated to be worth 10,000 livres; and no sooner had the new machines been completed, than they were again similarly destroyed. Joinville assures us,

* Nedjm-addin died November 26, and the Emir Fachr-addin assumed command till the arrival of the late Sultan's son and successor, Touran Chah, who was absent in his Government of Damascus.

† The *Beffroi* was a lofty wooden tower, several stories in height, and movable on wheels. The word, after having been applied to signal-towers on frontier towns, has now become limited to the peaceable *Belfry* of Ecclesiastical architecture. The *Chat* was a covered gallery fastened to the walls for the protection of Sappers and Miners; when fortified with a tower it bore the name of *Chat-chasteil*. Very similar engines are described by Justus Lipsius in his *Poliorecticum*, as in use among the Romans.

‡ Ducange has written lengthily upon the Greek fire, both in his *Notes* on Joinville and on Villehardouin. It was named either from its inventor Callinicus, a Syrian Greek, or because the knowledge and use of it was peculiar to the Greeks. It resisted extinction by water, and was either blown by the mouth through metallic tubes, or far more forcibly discharged from various engines, as the *perriere*, the machine with which stones (*pierres*) were commonly thrown.

that, on each occasion, he and his Knights returned thanks to God ; for that, if the attack had been made during the guard which devolved upon them by night, instead of that of the Count of Anjou by day, every one of them must inevitably have been burned.

Great perplexity arose when it became evident that no passage of the Canal could be effected by a causeway ; till an Arab offered, for 500 besants, to show a ford which might be crossed by Shrove Tuesday, cavalry. The guide was true to his promise ; and as the Feb. 8. divisions which had been sent forward to explore established themselves upon the opposite bank, the Saracens, who at first seemed inclined to offer resistance, turned their horses, and fled at full speed. The van of the Crusaders had been confided to the Templars ; but the Count d'Artois, unable to restrain his ardour, insulted them as tardy, and dashing forward in pursuit, galloped onward through the town of Mansourah. On his return, the narrow streets were filled with Turkish archers ; and the Count himself, 300 of his Knights, and nearly as many Templars, perished under the cloud of arrows with which they were assailed. The King, hearing of his brother's danger, but not of his death, hastened to his relief ; " and I assure you," says Joinville, " I never saw so handsome a man under arms. He was taller than any of his troop by the shoulders, and his helmet, which was gilded, was handsomely placed on his head, and he bore a German sword in his hand." The conflict, soon becoming general, was fought man to man, with sabres, battle-axes, and butts of spears, and Louis bore himself most gallantly. Wherever the press was thickest and his men were in greatest jeopardy, thither rode the Prince ; and, at one time, by his single arm he disengaged himself from the grasp of six Turks, who had seized the bridle of his horse, and were leading him away as their prisoner. Joinville was wounded in five places, his second horse (he had been felled senseless from his first) in fifteen. Yet the retreat of the enemy, and the consequent preservation of the French, appear to have been altogether due to the Seneschal's persevering defence of a bridge towards the close of this hard-fought action.

The French asserted victory because they retained possession of the Field ; but their loss had been most severe, and the withdrawal of the Saracens appears to have been the result of their ordinary tactics, rather than of any want of success, notwithstanding Fachr-addin was amongst the killed. The attack, indeed, was renewed by them before the following daybreak, when Joinville was roused from a brief slumber to defend his engines. The Mamlouk who succeeded Fachr-addin in command either really believed, or else thought it politic to represent, that the fallen Count of Artois was the King of the French ; and having displayed in his camp the richly embroidered coat-armour found upon the body of the deceased Prince, he notified his intention of following up, at the expiration of three days, an army which must be dispirited by the

loss of its Commander. The Battle which ensued was yet more murderous than the engagement which we have just described. The division of the Count of Anjou was defeated, and he himself, who fought on foot, was "very uncomfortably situated." His deliverance was effected by the personal valour of the King, who "galloped into the midst of the Battle, lance in hand, to where his brother was, and gave most deadly blows to the Turks, hastening always to where he saw the greatest crowd. He suffered many hard blows, and his horse was covered with Greek fire." Another Battalion, led by the Master of the Templars, "fared but badly." That brave soldier, who had lost one eye in the former action, was slain in this second after losing the other also. "It is certain that in the rear of the Templars there was about an acre of ground so covered with bolts, darts, arrows, and other weapons, that you could not see the earth beneath them." Joinville and his Knights, still smarting with their wounds, were unable to wear armour; and he most ingenuously confesses his thankfulness to God that the strength of his position saved him from attack. The Count of Poitiers was at one time taken prisoner, and was rescued only by a tumultuous but successful charge of the camp-followers of both sexes. These details are unfavourable to the Crusaders; but as the Saracens again drew off, Louis once more employed the language of success. His tone, however, was manifestly lowered; he no longer boasted of dislodging his enemies from their quarters, but was content to express gratitude for having retained possession of his own. "This Friday, which is now passed, we have defended ourselves against the Saracens, very many of us being without arms, while they were completely armed, on horseback, and on their own ground."

But an enemy, far more formidable than the Saracen sword, was yet to be encountered. Before a fortnight had elapsed after these "marvellously sharp and severe Battles," the current of the Nile was choked by the corpses of the slain, which then began to float. During eight days, 100 men were employed in separating the bodies of the Christians from those of the Infidels, in order that the former might receive burial; and the miasma thus occasioned was insufferable. The chief sustenance of the army during the season of Lent, which had recently commenced, was a loathsome supply, the eel-pouts of the river, "which is a gluttonous fish, and feeds upon dead bodies." The scurvy also, generated by drought and by this unwholesome food, spread its contagious ravages widely; so that many were too greatly affected in the gums to retain any power of eating; and in the rude operations of military surgery as then practised, their agonies no doubt were greatly enhanced by attempts at their relief. The groans of the sufferers, as Joinville expresses himself with simplicity, but with force not to be exceeded, "seemed like to the cries of women in labour. The flesh on our legs also was dried up

to the bone, and our skins became tanned as black as the ground, or like an old boot that has lain long behind a coffer."

These miseries were increased by the interception of supplies. The Turks, by dragging galleys over land and by launching them again below the army, had excluded all communication with Damietta. Yet so ill were the Crusaders provided with intelligence, that they did not know the cause of this interruption by which their astonishment had been excited, till the Captain of a vessel which, more fortunate than her mates, had forced a passage, informed them that four score galleys with their entire crews had already been captured in similar attempts. It was now obvious that speedy retreat alone could preserve the shattered remnant of the army. Some overtures, indeed, were made towards negotiation with an Emir of the new Sultan Touran Chah; but the pride of the French justly revolted at the preliminary condition demanded by the Turks, that Louis should be delivered to them as a hostage. "Rather let all of us perish," was the indignant answer of that good Knight Sir Geoffrey de Sergenes, "than that it should be said of us that we have pawned our King!"

On the evening on which the retreat began, Joinville with two of his Knights, all that remained to him of his original company, April 5. threw himself into his vessel, and as night fell, by the glare of the fires which the King had ordered to be kindled to cherish the unfortunate sick, he saw the Saracens enter the camp, and murder those poor sufferers who were lying on the bank of the Nile waiting for embarkation. In the haste in which the crews of some larger galleys cut their cables in order to escape this massacre, Joinville's light craft was nearly run down and sunk; and he was afterwards shot at with cross-bows by the Royal sentinels, because he had sailed before the issue of orders. At sunrise, he found himself approaching the Sultan's galleys which blockaded the passage to Damietta; on one bank was a body of French horse in rapid flight, on the other were the Saracens plundering a vast number of captured vessels, and putting their prisoners to the sword. In this choice of dangers, the Seneschal preferred surrender to the galleys; and even then his escape with life was owing to the unexplained friendliness of a Saracen, who represented him to his ferocious comrades as a person of mark, a cousin of the King*.

Louis, for his own part, although grievously afflicted with dysentery, still continued to march with the main body of his army. His sole immediate attendant when he arrived at the village of Kiarée (named

* The devout spirit of Joinville rarely embarrasses itself with secondary causes. It is enough for him to believe that "God sent this Saracen to his aid." The only clue furnished to the Infidel's conduct (and it is one which we are unable to unravel) is that he was a servant of the Emperor.

Casel by Joinville) was the gallant Knight whom we have just mentioned, Sir Geoffrey de Sergenes, who kept off the Turks "with vigorous strokes of the blade and point of his sword, and defended him in like manner as a faithful servant does the cup of his master from flies." So exhausted, however, was the King on entering Kiarée, that it was with difficulty he could dismount; and Sir Geoffrey, having led him into a house, "placed him in the lap of a woman who had come from Paris, thinking that every moment must be his last, for he had no hopes that he could ever pass that day without dying." It happened that Sir Philip de Montfort recognised, in the same village, the Emir with whom he had formerly held parley; and having obtained the King's permission, he renewed proposals for a Truce. The Emir consented, and delivered his ring as a pledge of fidelity; when an unexpected accident abruptly terminated the negociation. A knave or a coward among the French (Joinville stigmatizes him as the former, "a villainous traitor of an apostate Sergeant named Marcel") loudly proclaimed that the King commanded his Knights to surrender as the only means of saving either his life or their own. The Knights were greatly surprised, but delivered up their arms in obedience to these false orders; and the Emir, turning to De Montfort, remarked that Truce was no longer necessary with those who were already prisoners.

Joinville had suffered lamentably since his capture. His Chaplain and his Chaplain's Clerk had been murdered, and thrown into the river under his eyes; and scarcely an hour had passed without some hideous image of death being presented to him. After five days of this acute misery, the Infidels conveyed him to the spot in which the King and his Knights were prisoners. The chief Nobles, among whom Joinville was admitted, were confined in a large pavilion. Others of inferior condition were assembled in a huge area surrounded by mud-walls, whence they were led out one by one, and as they accepted or rejected the renunciation of Faith proposed by their guards, they were put aside or immediately beheaded.

The Terms offered to the Barons for their deliverance were the abandonment of either some of the fortresses in the Holy Land belonging to the Emperor of Germany, or some of those in possession of the Templars and Hospitallers. Both proposals were unhesitatingly declined, the first as not being within their power, the second as involving perjury; for the Companions of those Orders had solemnly sworn upon admission that they would never surrender their Castles for the deliverance of any man whatever. The Saracens remarked that since their prisoners were unwilling to regain liberty on reasonable conditions, they would send those to them who were well acquainted with the use of the sword; and that they might expect treatment similar to that which their comrades had already received. While however the captives were awaiting the appearance of their executioners, in completion of this menace, they

were surprised by the glad intelligence that the King had succeeded in obtaining their freedom.

Louis, undismayed by fearful threats of torture*, had refused compliance with the demands of the Saracen Council, in like manner and on the same grounds with his Barons. "I am your prisoner," was his reply, "do with me what you please." At length he engaged to pay 10,000 golden besants, that is 500,000 livres† for the ransom of his army, and further, to surrender Damietta for the purchase of his own liberty, since he was of a rank in which bodily ransom could not be estimated by the value of money. The Sultan, struck by the liberality with which his offer was at once accepted, without any bargaining, remitted a fifth of the payment. But scarcely had this Treaty been
May 1. arranged, than by one of those sudden Revolutions so com-

mon in semi-barbarous Governments, the French were again exposed to the hazard of massacre. The Mamlouks, discontented with their Sultan, conspired for his assassination; and one of the murderers having torn the heart from the yet palpitating body of the slaughtered Prince, thrust it with his gory hands before the King of France, asking at the same time what reward he deserved for having slain an enemy who, if he had lived longer, would have put his prisoner to death‡?

When thirty others reeking from the scene of blood, with their swords drawn and their battle-axes on their necks, entered the gully from which Joinville and his companions were not yet released, the Seneschal believed that his last moment was at hand; and he describes his anticipations of the fate which he thought impending, so ingenuously and with so entire a freedom from disguise, that not a doubt can exist of the veracity of his general narrative. He saw his friends around him confessing themselves to a Monk; "but with regard to myself," he continues, "I no longer thought of any sin or evil which I had done, but only that I

* The King was threatened with the Bernicles, a torture upon which Ducange has written a Dissertation (xix.), which he thinks was probably identical with the *Cippus* of the Latins, and which is thus fearfully described by Joinville. "It is the greatest torture they can inflict on any one. The Bernicles are formed of two thick blocks of wood, fastened together at the top; and when they use this mode of torture, they lay a person on his side (*sur la costé*, a reading which Ducange with great probability believes to be wrong, and for which, on the authority of a parallel passage, he substitutes *sur une coüte*, on a bed) between these two blocks, passing his legs through broad pins. They then fix the upper block on the sufferer, and make a man sit on it, by which means all the small bones of his legs are broken or dislocated. To increase the torture, at the end of three days, they replace his legs, which are now greatly swollen, in the Bernicles, and break them again, which is the most cruel thing ever heard; and they tie his head down with bullock's sinews for fear he should move himself when in them." p. 172.

† Ducange, *Dissertation* xx.

‡ Louis was informed, that the Emirs, after this Revolution, were very desirous to elect him Sultan of Babylon. "He one day asked me," says Joinville, "if I were of opinion that if the Kingdom of Babylon had been offered him he ought to have taken it? I answered, that if he had, he would have done a foolish thing, seeing they had murdered their Lord. Notwithstanding this, the King told me he should scarcely have refused."

was about to receive my death. In consequence, I fell on my knees at the foot of one of the Saracens, and making the sign of the Cross, said 'Thus died St. Agnes.' Sir Guy d'Ebelin, Constable of Cyprus, knelt beside me, and confessed himself to me; and I gave him such absolution as God was pleased to grant me the power of bestowing; but of all the things which he had said to me, when I rose up, I could not remember one of them." Joinville was well prepared to die for his Faith, and his bravery and his piety had been often tried and were undisputed; but he was both too pious and too brave to feel any humiliation in acknowledging that he was affected by natural terror at the immediate prospect of a sudden and violent death. The avarice of the unbelievers, however, prevailed over their blood-thirstiness. The Barons were confined in the hold of their galley, and laid "head and heels together*." They passed a night of feverish alarm, for they reasonably believed that the Saracens, afraid of attacking them in a body, had disposed them in this fashion in order that they might put them to death singly. In the morning, however, they were informed, that the Convention was renewed, and that the King had sworn to pay the first moiety of their ransom before he quitted the Nile, the second on his arrival at Acre. Some difficulty had arisen, even at this critical moment, respecting the wording of the oath†; that which was at first proposed had been drawn up by a Renegade, to the following purport: that if the King violated it, "he should be reputed as much dishonoured as a Christian who had denied his God and his Faith; and who, in despite of God, had spate upon the Cross, and trampled it under foot." These expressions were firmly rejected by Louis as blasphemous; and he persisted in refusal not only when assured that non-compliance would occasion the inevitable death of both himself and all his people, but even after the aged Patriarch of Jerusalem, upon whose suggestion he was falsely supposed to act, was tied to a stake in his presence, as if for immediate execution. So violent was the usage of that Prelate, who had passed his eightieth year, that the blood spouted from his swollen hands compressed behind his back. In his agonies he cried out, "Ah, Sire, Sire, swear boldly, for I take the whole sin of it upon my own soul; since it is by this means alone that you may have the power to fulfil your promises." "I know not," says Joinville in continuation, "whether the oath was taken at last; but, however that may be, the Emirs at length held themselves satisfied with the oaths of the King and of his Lords then present."

On the surrender of Damietta, much disorder occurred; the Saracens

* Joinville tells us, "I had my feet right in the face of the Count Peter of Brittany, whose feet in return were beside my face." The Count died on the voyage homeward.

† The oath taken by the Emirs ran in the following form; that in case they should fail in their Convention with the King, they would own themselves dishonoured like those who, for their sins, went on a Pilgrimage to Mecca bareheaded; like those who, having divorced their wives, took them back again; or like those Believers who should eat Pork.

drank to intoxication of the wines which they found in the City; destroyed and burned for three days the military engines which they were bound to restore unharmed, and the salted meats which it was unlawful for them to consume as food; and killed all the sick and wounded whom they had undertaken to nurse and to protect. Even the massacre of the King and of the other prisoners was debated in their Council, as a measure which would ensure repose for forty years to come; and so doubtful was it whether this atrocious proposition would not be adopted in the end, that the galleys in which the Barons were confined were moved back a full league up the River. Fear, Mercy, the love of money, or a horror of crime, decided in favour of the Christians; and, about sunset, they were finally landed. Twenty thousand Saracens, on foot and girt with swords, surrounded the King, when he entered the Genoese galley destined for his reception, in company with the Count of Anjou, Sir Geoffrey de Sargenes, Joinville, and three other Noblemen; the Count of Poitiers remaining as hostage till the first instalment of the ransom should be completely paid. The money was to be weighed, and each weighing amounted to 10,000 livres. The Infidels miscounted one scale, and the Christian by-standers wished to profit by their inadvertence: the King, however, indignantly refused connivance with this pitiful fraud, and insisted that the whole sum for which he had agreed should be disbursed to the uttermost farthing.

Not until the payment had been fully and faithfully discharged could Louis be persuaded to make sail from the Port; and his company then advanced a league at sea, reflecting in melancholy silence upon the danger which still encompassed the Count of Poitiers. The approach of his galley was at length announced, and the King, loudly expressing his delight, commanded his own ship to be lighted up, in order that he might satisfy himself that the intelligence was true, by viewing his brother with his own eyes*.

During these events, the Queen, Margaret, had endured her own peculiar sorrows; and the hazards of war and of captivity by no means exceeded the bitterness of heart which she must have undergone. The news of her husband's great disaster arrived only three days before she gave birth to a child; and so troubled was her spirit, that "she seemed continually to see her chamber filled with Saracens, and she incessantly kept crying out 'Help, help,' when there was not a soul near her." An aged Knight, fourscore years old, or perhaps more, was appointed to watch at the foot of her bed without sleeping, and every time she screamed, he held her hands, and said, "Madam, do not be thus alarmed; I am with you, quit your fears." Before the good Lady was brought to

* Ducange has a Note to show that it was customary to light the Binnacle in order to assist the steersman. Mr. Johnes understands the words "*alume! alume!*" as a testimony of rejoicing. But surely Joinville himself explains his meaning as we have given it above. *Il faisoit nuit close, et il vouloit qu'on s'eclairât pour n'en croire que ses yeux.*

bed, she ordered every person to leave her chamber except this ancient Knight; when she cast herself out of bed on her knees before him, and requested that he would grant her a boon. The Knight with an oath promised compliance. The Queen then said, "Sir Knight, I request on the oath you have sworn, that should the Saracens storm this town and take it, you will cut off my head before they seize my person." The Knight replied that he would cheerfully so do, and that he had before thought of it in case such an event should happen. Shortly afterwards, she was delivered of a Prince, who was named John *Tristan*, in allusion to the dolorous circumstances under which he was born; and before her perfect recovery and the arrival of her husband, she was compelled to rise and set out for Acre, in consequence of the surrender of Damietta. During her residence in that City, she expended 360,000 livres in buying provisions for the poorer commonalty, chiefly Pisans and Genoese, who were nearly exhausted by famine.

Out of the 2800 Knights who had embarked with Louis from Cyprus not 100 remained on his landing at Acre; nevertheless, he was received with marks of joy and distinction, for although almost every thing else had been lost, his Honour was unstained. The miseries of the late campaign produced an epidemical disease among the survivors; and Joinville, who was attacked by it, and who had not a single attendant to comfort him while upon his bed of sickness, counted twenty funerals daily as they passed his window. Nevertheless, when the King proposed the question of return to France for debate in Council, the Seneschal of Champagne, although the youngest member and only fourteenth in rank, had the courage to oppose the great majority of voices, and strenuously to express his opinion, that to stay was more consistent with Honour. Louis privately expressed approbation of this bold advice, and bestowed an increase of confidence on its giver. He then licensed the retirement of his brothers, but declared his own resolution not to quit the Holy Land.

The scantiness of the force which remained to him, and the difficulty of obtaining recruits, forbade any extensive military operations; and the four years of his abode in Palestine were chiefly devoted to Treaties with the native Powers, and to the completion or the erection of fortresses. Vast sums were thus expended at Cæsarea, at Jaffa, at Sidon, and at Acre. At one time, he was offered a safe-conduct to Jerusalem by the Sultan of Damascus, and he was most eager to profit by the opportunity. His Barons, however, protested against reliance upon the dubious fidelity of the Saracens, and they added an argument which, perhaps, proved far more weighty with Louis than any consideration of personal safety; that if He, the greatest Monarch in Christendom, should undertake a Pilgrimage to Jerusalem without delivering it from the enemies of God, every other Prince who might wish to make a similar Pilgrimage would

think that he had done amply enough if he achieved as much as had been effected by the King of France.

Little interest attaches to the internal History of France during these great events which affected her King in his Eastern expedition. The Regency of Blanche was, for the most part, tranquil; and the single popular movement by which it was disturbed was the result, A. D. 1251. not of discontent, but, probably, in some degree, of an effervescence of loyalty. Matthew Paris, indeed, from whom we derive the fullest account of the transaction, affirms that the Renegade Hungarian who first suggested the *Crusade of Shepherds*, did so in consequence of having promised the Sultan of Babylon, in whose service he was engaged, that he would give him an opportunity of capturing a vast multitude of Christians; so that France, being denuded of her population while her King also was prisoner, might easily be accessible by invasion. But Matthew Paris is a writer in whose pages we are far more likely to find a correct narrative of facts, than a judicious estimate of their causes. It is more reasonable to suppose that the excitement of the agricultural classes, which we are about to relate, was generated either by the deserved popularity of Louis himself, or by a remnant of that Fanaticism which but a few years before had assembled an army of Children for the rescue of Palestine*.

The doctrine of the itinerant Preacher who aroused another Crusade, taught that the pride of Chivalry was offensive to God, who reserved the deliverance of the Holy Land for the Shepherd and the Herdsman. The Virgin Mary, he said, had announced this message from Heaven; and he grasped in one of his hands, which he never opened, a written mandate to that effect, delivered to him by the Mother of God. Blanche, at first, either deceived by these bold pretensions, or believing that they might obtain a powerful aid for her captive sons, extended her favour to the Enthusiasts. Their numbers soon exceeded 100,000 men, and they were gathered under a standard blazoned with a lamb bearing a pennon; the former being emblematical of innocence and humility, the latter a symbol of victory.

* Thieves, outlaws, runaways, and the excommunicated, all whom the French denote by that convenient and comprehensive term *Ribaldes*†, flocked to this banner, under which 500 similar ensigns were speedily unfurled. The huge throngs which followed them were rudely and diversely armed; they contracted uncanonical marriages; they deviated from received Articles of Faith; and they encouraged the abomination of Lay-Preaching. We cannot but think that the Monk of St. Alban's is, in some degree, indulging his own private antipathies, while he relates the invectives which, it is said, the *Pastoureaux* directed against

* Allusion is made to the latter of these two causes by Matthew Paris himself. p. 822.

† Id. p. 823.

the Regular Clergy. The Preaching Friars and Minorites were stigmatised by them as vagabonds and hypocrites; the Cistercians were most avaricious lovers of flocks and fields; the Canons were semi-secular and gluttonous; the Bishops and their Officials were coveters of filthy lucre and wallowers in luxury. Of Rome itself scandals were asserted which it would be unseemly to repeat; and the common People listened to all these babblings, involving the Church in evil repute and contumely, with a most dangerous approbation.

Sorely against the will of the Clergy and Bishops, but supported by the especial countenance of the Burgesses, these Fanatics entered Orleans on the Festival of Saint Barnabas, with a great display of pomp and of numerical strength. The Bishop issued his Anathema against any Scholar of the University who should attend the Preachings, "the Devil's mouse-catchings*," as he named them, which were about to be celebrated; but a student, misled first by curiosity and afterwards by zeal, not only was present at the forbidden assembly, but imprudently denounced the Orator who held forth in it as an Enemy of Truth, a Hypocrite, a Heretic, and a Reprobate. In the tumult which ensued, the rash youth forfeited his life on the spot; the Library of the University was plundered; its choicest treasures were tossed to the flames; and about five-and-twenty Priests, exclusively of a great number grievously hurt and maltreated, were barbarously massacred. The *Pastoureaux*, dreading a reaction, immediately withdrew; the Bishop interdicted the City; Blanche confessed that she had been deceived; and orders were issued for the suppression of the Insurgents. As soon as troops were put in motion, the Fanatics split into two bodies, which were severally attacked and dispersed. The Hungarian, having failed in the performance of certain miracles which he had invited the rabble of Bourges† to witness, was killed by one of the disappointed spectators. Another leader, who succeeded him, was thrown overboard in an attempt to escape by sea to the land of the Heathen, from which he had originally come; and a third having landed at Sorham (Shoreham) in England, collected about 500 followers, and was soon afterwards torn in pieces in consequence of the offence which he gave in a sermon. Matthew Paris informs us that he derived the particulars of his narrative, which we have closely followed, from the lips of a Norman Monk, who, having been seized by the *Pastoureaux*, did not escape from them till he had suffered a cruel beating, and who related their enormities to Henry III. at Winchester.

The Count of Poitiers, whose return, as we have before noticed, had been licensed by the King, arrived in the South of France most oppor-

* *Diaboli muscipulationes.*

† M. de Sismondi assigns the Capital as the scene of the Hungarian's death. vii. p. 479. But Matthew Paris, when relating the massacre of his successor, calls him *socium supradicti Hungari quem Biturienses peremerunt.* p. 824.

tunely to enter upon the heritage which had devolved to his wife about a year before, by the death of her father, Raymond of A. D. 1249. Toulouse. The latter years of that inconstant Prince Sept. —. afforded a strong contrast to the earlier portion of his reign; and we learn with surprise that he, who in his youth had suffered so greatly for the sake of tolerance, in middle life became a bigoted Persecutor. He fostered the Inquisition, and commanded and witnessed the burning of eighty Heretics at once near his Palace at Agen.

It is probable that Louis had already meditated a return to Europe (and indeed the sagacity of Joinville had detected this A. D. 1254. intention*) before it was confirmed by intelligence of the Feb. —. death of his mother, Blanche†. The news greatly affected him, and having concluded his preparations, he put to sea April 25. with a squadron of fourteen ships on the Vigil of Saint Mark. His voyage was not unattended with danger; and on one occasion, when his vessel struck upon a sand-bank off Cyprus, he exhibited not only the courage and devotion of which he had before given many examples, but virtues much less commonly found in his exalted station, a forgetfulness of self and an amiable regard for the convenience of others. The divers sent down to examine the ship's bottom reported that she had lost eighteen feet of her keel, and both the mariners and the Royal Council pronouncing her to be no longer seaworthy in case of a gale, most earnestly solicited Louis to hasten his removal. "Now," said the King, "I will tell you what I think of the matter. Suppose I quit this ship, there are five or six hundred persons on board who will remain in the Island of Cyprus, for fear of the danger that may happen to them should they stay on board; and, if we land, they will lose all hopes of returning to their own Country. I therefore declare that I will rather put myself, the Queen, and my children in this danger, under the good providence of God, than make such numbers of people suffer as are now with me."

* When Joinville had undertaken a Pilgrimage to Tortosa, the King charged him to bring "a hundred weight of different-coloured camlets, which he was desirous to give to the Cordeliers on his return to France. From this, I guessed that it would not be long before he set out on his return thither."

These camlets produced an amusing adventure. "You must know that the Queen had heard that I had been on a Pilgrimage, and had brought back some Relics. I sent her, by one of my Knights, four pieces of the camlets which I had purchased; and when my Knight entered her apartment, she cast herself upon her knees before the camlets that were wrapped up in a towel. And the Knight, seeing the Queen do this, flung himself on his knees also. The Queen observing him, said, 'Rise, Sir Knight, it does not become you to kneel who are the bearer of such holy Relics.' My Knight replied, that it was not Relics, but camlets, that he had brought as a present from me. When the Queen and her ladies heard this, they burst into laughter; and the Queen said, 'Sir Knight, the Devil take your Lord for having made me kneel to a parcel of camlets.'" p. 220.

† On December 1, 1252 or 1253; the year is given variously; but the latter, which is supported by the authority of Gul. de Nangis, appears most agreeable to Joinville's narrative.

This generous self-abandonment was rewarded with safety, notwithstanding a violent storm, during which the ship could not be moored till five anchors had been let go from her bows. At the end of ten weeks, the Royal company landed at Hieres, a town July 10. belonging to the Count of Provence. Louis, indeed, wished to proceed to Aigues-Mortes, within his own territory; but he yielded to representations that he had already encountered sufficient perils at sea, and that a tedious delay might result from persistence in his intention. Slowly and deliberately, he advanced to his Sept. 7. Capital, which he re-entered with becoming pomp, but in no wise reflecting from his own demeanour the testimonies of joy profusely exhibited by the affection of his People. The disasters in the East pressed heavily upon his remembrance, and Melancholy for a while overwhelmed him amid the festivities of his Court.

The attention of Louis IX., after his return from Palestine, was chiefly engrossed by pacific negotiations abroad, and by legislative enactments at home; substantial matters which greatly advanced the internal prosperity of his Country, but which the Chroniclers, prompt to record Battles and Tournaments, were unable to appreciate, and which they have therefore treated with disproportionate rapidity. The pen of Joinville seems to lose its interest at the same moment at which his sword is sheathed; and the labours of Matthew Paris, who, professedly writing English Annals only, has collected a General History of his Times, were arrested by death about the middle of the year 1259. We are deprived therefore of our best guides, and those which are left to us afford but very scanty intelligence.

The tenderness of conscience evinced by Louis has sometimes been characterized as morbid;* and, if his policy is to be estimated solely by the rules which have generally governed Civil or international intercourse, there is not a little in it which will occasion surprise. But, although we may smile at the erroneous judgment of right and wrong which induced him to think he should serve God better by adopting the tonsure than by continuing to wear the Crown—an opinion which yielded only to the silent grief of his Queen, and to the more loud and vehement remonstrances of his brother of Anjou and of Louis his Heir-apparent*—although we may lament the mistaken piety which urged him to establish the Inquisition in Paris, and to deprive France of the beneficial circulation furnished by the Lombard Bankers, who, while thus rendering a dead capital fruitful, were exiled and persecuted as usurers†—we are far more inclined* to approve than to condemn, even if

* The scene is fully described by Richerius (*Chron. Senonense*, ap. D'Achery, ii. p. 645). The King is said to have been provoked so far as to have struck his son.

† Some merchants of Asti had traded in France as Bankers for thirty years, when they were arrested by a Royal Ordinance, dated September 1, 1256, and delivered to the Count of Savoy, who was at war with that City. Their capital was 800,000 *livres*; they were 150 in number; and they underwent a most tedious and

regarded as mere worldly diplomacy, the measures which he adopted towards both England and Aragon.

The right of conquest, if considered as a moral right, is doubtless of all others the most untenable: it is, indeed, an abuse of Language to connect the word *Right* with an acquisition torn by violence from a former owner. Somewhat, however, is due to prescription; and the stability of Society demands that a term should be fixed beyond which a claim, even if originally unjust, may be confirmed by possession. Whether that term had passed since Philippe Auguste had wrested his continental dominions from John of England may perhaps be a nice question; but Henry III. was incessant in his reclamation of the Provinces which his father had lost, and Louis felt oppressed rather than elevated by the successes of his grandfather.

Even during the year after his return from the Crusade, Louis had not obscurely expressed his wishes relative to Normandy
A. D. 1255. and Aquitaine, while present at a magnificent Banquet given by his brother of England, at that time visiting Paris under a safe-conduct*. For a season, however, the opposition of the French Barons prevailed; and the King of France was compelled to remain content with an extension of the Truce, which was

A. D. 1259. on the eve of expiring. But a definitive Treaty† was concluded between three and four years afterwards, in which, May 20. if Louis did not completely heal his wounds of conscience, he at least laid much unction to them, by generously according to Henry a restitution which the hourly increasing disaffection of his Nobles rendered him utterly hopeless of attaining by force of arms. The King of England renounced all claim upon Normandy, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, and Poitou, and agreed to pay homage as a Peer of France and Aquitaine, for Perigord, Limousin, Agenois, and parts of Quercy
Dec. 4. and Saintonge. The homage was accordingly performed ‡, but before Henry could quit the dominions of France, whither he had repaired for the purpose, a heavy calamity, not to be compensated by any accession of honour, had befallen her King.

* His eldest son, Louis, a youth of great promise, in his sixteenth year, was seized with a disorder which speedily proved mortal.
Dec. 25. Henry, without delay, returned to Paris, and offered such consolation as the bitterness of the loss permitted, expressing a wish to be one of the bearers of the deceased Prince's coffin in his Funeral procession.

Of this Peace with England, Joinville has recorded the King's own cruel imprisonment. *Chron. Astense, ap. Muratori, xi. p. 142.* In January, 1268, another Ordinance banished from France all the Lombards and Cahorsians, or inhabitants of Cahors in Gascony, who trafficked as Bankers and who should refuse to discontinue their profession. *Ordonn. de France, i. p. 85.*

* Matthew Paris has described this Banquet very fully, p. 899.

† *Fœdera, i. p. 383.*

‡ *Gul. de Nangis, 245.*

sentiments, with which, as we have expressed ourselves above, we in great measure concur. The Council, it seems, earnestly opposed the measure, and said to him, "Sire, we marvel greatly how you can consent to the King of England keeping so large a tract of your territories, which your predecessors have conquered from him for ill conduct, and which it seems you have not duly considered, nor will he be any way grateful for it." To this the King answered, that he was well aware the King of England and his predecessors had most justly forfeited the lands they held, and that he never meant to restore any thing but what he was in justice bounden to do. But he should make this restoration in order to confirm and strengthen that union which ought to exist between them and their children, who were cousins-german. The King added, "And by thus acting, I think I shall do a very good work, for in the first place I shall establish a Peace, and shall then make him my vassal, which he is not yet, as he has never paid me homage*."

Not even our own first James entertained higher respect for the Scriptural maxim of the blessedness of Peacemakers (*Beati Pacifici*) than did Louis IX. in his commerce with the other Princes of Christendom. In two Private Wars he acted as Mediator, until he suppressed them by positive Edict†. In a spirit similar to that which actuated him in his Treaty with England, he surrendered to James of Aragon the imaginary right over Catalonia with which it was supposed that the victories of Charlemagne had invested his successors; and he received in return a cession of the numerous and very complicated infeudations which the Spanish Prince asserted in the South of France. The renunciations on each side were more of pretension than of reality; but probably, on that very account, the conquest over pride necessary for their completion became the more difficult; and the reluctance to surrender the disputed privilege was, perhaps, increased in the same proportion in which that privilege was indebted to Fancy A. D. 1262. for its nominal value. This alliance was afterwards more May — closely cemented by a marriage between Isabella, a daughter of James, and Philip, that son of Louis who was destined to be his successor.

The chief reforms to which Louis addressed himself, exclusively of the extinction of Private Wars which we have already noticed, tended to the abolition of Judicial combats; a regulation of the Ecclesiastical Code; and an adjustment of the Coinage. The suppression of the Wager of Battle was by no means an easy task; for its existence had been strongly interwoven with the habits and prejudices of the French Nobility. But Louis was forcibly impressed with the absurdity which demanded a new miracle from God in every fresh instance of appeal; and he ultimately succeeded in giving the written Law that authority which had hitherto

* Joinville, 233.

† January, 1257. *Ordonn. de France*, i. 84.

been usurped over it by the sword. In his second attempt, after a long struggle, he obtained a partial reduction of the odious immunities asserted by the Clergy; and the Pope consented that, *for flagrant and enormous crimes, in which guilt was evident*, Priests, after degradation from their Orders, might become amenable to the same Tribunals before which Laymen would be cited for similar offences. To an Ordinance published in March 1268, and known in History as the *Pragmatic Sanction**, is usually referred the foundation of the Liberties of the Gallican Church. It guaranteed the freedom of Ecclesiastical elections, and the rights of collation and of patronage in Benefices; and it required the consent both of the King and of the National Church as requisite preliminary sanctions for those levies of money which Rome had heretofore imposed without any control. The text of the original Pragmatic Sanction is by no means definite or precise; perhaps it was not intended to be so, and the subtle expositions of later commentators have, no doubt, enlarged its operation, not beyond the extent to which the wishes of its author inclined, but assuredly far beyond that to which his power reached. The right of private mintage claimed by most of the great Barons had become a source of frightful abuse; and the depreciated coinage arising from it, which swelled many individual fortunes beyond a healthy limit, was most injurious to the public interests. A jealous exclusion of *foreign* money, as it was termed, prevailed in almost every separate Province, and even in many of the subdivisions; and the frequent exchanges which became necessary in consequence of that restriction, were always negotiated at a ruinous loss to the holder. By a gradual and judicious legislation, without any infringement upon the rights of property, Louis established the general control of the Royal Mint, and prepared the way for the reception of an undebased and a uniform currency†.

So great was the celebrity which Louis had attained for wisdom and justice, that his arbitration was sought by each of the contending Parties in the Civil dissensions which had long agitated England. It is not here that any detail is required of the weakness and the faithlessness of Henry III.; of the turbulence and insubordination of his Barons. The *Provisions of Oxford*, wrung from the King in 1258, had placed the Throne under the control of a factious Oligarchy; and A. D. 1264. after five years of mutual outrage, Henry on the one hand, and Jan. 23. Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, on the other, appealed to Louis for the confirmation or the rejection of those vex-

* An Instrument issued by Charles VII. in 1438, bears a similar title, and is yet more pointedly hostile to the usurpations of Rome than the Edict of St. Louis. For more respecting these Ordinances our Note on the last-named Edict may be consulted.

† Velly has treated the Legislation of St. Louis with much research; and M. de Sismondi has, perhaps, collected all that can now be discovered respecting it in an admirable Chapter, vii. 11.

atious Statutes. In a Conference held at Amiens, the King of France, after hearing the arguments on both sides, pronounced a sentence which the disputants had bound themselves to receive as final. It affirmed the *Provisions of Oxford* to be destructive of the Royal honour and authority; to be the cause of all the troubles of the Kingdom, of the degradation of the Church, and of the losses to which so many persons, Spiritual and Secular, native and foreign, had been exposed. It spoke of greater perils as likely to ensue; and therefore in the name of the Blessed Trinity it annulled those Provisions, and every subsequent Act or Ordinance which had arisen out of their promulgation*. The Barons, notwithstanding their oaths, rejected this unfavourable decision, and the immediate renewal of Civil War prevented any further hope from mediation.

The course adopted by Louis relative to the affairs of Italy was in unison with the rest of his pacific conduct. The death of the Emperor Frederic II. in 1250, had been followed in less than four years by that of his son and successor Conrad IV. †, from whose son Conradin, at that time an infant, the Crown of the Two Sicilies was usurped by his uncle Manfred, a natural child of the deceased Frederic. The hatred of the See of Rome, notwithstanding the frequent changes which had occurred in the Papal Chair, still pursued the Line of Hohenstauffen, even in this illegitimate branch, and it was transmitted as an hereditary possession from Innocent IV. through Alexander IV. and Urban IV., to the IVth Clement ‡. Interference in Germany itself was forbidden by the independence of the Electoral Princes; and when it was found impossible to obtain the nomination of an Emperor decidedly in the Guelph interest, Alexander contented himself by endeavouring to separate the Throne of the Two Sicilies from that of Germany, and to establish upon the former a Feudatory, and therefore a Champion of the Church. Various alliances for this purpose were projected by Alexander, and by his successors who adopted a similar policy; and the Crown, which was in truth to be conquered from Manfred, was offered as an investiture which Rome had a full right to bestow. The vanity of Henry III. of England was long deluded into a hope of attaining the prize for his second son Edmund; and, during A. D. 1256. six years, his coffers were prodigally emptied at the feet of the Pontiffs, in order to secure the acquisition. When evident symptoms appeared of the near exhaustion of these treasures, and the difficulties of Henry manifestly rendered the prospect of future subsidies most uncertain, Urban IV. cast his eyes upon France for surer support, and he

* *Fœdera*, i. 433.

† Manfred was suspected, but probably without good reason, of having poisoned Conrad.

‡ Alexander IV. was elected Pope December 21, 1254; Urban IV. (Jacques de Troie, a Frenchman) August, 1261; and Clement IV. (another Frenchman, Gui Fulcodi) February, 1265.

tendered the Crown of the Sicilies to Louis IX. for either one of his sons, or one of his brothers.

Although Manfred was a Usurper, and as such might be attacked without any breach of natural justice, yet Conradin was the legitimate King ; the title of Edmund of England also had been recognized by the Popes from the moment at which they had begun to receive his payments ; and these stubborn facts, which weighed nothing in the Vatican, offered themselves as strong objections to the more scrupulous conscience of Louis. Urban, in reply, thanked God for the King's disinterestedness, but insisted upon his own right to determine upon the abstract justice of his proposition. Enough had been done by Louis when he refused direct participation in a measure which his moral sense disapproved ; and leaving a free choice open to his brother, he was perhaps by no means sorry that the ambitious temper which Charles of Anjou had always manifested, was likely to find exercise beyond the confines of France.

Charles, accordingly, having first accepted the Senatorship of Rome, with which high magistracy he was invested by her Citizens,
A. D. 1263. negotiated with the Holy See, most ably and much to his advantage, for the loftier dignity of Kingship. In little more than a month after he had received his Crown from the hands of Clement IV., who had become Pope, he totally defeated and
A. D. 1266. killed his opponent Manfred, in the Battle of Grandella.

Feb. 26. Conradin, who had now arrived at years of discretion, was still his rival ; but the capture of the young Prince at Tagliacozzo, and his speedy committal to the executioner, confirmed Charles of Anjou in his Kingdom, at the everlasting expense of his good name. Few incidents in History are more calculated to awaken just indignation than the untimely end of the brave, wronged, and gallant Conradin*.

Charles of Anjou thus founded the first dynasty of his House which reigned over the Sicilies. The pretensions which Aragon afterwards advanced to the Crown of that Kingdom rested on a marriage between Pedro, the eldest son of King James, and Constance a daughter of Manfred, celebrated at about the same time as the nuptials which we have already mentioned between Philip of France, and the Aragonese Princess Isabella.

It was more, however, by new disasters in the East than by the political state of neighbouring Countries that the anxiety of
A. D. 1263. Louis was excited ; and intelligence that Bendoadar, Sultan of Egypt, had appeared before Acre with 30,000 Mamlouks ; and had expressed a fixed resolution to chase the Christians from the little

* A full and, as usual, a most perspicuous account of Charles of Anjou's establishment in Naples is given by M. de Sismondi. *Hist. des Rép. Ital.* tom. iii. ch. 21.

territory which still remained to them, keenly revived the King's earlier enthusiasm. The Popes, indeed, occupied by their projects of vengeance against Manfred, lightly estimated the common danger of their flock; and Cæsarea, Sidon, and Jaffa were permitted to become the prey of the Infidels, while the See of Rome promised Indulgences not to those who took the Cross for the relief of Palestine, but to the Crusaders who engaged in the Holy War, waged by the Head of Christendom against a Christian Prince. The fall of Antioch, the massacre of 27,000 of its inhabitants, the slavery of 100,000 more, and the conversion of that once flourishing metropolis into a deserted waste, at length compelled attention; and when Louis IX. avowed his design of resuming the Cross, the fear of scandal prohibited Clement from longer inactivity. He charged his Legate in France, the Cardinal of Santa Cecilia, to exert himself in concert with the King for all the requisite preparations.

Before Louis had completed his arrangements, the Holy See was again vacant by the death of Clement; but the interregnum which followed by no means influenced the pious resolutions of the King. The succour afforded by Rome hitherto had been tardy and unimportant; and Louis had acted not in obedience to any dictates of the Church, but to those of his own conscience. His project, however, was by no means favourably admitted in France. Continued disasters had greatly weakened the enthusiasm with which the Preaching of the Crusades had formerly been received; and the known feebleness of body to which Louis was personally reduced, occasioned a reasonable conviction that he was most unfit to command a military expedition directed to a distant Country and an unhealthy climate. The ardour of even Joinville was chilled. The faithful Seneschal, when summoned by the King to Paris, although, as he tells us, ignorant of the cause for which his attendance was required, excused himself on the plea of a quartan ague; till Louis replied, that he had enough of people who could effect his cure, and urged his ancient companion in arms to come, by the love which he bore him. A very unnecessary vision revealed the King's design only a few hours before it was publicly notified; and then Joinville, although strongly pressed to undertake the Pilgrimage, resolutely declined. It is plain that he held an opinion, which he tells us others had frequently expressed in his hearing, that those who advised Louis to the Crusade were "guilty of a great crime, and sinned deadly;" for "as long as he remained in his Kingdom of France, every thing went on well, and all lived peaceably and in security, but the moment he left it things began to decline."

If any proof of Joinville's veracity in his former relations were needed, beyond that which is so amply furnished by internal evidence, it is to be found, we think, in his very guarded silence concerning this second Crusade. "Of the expedition to Tunis," he tells us, "I will say nothing,

for I was not of it, and I am resolved not to insert any thing in this book, but what I am perfectly certain is true." The provisions of the King were made as if he entertained a presentiment that he was bidding a final adieu to France. *Apanages* ample in extent were bestowed upon each of his sons; the marriages of his betrothed daughters were expedited*; and a Regency was carefully selected. The two administrators upon whom the choice of Louis rested, were Matthew, Abbot of St. Denis, of the noble Family of Vendôme, who had exhibited much ability in the government of his Monastery; and Simon de Nesle, a brave soldier, long in the enjoyment of the Royal confidence, and inheriting by marriage the County of Ponthiou.

The Genoese, from whom the King had hired vessels for his expedition, had engaged that they should be fully equipped, A. D. 1270. at Aigues-Mortes, by the commencement of May; and there, accordingly, the gathering took place at the appointed season. Numerous delays, however, occurred in the maritime department; and two months, which Louis employed in acts of devotion, and in various Pilgrimages, were spent by those who had enrolled themselves under him, much less to their satisfaction, on the sickly shores of Languedoc. Some quarrels had arisen, some blood had been

July 1. shed, and some executions had been deemed necessary before the embarkation finally took place. Disease had then become rooted in the armament by this untoward lingering; and when a deficiency of water or of provisions made a landing necessary at Cagliari in Sardinia†, the mortality became alarming. The impatience thus generated among his troops was perhaps one of the leading causes which induced Louis to adopt the unexpected determination of conducting his armament neither to Palestine nor even to Egypt, the points on which Bendoadar was most assailable; but to Tunis, a State with which he was altogether unconnected. According to the bigoted principles which influenced the Crusaders, God was served alike by the destruction of *any* dissidents from their own creed; and Mohammedans, Jews, Pagans, or even Christian Heretics, had at various times been the Subjects of a Holy War. From Cagliari the coast of Africa might be gained in three days; that of Damietta or of Acre required a voyage of at least thirty; and this tedious preliminary to the fulfilment of their vows was contemplated with invincible disgust. Tunis, moreover, abounded in wealth; and its pillage afforded strong temptation to avarice, one of the sins by which, from the days of the Hermit Peter, the

* Blanche was married to Ferdinand de la Cerda, eldest son of Alfonso X. of Castile. The Crown was usurped from her issue by their uncle, Sancho IV. Margaret was married to John Duke of Brabant.

† Twenty days were consumed in the voyage between Aigues-Mortes and Cagliari; a length of time not to be accounted for unless by almost incredible errors in seamanship.

majority of those who engaged under the crusading banner had been most easily beset. It mattered little that the reigning King, Muley Mostanca, so far from having provoked hostilities, had even held amicable intercourse with France, and that his ambassadors had been entertained during that very year at the Court of Paris. Cause for dispute might be at any moment invented; and if no other were to be found, what more ready source of quarrel could be desired than that which Invasion itself would furnish?

Reasoning such as this, however conclusive it might be with the mixed band which followed in his train, was yet by no means likely to be admitted by the pure and upright spirit of Louis himself; and to produce conviction in his mind, arguments of a widely different nature were required. We know not the process by which he was led to consent to the general wishes of his army, nor the persons by whom that consent was obtained; but there is authority for believing that he cherished a hope of converting the King of Tunis to Christianity; that he entertained a conviction of that Prince's favourable disposition to the change; and that he conceived the presence of a powerful army, by overawing the unbelieving Africans, might, above all other means, contribute to that most desirable object*.

It is probable that Charles of Anjou also was deeply implicated in these transactions; that his secret agents found means to profit by the irritation of the Knights, and addressed themselves dexterously to stimulate the piety of the King. Tunis had once been tributary to Sicily; and Charles, now confirmed upon the Throne of the latter Kingdom, might hope to make his brother an instrument by which the lost ascendancy over the former should be regained, or perhaps a still more extensive influence established. The subtilty, the selfishness, and the ambition of Charles contribute to strengthen this suspicion; and it is certain that to the delay occasioned by awaiting his co-operation, the fatal close of the campaign is mainly to be ascribed.

The French made their first lodgment on a desert Island off the Port of Ancient Carthage; on which barren shore they suffered acutely, in consequence of the want of fresh water and the reflection of the Sun, from the burning sands. After three days' painful occupation, they moved forward upon Carthage itself, among whose ruins only a single tower remained defensible. But the extensive vaults and catacombs of the former Capital afforded refuge to countless throngs of fugitives; who, after the fortress had been sacked, were exposed to a miserable destruction, and who every day were suffocated within their hiding-places, or ruthlessly put to the sword if they attempted escape.

The King of Tunis, on receiving intelligence of this most unprovoked

* Gul. de Nangis, *ap. Duchesne, Script. Franc. v. 387.* Geoffroi de Beaulieu (Confessor to St. Louis), *id. ibid.* 462.

aggression, despatched an Envoy to the French camp, with a statement that there were numerous Christians resident in his dominions whose heads would be forfeited if Louis should advance one step farther on his march. On the contrary, that they should be released from the imprisonment to which they had been consigned, on the moment at which the invaders should re-imbark. The menace was scarcely necessary; for Pestilence had already commenced a super vengeance than any force of the Barbarians could have worked by the sword. Louis himself was quartered in Carthage, while his soldiers remained encamped in the rich gardens environing its ruins. That position was fortified and protected by a fosse; but clouds of Moorish horsemen hovered round, cut off every straggler, excited perpetual terror, and manœuvring according to their usual rapid warfare, disappeared unharmed whenever an attempt was made to bring them to pitched combat. The King, nevertheless, had resolved to continue in this station till Charles of Anjou should arrive with his promised reinforcements; and day passed after day in fruitless expectation of his appearance. Meantime, the greater portion of the troops was disabled from service by ophthalmia or dysentery; the stagnant pools on the sea-shore impregnated the atmosphere with malaria generated by the foulness of exhalation; the tanks which were to supply drink became exhausted, or were filled with venomous and disgusting reptiles; the hot winds of the Desert blasted the herbage, and rolled before it mountains of sand, which clogged the eyes and lungs of all who were exposed to it. Within eight days after the occupation of Carthage, the French camp presented the appearance of a vast charnel-house; and many of the leaders had fallen victims to infection. Philip the

Heir-apparent, and one of his younger brothers, the Count

Aug. 3. of Nevers, were numbered among the sick. The latter did not long struggle with his malady, and his death, which

Aug. 7. occasioned poignant sorrow to his father, was succeeded within a few days by that of the Papal Legate the Cardinal

d'Albi.

At length, amid all this complicated misery, the grief and terror of the army were immeasurably enhanced by an announcement that the King himself was infected. The debility of his frame, shattered by former sufferings in Egypt and by the long practice of frequent abstinence and penance, permitted little expectation of recovery; yet, during two and twenty days, hope alternated with fear; and his followers could ill be persuaded that a master so justly beloved was in truth to be wrested from them. As his last moments approached, he delivered to his son Philip a Paper of Instructions, meditated (as is proved by many passages which it contained) during the season of health. It presents an epitome of the principles upon which his own policy had been framed; and by which he fervently hoped that that of his successor would be guided. Fear of God, sincerity of intention, firmness in action,

respect for the Church, and a desire to seek Peace and to ensue it with all men are strenuously inculcated; and few documents proceeding from a merely Human pen, none, assuredly, dictated by a Royal teacher, approach it in truth, in piety, and in noble simplicity. Thus having completed that which he considered to be his last earthly duty, the few remaining hours which he survived were devoted to prayer, ejaculation, and the farewell offices of the Church. Having been placed, at his own request, on a bed of ashes, he crossed his hands upon his breast, and expired about three in the afternoon of the 25th of August, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the forty-fourth of his reign *, having exhibited virtues which are confessed by a writer who was seldom just to Kings after he had ceased to flatter them, and who is always hostile to Christians, to remind us equally of a Saint and a Hero†. The bones of Louis IX. were conveyed to Paris, and buried in St. Denis. The flesh which had been separated from them, underwent a curious process of embalment, and was interred together with the entrails at Palermo. When the King, seven and twenty years after his death, was canonized by Boniface VIII., his bones were translated from their first resting-place and borne with much pomp and solemnity to a more honourable depository, among the other Relics which Louis himself, while yet alive, had collected in *La Sainte Chapelle*.

CHAPTER VII.

From A.D. 1270, to A.D. 1314.

Philip III. (*le Hardi*)—Treaty with the King of Tunis—Return of the Crusaders—Failure of an expedition against Castile—Pierre De La Brosse—The Sicilian Vespers—Projects against Aragon—Death of Charles of Anjou—Capture of Gerona—Disasters of the French—Retreat and Death of Philip III.—Philip IV. (*le Bel*)—Affairs of Spain and Italy till the Treaty of Anagni—Causes of dispute with England—Citation of Edward I.—Duplicity of Philip—Seizure of Aquitaine—War—Arrest of the Count of Flanders—Alliance with Scotland—Zeal of Boniface VIII.—The Bull *Clericis Laicos*—Canonization of St. Louis—Treaty of Montreuil—Treacherous annexation of Flanders—Rising at Bruges—Massacre of the French—Total defeat at Courtrai—Fruitless campaigns in Flanders—Defeat of the Flemings at Mons-en-Puelle—Great exertions of the Flemings—Acknowledgment of their Independence—Jubilee—Arrogant pretensions of Boniface VIII.—Philip arrests the Legate—The Bull *Ausculta Fili*—First meeting of the States-General—Excommunication of Philip—Accusation of Boniface before the Court of Peers—His seizure at Anagni—His release and death—Intrigue for the election of Clement V.—The Papal Court transferred to Avignon—Suppression

* The original authorities for the expedition to Tunis, may be found in the Vth volume of Duchesne's Historical Collection.

† Voltaire *Sur les Mœurs*, ch. 58. *ad fin.*

of the Templars—Final decree of the Council of Vienne respecting Boniface—
Latter years and death of Philip IV.

No King ever succeeded to a Throne under circumstances of greater personal calamity than those which environed Philip III. (*le A. D. 1270. Hardi*) at the moment of his father's decease. Disabled by sickness, and surrounded by the dead and dying, he was in hourly expectation of being overwhelmed by the Tunisians, whose vengeance had been wantonly provoked. Great therefore must have been his joy when the sails of his uncle of Anjou were descried, and when the long-expected armament from Sicily entered the Port of Carthage, on the very evening of the day on which Louis expired. Charles of Anjou was an able General, and during the two months in which he exercised command, notwithstanding the lamentable weakness to which the French were reduced, he saved them from military disaster; he was a yet more able diplomatist, and he continued a negociation (which he had secretly been carrying on during the whole war, and which indeed had occasioned his delay) till his subtilty obtained an advantageous Treaty. The King of Tunis, dreading the impatience of his own refractory subjects not less than the hostility of the invaders, looked forward with alarm to the near approach of a season in which operations might be effectually commenced against his Capital; and he was eager, even at an exorbitant price, to rescue himself from the hazards of dethronement and loss of life. He consented, therefore, to release the Christians whom he had thrown into chains; to permit the free exercise of their Religious Worship in his dominions; to open his Ports to European merchants; to defray the expenses of the War by a payment of 210,000 ounces of gold; and furthermore, to send 20,000 doubloons annually as a tribute to the King of Sicily. On the acceptance of these terms, the Crusaders immediately re-embarked; but their misfortunes had not yet terminated. A fearful storm, on their arrival off Trapani, swallowed up eighteen of their largest ships and a much greater number of transports; and many Knights, great part of the warlike equipments, and all the money and booty obtained at Tunis, perished in the waves. A band of English Confederates, enrolled under the command of Prince Edward, Heir-apparent to the Crown which he afterwards wore with so much glory, escaped undamaged by this tempest; and as they had honourably abstained from participation in the bargain with the Infidels, and were resolutely bent upon fulfilling their vow by proceeding onward to Palestine, popular belief regarded their safety as a proof of Divine favour. In those days of easy credulity, events of more ordinary character were frequently ascribed to miracles, and the intervention of Heaven was often supposed to be exerted for the promotion of objects far less worthy than those which we have just noticed. The new King entered his Capital in melancholy pomp. Five coffins followed in his train, conveying to the vaults of St. Denis

the remains of his father, of his brother, of his brother-in-law Thibaud, King of Navarre, who had expired at Trapani worn down by the fatigues of his late campaign, of his Queen Isabella of Aragon, and of a babe who survived only a few hours after an accident which, by giving him premature birth, occasioned the death of his mother. The Funeral rites of so many illustrious persons postponed the festivities of the Coronation; and soon after its performance, one more Aug. —. victim of the fatal expedition to Carthage was added to the losses of the Royal House. By the demise of his uncle Alphonso, without issue, which then occurred, Philip re-united the Fief of Poitou to the Crown, and annexed also to his dominions the far more important County of Toulouse. Jane, the consort of Alphonso, to whom that rich portion had belonged, and in whose person even the female line of her ancient House became extinct, outlived her husband only a single day.

The period during which Philip III. reigned, although distinguished by great events in other parts of Europe, is singularly devoid of interest in France itself. The Crown of the Empire, after a long interregnum, was obtained by the skill and energy of Gregory X. (one of the most able and most upright Pontiffs who have filled the Chair of St. Peter) for Rodolph of Hapsburgh; a Swiss Gentleman, A. D. 1273. whose narrow possessions scarcely extended beyond the rock Sept. 30. crowned by his Castle; but whose talents and virtues justly elevated him to the Imperial dignity, and made him the founder of a long Race of hereditary Princes. Of this important change, Philip appears to have remained an unconcerned spectator; and his inglorious existence, indeed, is chiefly known to us by some dark intrigues in his own Court. In the outset of his reign, he reduced to obedience Roger Bernard, Count of Foix, who offered a very dangerous opposition to the Royal authority; but not long afterwards, an attempt which he made to establish, as heirs to the Throne of Castile, the children of his sister Blanche* by her deceased husband Ferdinand de A. D. 1276. la Cerda, was frustrated by want of ordinary foresight. Two armies were marched into Spain; the first under Robert of Artois† was to occupy Navarre, the infant heiress of which territory was destined by the King of France as a bride for Philip, at that time his second son‡. The Count of Artois having mastered Sept. 6. Pampeluna, in which City his troops perpetrated great

* Blanche (*la Jeune*), born at Joppa, married Ferdinand de la Cerda. Their issue, Alfonso and Ferdinand, were excluded by an uncle, Sancho IV., from the Throne of Castile, to which they were rightful heirs.

† Son of the Count of Artois, killed at the Battle of Mansourah.

‡ Blanche, daughter of the Count of Artois above-named (brother of St. Louis), married Henry, King of Navarre, by whom she had had a daughter, Jane. The hand of that Princess, when she was not more than three years of age, was promised to Henry of England, a son of Edward I., who died before the completion of the

cruelties, effected a junction with the King, who had advanced simultaneously on Salvatierra, in order to penetrate into Castile. There, however, the necessary magazines were wholly wanting; and after a Treaty, which the King of Castile would probably have declined if he had not at the same time been pressed by the Moors, the French were relieved from embarrassment by a hasty retreat. The mediation of the Pope prevented a renewal of War in the following year; but not until Philip, in order to defray the expense of preparation, had arrested all the Lombards trading in France, and had extorted 120,000 florins of gold as the price of their freedom.

By his first Queen, Isabella of Aragon, Philip was father of four sons. Mary, daughter of Henry, Duke of Brabant, whom he espoused in 1274, bore him one son and two daughters; and the ascendancy which she obtained over her husband is connected with an obscure but tragical history. Mary possessed beauty and talents; Philip, on the other hand, was confessedly weak, and he had surrendered himself to the guidance of an unworthy Favourite, who by mean compliances had become elevated to a station due to loftier birth and more tried integrity. From the post of Barber and Surgeon to Louis IX., Pierre de la Brosse, profiting by unrestrained access to the Royal person, and by the low tastes which he well knew how to gratify, had raised himself to be Chamberlain and confidential Minister to his son; and he was little

prepared to brook the increasing influence of the second A. D. 1276. Queen. The sudden death of the Heir-apparent, Louis, appeared to afford an opportunity for achieving the overthrow of his rival; and De la Brosse, by some juggling with pretended Diviners and Prophetesses*, succeeded in awakening the King's suspicions that Mary had removed her stepson by poison. One of the chief actors in this iniquitous plot, stung by remorse, or terrified by fear of detection, confessed, as is said, enough to satisfy Philip that his wife was innocent; yet, strange to add, if this assertion be true, the King dissembled his resentment during nearly two years, in the course of which he exceeded even his former prodigality of favour to the Minister whom he had resolved to destroy. At their close, a secret

accusation, and a hurried trial before a Commission composed of only three members, the father of the Queen being A. D. 1278. one, led to the ignominious gibbeting of De la Brosse at June 30. Montfaucon. The chief mystery in this transaction relates to some events which succeeded. The Bishop of Bayeux, a brother-in-

projected marriage. Jane then became a prize contested by Castile, Aragon, and France; till her mother, favouring the interests of her own native Country, secretly conveyed her to the Court of Philip III., where she was married to Philip (*le Bel*) August 16, 1284, who then assumed the title of King of Navarre.

* A certain "old Prophetess of Brabant," to whom De la Brosse sent his brother the Bishop of Bayeux, is mentioned in an Apologetical Letter for that Prelate, written to the French Court by Nicolas III. Raynaldi *Annal.* ad ann. 1279, § 47.

law of De la Brosse, on the arrest of his kinsman, had sought asylum at Rome, and Nicholas III., who then held the Keys, refused to abandon him to the pursuit of his enemies*. On the accession also of Philippe le Bel, the next brother of the Prince supposed to have been poisoned, the exiled Bishop was restored to his See. That a Pope should support an Ecclesiastic, even when convicted of a most atrocious crime, is unfortunately an occurrence*no* without a parallel in History; but that Mary should contemplate the removal of *four* Princes (for so many intervened) in order to promote the succession of her own son, is little to be credited. Yet upon the scanty and conflicting evidence which we possess, we are scarcely justified in deciding that De la Brosse did not fall a victim to the jealousy of a Cabal.

It is frequently difficult to establish a relation between the qualities of a Monarch and the title with which he has been invested by contemporary Flattery; and a *Dieu-donné* or a *Desiré* may chance to be among the greatest scourges with which Providence visits a suffering Nation. But in no case does the appendage seem to have been less deserved or less appropriate, than in that which affixed the words *Le Hardi* to the name of Philip III.; and from the known events of his reign they might almost be accepted as a *sobriquet* assigned in mockery†. So far was he from evincing boldness, that he never awoke from his inactivity until after the most lingering preparation; and even then, success, which prompt measures might have secured, was frustrated by delay and indecision.

In the quarrel between Charles of Anjou and Pedro III. of Aragon, which occasioned the fearful Massacre known in History as *The Sicilian Vespers*, Philip was induced to share, less as A. D. 1282. may be believed by the general National outcry which fol- March 3. lowed the murder of the French, than by the hope of family aggrandizement. Martin IV., a Prelate of distinguished abilities and singular disinterestedness, was at that time Pope; but he was by birth a Frenchman, and he entertained a very misplaced confidence in Charles of Anjou, to whose intrigues he had been indebted for the tiara. Deeply, and acutely feeling the outrages which had been perpetrated upon his Countrymen in Sicily, Martin sought to avenge A. D. 1283. that which he believed to be a righteous cause; and thus Jan. 13. actuated, he proclaimed a Crusade against the Aragonese;

* It has been said that the Pope expressed himself concerning Mary's guilt in language which is at least ambiguous. But nothing can be more strong than the declaration of his belief in her innocence which he makes in a Letter addressed to her and printed in Raynaldi *Annal. ad ann. 1278*.

† Velly (iii. 421.) has undertaken a eulogy of Philip III.; but the concessions even of the panegyrist may be thought sufficient to justify the opinion which we have expressed above. He admits that all contemporaries were surprised "that he was utterly unacquainted with Letters;" and after much admiration of his piety, he cites a saying respecting him, "that any one would have taken him, on account of his abstinence, rather for a Monk than for a King or a Knight;" and he adds

March 21. he issued a Bull depriving Pedro of his Crown; and he tendered the Kingdom of Aragon, thus declared vacant, to Aug. 27. Philip III. for his second son Charles of Valois, on condition that it should be recognised as a Fief of the Holy See, and should never be united with France.

Without either enquiring into the right which the Pope thus arrogated to himself of deposing Kings, or into the policy of admitting A. D. 1284. its assertion, Philip at once accepted the offer, and was supported Feb. 20. in his answer by an Assembly of his Barons and Prelates. In furtherance of the design, Charles of Anjou prepared for a campaign in Italy, while the King of France notified his intention of invading Aragon. The victories of Roger di Loria, a Catalanian, and the ablest naval Commander then known to Europe, whom Pedro had appointed his Admiral, disconcerted the projects of Charles; and the capture of his son, the Prince of Salerno, and the humiliation to which he was subjected by these reverses, increased the virulence of a disorder by which he was attacked, and hurried him broken-hearted to the grave. No more remarkable instance of self-deception is afforded by History, than that exhibited on the death-bed of Charles of Anjou. His life had been passed in one unceasing struggle of restless and unscrupulous ambition, for the gratification of which perjury and cruelty were esteemed light offences. Nevertheless, with his parting breath he impressed upon his attendants, that he entertained a most complacent assurance that his seizure of the Crown of Sicily had been dictated not by any selfish motive, but by a wish to serve the interests of the Holy Church*.

Philip, unretarded by the death of his uncle, continued his preparations; and having received the Oriflamme, proceeded to Toulouse, the City named as the general rendezvous of the Crusaders. It is said, on good authority†, that his force amounted to 80,000 infantry and 20,000 horse; and a fleet, equipped by Genoa, Marseilles, Aigues-Mortes, and Narbonne, coasted the shore parallel with his march, in order to furnish supplies. Pedro, unable to make head against this overwhelming invasion, retreated to the Catalanian defiles, in which, supported by swarms of fierce and half-naked Almogavares, mountaineers, wholly undisciplined, but used to War from frequent May 23. encounters with the Moors, he securely defied attack. His brother, James of Majorca, treacherously allied himself to

some words which we have almost translated in the text, *on ignore ce qui l'a fait surnommer Le Hurdi. L'Histoire de son règne ne fournit aucune preuve d'une hardiesse extraordinaire.*

* The heart of Charles of Anjou was deposited in the Church of the Jacobins in the Rue St. Jacques, at Paris. The inscription on its receptacle is worthy of a better subject. *Le cœur du grand Roi Charles qui conquit la Sicile.* Giovanni Villani, lib. vii. c. 94.

† Ibid. l. vii. c. 101.

the French, who, pouring through Rousillon, sacked Elna at the foot of the Pyrenees, passed the mountain-range, and advancing through the plain country on the opposite side, invested Gerona. June 25.

Gerona surrendered, after somewhat more than two months of brave resistance; a period sufficient for the ultimate discomfiture of the conquerors. Their fleet, in the Gulf of Rosas, had been exposed during the siege to the vigilance and activity of Roger di Loria; and the covering army had been engaged in a bloody skirmish at Hostalrich, in which each party claimed victory. But heat of climate, insufficient supplies, and diseases resulting from a neglect of precautions which, however obvious they may seem, it was reserved for the Modern Art of War to teach, had thinned the ranks, and diminished the ardour of the French; and Philip discovered the necessity of immediate retreat, after a fortnight's occupation of his conquest. He was pursued by a general rising; and it was with infinite difficulty and considerable loss that he at length regained the Pyrenees. Thence, languishing under an epidemic similar to that which had proved fatal to so many of his followers, he was conveyed in a litter to Perpignan; beyond which town, weakness prohibited farther removal. He died within its walls; and his successful antagonist, Pedro, after having been hailed deliverer of his Country, did not survive to enjoy his triumph for a much longer period than a month. Sept. 7. Oct. 5. Nov. 11.

It was perhaps owing to the uncertainty consequent upon a new reign among the victors as well as the vanquished, that the War on both sides proceeded languidly. Philip IV., *le Bel*, as he was termed from the beauty of his person, did not exhibit martial qualities at any period of his reign*. At the moment of his accession he was only seventeen years of age; and instead of renewing hostilities, he slowly retired northward, to celebrate his Coronation. Pedro had divided his heritage between his two elder sons; Alfonso III. received the Throne of Aragon, James II. that of Sicily; and the brothers, for a time united in strict amity, harassed the coast of Languedoc by frequent descents; wrested the Balearic Islands from their treacherous uncle; and still retained in captivity their important prisoner, Charles of Salerno (*le Boiteux*), the Lame.

The freedom of that Prince was at last obtained by the active mediation of Edward I. of England, who seems to have been influenced by a sincere desire to promote general Peace, and also by a cordial affection for his young nephew. The terms stipulated in a personal Conference between Edward and Alfonso, in the Isle of Oleron, were, however, declined by Philip; A. D. 1287. July 25.

* He was by no means deficient, however, in personal bravery, as he afterwards evinced at the Battle of Mons-en Puelle.

A. D. 1289. and Charles himself was not long in the enjoyment of
 May 29. liberty, before he sought absolution from the oath which
 had procured it, and received from the hands of the Pontiff,
 who authorised this shameful perjury, the Crown of the Two Sicilies.

The War between Aragon and France still therefore continued, but it
 was unmarked by any event of interest. Philip had secured the alliance
 of Sancho IV. of Castile, by accepting a commutation for the claims of
 the De la Cerda Princes upon that Throne; and the King of Aragon,
 although hitherto successful, did not need the addition of this fresh
 enemy to make him desirous of Peace. His Excommunication, and the
 miseries and discontents of his People, were already sufficiently powerful

motives to induce Alfonso to listen to the terms which
 A. D. 1291. Charles the lame (now Charles II. of Naples) proposed
 Feb. 21. at Tarragona, although they involved the abandonment of
 Sicily. Whether the King of Naples had really been in-

vested with full powers by each of the numerous parties for whom he
 engaged himself, by the Pope, by Charles of Valois, by the Kings of
 Majorca and of France, is a question of little importance;

June 18. for the Treaty was interrupted by the death of Alfonso, and
 by the immediate accession of his brother James, whose
 interests were about to be so unscrupulously sacrificed. The first step
 of the new King was to negotiate a marriage with the daughter of
 Sancho of Castile, whom he thus detached from France. Philip em-
 ployed the rupture of the Treaty as a pretext for levying

A. D. 1295. some exactions from his Clergy, but he never actively pro-
 June 25. secuted hostilities although four years elapsed before Peace
 was finally concluded at Anagni.

A far weightier dispute engrossed the attention of Philip before the
 termination of this unimportant War. During the long course of five-
 and-thirty years no occurrence had disturbed amicable relations between
 France and England. The warriors of the two Countries, by serving
 together in the Holy Land, had formed bands of chivalrous brotherhood;
 the reigning Families were connected by numerous mutual alliances and
 ties of blood; and the great and wise Prince who at that time swayed
 the English sceptre had not only espoused the interests of France, by
 personally assisting both her King and Charles of Naples, but, even at
 the expense of some natural pride, had discharged to the former, his
 nephew and Sovereign, all those duties which Feudalism required from
 a vassal. Immediately upon the accession of the young King, Edward
 had repaired to Paris, and there, with the customary ceremonies, had
 renewed his homage as Duke of Aquitaine*. Philip, nevertheless, con-
 scious of inferiority, regarded his uncle with jealousy; and recent suc-

* The form, *quod conditionale erat, prout interius continetur*, which the Bishop of Bath and Wells pronounced in Edward's name, at the performance of this homage, is printed in the *Fœdera*, i. 605.

cesses both in Wales and Scotland, which consolidated, as it were, the whole power of Britain in the single hand of the King of England, by no means tended to allay this unworthy feeling. Some squabbles between mariners of the respective Countries, on the Gascon coast, had ripened into a very bloody naval contest; and when, on an increase of mutual outrage, the French Tribunals interfered, the English officers in Guyenne, alarmed for their independence, protested against this jurisdiction, and threatened and employed force in order to repel its exercise.

Philip gladly seized the pretext thus afforded him for complaint; and he directed a Citation to his offending vassal, which will not be read without astonishment, unless we are profoundly imbued with a remembrance of the almost Religious obedience which the Feudal System exacted and paid.

After recapitulating, in no very measured language, the violences committed at Bayonne and elsewhere, of which it is observed that Edward could not, with any show of probability, affirm himself to be ignorant, this haughty document concludes with the following words: "Hence we ordain and command you, under the penalties which you both have it in your power to incur, and which you really do incur, that on the 20th day of the ensuing Christmas (which we peremptorily assign to you at Paris) you appear before us (as you both ought and must do, and as the nature of so great crimes and excesses demands and requires), to answer to us concerning the aforesaid matters (of which cognizance belongs to us), concerning matters which appertain to or may result from them, and concerning all other matters which we may think it right to propose against you, to obey the law, and to hear and to admit whatsoever is just. Signifying to you by the tenor of these present Letters, that whether you appear or not at the aforesaid day and place, we, nevertheless, shall proceed as we ought to do, without any let or hindrance on account of your absence*."

Edward in return fully recognised the legality of this Citation, and admitted his own responsibility. He despatched his brother, Edmund Earl of Lancaster, to Paris, with authority to make ample concessions †, and when he found that the King of France still persisted in demanding a judicial process, he assented to a secret compromise, which the Queen Dowager Mary, and the Queen Consort Jane, undertook to mediate. By this agreement, six of the principal Towns in Aquitaine were to be delivered to Commissioners appointed by Philip, who, since the English garrisons were to remain within the walls, would not thus acquire more than nominal possession; and twenty of the persons most deeply involved in the late disturbances were to be surrendered for trial before the Parliament of Paris. The reconciliation was to be further strength-

* *Fœdera*, i. 793.

† *De seisinâ Aquitanicæ Regi Franciæ deliberandâ*. Id. *ibid*.

ened by a marriage between Edward, now a widower, and Philip's sister Margaret; the issue of which nuptials was to inherit Aquitaine separately from the Crown of England*.

The surrender was accordingly made; but instead of only six Towns, the whole Province of Aquitaine was occupied by an armed force led by Raoul de Nesle, Constable of France, which in obedience to Edward's orders was admitted without resistance. When the Earl of Lancaster demanded restitution, agreeably to the recognised understanding, he was overwhelmed by astonishment at the treachery of Philip. The King of France, with consummate dissimulation, had warned the English Prince beforehand that a sharp answer might be necessary in public, in order to satisfy certain of his Counsellors; but that, as soon as they should be absent, the secret compact should be fulfilled to the letter†. Nevertheless, on the assemblage of the Parliament, Edward not having appeared when called into Court, was declared to be contumacious, and to have forfeited his Duchy. Not an hour's respite was granted for the execution of the sentence; a delay which Lancaster assures us he never knew refused before in any Cause however trifling, whether the defendant were rich or poor‡.

Edward, as it is but natural to suppose, was bitterly aggrieved by this perfidy. He attributed it altogether to Philip personally; with the two Queens, therefore, whom he considered to be as much deluded as himself, he continued to maintain a polished and even an affectionate intercourse§; and notwithstanding his just irritation, he strictly observed towards Philip himself those rules which the Feudal tenure enjoined in a breach with the Sovereign. Before making open War, he despatched Heralds, who in dignified terms signified his renouncement of allegiance||; but he had already addressed himself to the European Powers which he thought most likely to join a Confederacy against France. The first of these was Adolphus of Nassau, who, on the death of Rodolph

* *De Margareta Regis Franciæ sorore Regi Angliæ maritandâ et seisinâ Aquitanix secundum quod in secreto tractatu conventum fuerat restituendâ. Fœdera, i. 795.*

† *Et le dit Roi moi fist dire en secreit, en la presence la dite dame Johanne, qui joe ne jussse grevez de la dure responnce que moi serroit fait devant ditz Conseillers, pour ce que après le partir des aucuns de eux que fussent contrairrez en fait avant dit il freit garder et accomplir tout ceo que fuit ordenez. De viginti obsidibus Regi Franciæ tradendis et de secreto tractatu quo Rex Angliæ et Frater ejus Edmundus decepti erant et circumventi. Id. ibid. 794.*

‡ *Et ce delais (tant à lendemain) ne poient avoir, que unques mes fust veu estre niée, à riche ne à poure, ja soit que la cause fusse petite. Id. ibid.* A second Citation however appears for twenty days after Christmas 1294. *Renovatio et aggravatio edicti seu citationis quæ in secreto tractatu supradicto revocata fuerat. Id. 800.* The authorities for the narrative which we have given above do not appear to admit dispute; yet Velly (iv. 42.) at great length inclines to a very untenable hypothesis, proposed by Gul. de Nangis, that Edward had long resolved to give up Aquitaine quietly in order that he might obtain possession of it by reconquest as an independent Kingdom.

§ *Fœdera, i. 824. Aug. 12, 1295.*

|| *Id. ibid. 807.*

of Hapsburgh*, had been elected King of the Romans, and who was well inclined to avenge certain aggressions made upon his frontier by Philip†. The Count of Gueldres, in return for an adequate payment, engaged to furnish 1000 horse for six months service‡; and the Duke of Brabant, who was similarly subsidized, provided 2000 more for a like period§. The Spanish Princes were too much occupied by domestic troubles with the Moors to enter actively into the alliance; and, in spite of the justice of his cause, Edward was unable to persuade his own Barons that the loss of Aquitaine was more than a private wrong. Their reluctance to furnish either money or personal service retarded his preparations in the outset, and frustrated them ultimately.

The French troops overran Guyenne with little opposition, for Edward was unable to fulfil the promise of aid which he had held forth to his continental subjects. Charles of Valois, who commanded, exercised frightful severity. On the surrender of Pondensac he hanged sixty of its principal Citizens before its gates; and at the Sack of La Réole he put to the sword the whole of its unarmed population. The hopes which Edward cherished of a powerful diversion by Guy de Dampierre, Count of Flanders, were destroyed by his treacherous arrest. That Prince, who had engaged the hand of his daughter Philippa to Edward, with a portion of 200,000 livres, rashly accepted an invitation to pass a few days in the Court of Paris. Scarcely had he arrived, when both his daughter and himself were committed to the Tower of the Louvre; and he was pronounced guilty of felony, for having agreed to an intermarriage between a member of his own Family and an enemy of the Crown which claimed his vassalage. The Count escaped or was released after a few months confinement; but he was still fettered by the pledge which remained in the hands of the King of France, nor was it till the death of Philippa, which is imputed to poison, that the miserable father could venture even to complain of his wrongs ||.

Meantime, Philip also sought to strengthen himself by Treaties; and in John Baliol, the King of Scotland, who was smarting under the humiliation to which he had been reduced by Edward, he found a ready coadjutor. An offensive and defensive alliance was A. D. 1296 cemented by the promise of Isabella of Valois, a niece of the Oct. 23. King of France, as a bride for Edward Baliol, presumptive heir to the Throne of Scotland¶. But Philip was unfaithful to his engagements, and neither the troops nor the money which he had undertaken to provide were forthcoming. Baliol, too rashly confident in his

* July 15, 1291.

† The Treaty, Oct. 20, 1294. *Fœdera*, i. 812.

‡ April 6, 1295. *Id. ibid.* 819.

§ April 23, 1295. *Id. ibid.* 820.

|| Giov. Villani, l. viii. c. 32.

¶ These nuptials did not take place. The lady, who must have possessed great attraction either in person or in portion, was afterwards, in Jan. 1297, employed as a bait to detach the Duke of Brittany from the interests of England, by a marriage with his grandson.

A. D. 1296. own single strength, hazarded the fatal Battle of Dunbar in April 27. the ensuing year; and after the loss of his bravest Nobles, and not fewer than 10,000 of their retainers, he surrendered his Kingdom to the conqueror and was transferred as a captive to the Tower of London.

The exertions of the Pope, Boniface VIII., to procure a Peace which might be advantageous to Philip, were incessant, and on one occasion might have been successful, if at the moment at which Edward had consented to a Truce, a French squadron had not unseasonably

A. D. 1295. made a successful landing at Dover. Boniface, active, August. ardent, and impassioned*, felt that he owed a large debt of gratitude to France for his elevation to the Pontifical Throne. The resignation of his weak and short-lived predecessor, Celestine V., had been procured by the intrigues of Charles the Lame, to whom the wily Caietano (as he then was named) had thus forcibly addressed himself: "Sire, your Pope has the will and the power to serve you, if he did but know how to do so. For my part, if you will make me the Pope, I have will, power, and knowledge also†." The hint was too valuable to be neglected; and Celestine having first been persuaded to nominate twelve Cardinals‡, seven of whom were from France, five from Naples, next yielded to that which he believed to be a voice from Heaven, enjoining his abdication; and thus made way for the concerted election of Boniface §.

That Pope, although hitherto unsuccessful in his mediation between France and England, procured the signature of the Treaty A. D. 1295. of Anagni, before mentioned, by which was terminated the June 23. lingering contest with Aragon. Still zealous, but not according to discretion, in his labours for Peace, when the meek arts of persuasion failed, he attempted to triumph by the assumption of authority; and he commissioned his Legates to menace the contending Kings with Excommunication, unless they agreed to a year's Truce. The pride of Philip was offended by the employment of this tone of superiority; a tone indeed far more befitting a Judge entitled to pass sentence, than an arbitrator invited to suggest modes of reconciliation. But passions yet more dominant than pride were still to be assailed; and when Boniface endeavoured to control the King's avarice and rapacity, he awakened a hatred which gained strength by the necessity of temporary concealment. The very name, *maltôte* (*maltolte*), betrays

* M. de Sismondi, viii. 498.

† Giovanni Villani, viii. 6.

‡ Platina represents these Cardinals as "men of the greatest integrity, of whom two were reputed hermits." Celestine himself had been an anchorite.

§ It is said that a speaking trumpet was introduced into his cell, and that he was addressed through it in the dead of the night. Platina attributes his abdication to the advice of Caietano, without any pseudo-miracle; and Raynaldus is very suspiciously brief, *Bonifacius electus Neapoli Summus Pontifex, ad ann. 1295, § 1.*

the odious nature of an exaction which Philip had levied first from the Merchants, then from the *Bourgeois*, and at last from the Priests in his Kingdom; it amounted to the fiftieth penny upon every article deemed taxable, and it was arbitrarily and violently raised, with a total disregard to justice. The opposition which this impost encountered was materially increased when Boniface issued a Bull, known by its opening words, as *Clericis Laicos*. "Laymen at all times," said this most indiscreet document, "have manifested enmity against the Church;" and then, as a preventive of their usurpation, it excommunicated all persons of any degree whatsoever, who, under any pretext, should contribute any sum, however small, as tax, gift, loan, or benevolence to any Lay authority, without an express order from the Holy See. A like penalty was imposed upon the exactor, even if he should be Duke, Prince, King or Emperor.

This Bull, although not by any means specifically directed against Philip (for Edward had been guilty of almost equal extortion), was never forgotten by him; and may be esteemed as the primary cause of the unforgiving vengeance with which he afterwards pursued Boniface. The Pope, however, even when labouring above all things to extend and to confirm the despotism of Rome, still cherished the French interests warmly in his heart, and considered Philip in some measure as a wayward son, over whom it was necessary that he should exercise the control of parental authority. Thus even with his anger he mingled caresses; and while he visited with just reproof the offences of the King, he at the same time flattered the pride of the Nation, by terminating the enquiry into the Miracles said to have been wrought at the Tomb of Louis IX. (an enquiry which had A. D. 1297. lingered through twenty years and nine different Pontifi- Aug. 11. cates), and admitting the deceased King into the Roll of Saints*.

The coalition which Edward had organized was everywhere unsuccessful. The Count of Bar was overthrown in Champagne; the Count of Flanders, who had now declared himself, was Aug. 13. defeated after an obstinate engagement at Furnes; and the succours which the King of England afterwards brought to his support, at Bruges were so curtailed by the parsimony of his Parliament, that they proved far too scanty to restore the fortunes of the campaign. The Duke of Bretany had been gained over by Philip; and the uncertainty to which Adolphus of Nassau saw his Crown exposed by the rivalry of Austria prevented him from any active exertion. An Armistice was concluded during the winter, and Edward A. D. 1298. returned home in order to encounter the fresh struggle to which the Scots were excited by the heroism of Wallace, and perhaps also by the gold of Philip.

* The Miracles are printed by Ducange in his edition of Joinville, 391.

The King of England was weary of a contest in which he had been pursued by invariable disappointment, and Philip also was now well disposed for Peace. Both parties, however, had seen enough of the arrogant spirit of Boniface to mistrust the use to which he might convert unlimited power of arbitration, if such were committed to him; and when they accepted him as mediator, it was expressly stipulated that he should promote reconciliation solely as an individual, a common friend of the disputants, by no means in his character as Supreme Head of the Christian Church. The Pope's sentence, although called *final*, left the claim on Aquitaine undecided; but it led to a Treaty, concluded at Montreuil-sur-mer, in which a Truce of indefinite length was guaranteed by a double marriage. Edward himself received the hand of his formerly-affianced bride, Margaret; and his eldest son was betrothed to Isabella, a daughter of Philip. For the present, each party was allowed to retain such districts of Aquitaine as happened to be in his possession.

Even before the signature of this Treaty, Philip had profited by his disembarassment from hostilities with England to avenge himself deeply on Adolphus of Nassau, whose deposition and death must chiefly be attributed to the secret intrigues of France. The Count of Flanders was the next victim of his resentment. Charles of Valois entered the Netherlands with a powerful force, and having subdued the other chief towns, invested Ghent, which was prepared for long and perhaps for successful defence. But assurances that the King of France would graciously receive the submission of his vassal, and that Count Guy, on surrender, should immediately be restored to liberty and full dominion (a promise which the deceiver did not scruple to ratify by pledging his faith, honour, and loyalty), were treacherously violated almost at the moment at which they were accepted. No sooner had the veteran Prince delivered up Ghent, and placed himself and two of his sons at the disposal of Charles, than he was hurried to imprisonment with them in Paris, and his territories were annexed to the Crown of France.

* It will be convenient to trace in an unbroken narrative, at the expense of a slight deviation from strict chronological order, the remainder of Philip's transactions with Flanders. The character of the Flemings, notwithstanding its proverbial sluggishness, has ever been marked by sturdy independence; and their abhorrence of foreign rule was heightened, in the instance before us, by the perfidy through which that rule had been acquired, and the severity with which it was administered. Châtillon, an uncle of the Queen of France, the Governor appointed by Philip, was detested for his oppression; and although he escaped with life from an insurrection which it excited at Bruges, more than 3000 of his Countrymen were slain in a three days' massacre*. The rising, how-

* The carnage was most ferocious, and the Flemings manifested their detestation

ever, might have subsided as hastily as it had commenced, if the *Bourgeois* by whom it was executed had continued to want leaders of influence; but fortunately, a son and a great-nephew of the imprisoned Count were prompt to devote themselves for the liberation of a People who have rarely merited such sacrifices from their Aristocracy. The young Guy of Dampierre, and the still younger William of Juliers, at the head of a few gentlemen who dismounted in order to share the fortune of the Boors, and of about 20,000 militia armed only with pikes, which they employed also as implements of husbandry, resolved to abide the onset of 8000 Knights of gentle blood, 10,000 archers, and 30,000 foot-soldiers, animated by the presence, and directed by the military skill, of Robert Count of Artois, and of Raoul de Nesle, Constable of France.

Courtrai was the object of attack, and the Flemings, anxious for its safety, arranged themselves on a plain before the town, covered in front by a canal, which drains the surrounding country into the river Lys. Mass had been celebrated early in the morning before their line; but each soldier remained in his ranks, and instead of receiving the Elements from the Priests, stooped down, and raising to his lips a morsel of the turf at his feet, kissed it with a silent vow to perish in its defence rather than to abandon it to the enemy. The strength of the Flemish position was not lost upon the military eye of the Constable de Nesle; and he proposed a manœuvre by which it must have been turned. The Count of Artois, however, received the suggestion with contempt; he taxed the Constable with unreasonable dread of the "rabbits" which were opposed to him; and tauntingly alluding to a matrimonial alliance between his House and that of a noble Fleming, he implied, that his cloak was lined with some of that very rabbit-skin. "If your Highness," replied the indignant Soldier, "will ride even with me to-day, you will ride far enough;" and clapping spurs to his horse as he finished these ominous words, he commanded and led an impetuous charge.

This altercation was fatal in its result: De Nesle galloped furiously onward, and was followed by the entire cavalry in a single column. The canal, on account of the level nature of the country, was not seen until immediately approached; and although neither its breadth nor depth was great, its perpendicular banks rendered it impassable on horseback. The leading files, on reaching its edge, were unable to rein their chargers in time; they were pressed on by the dense mass in their rear, ignorant of all that passed in front, and they were impeded from wheeling either to right or to left, by the concave form of the water-course.

of the French by outrages which shock humanity. Sentinels were placed at the City gates with orders to put to death every person failing in the correct pronunciation of words which must have been an effectual Shibboleth, *Scilt ende Friendt*. Meyer, *Annales*, p. 92.

Every moment increased their confusion; and while they were thus entangled, bewildered, and trampling each other under foot, the Flemish wings having crossed the canal, easily fordable by infantry, closed upon their flanks and rear, and completed the disorder. Resistance was impossible; the weight of heavy armour, and the narrowness of the space for combat, rendered the Knights in complete steel unequal opponents to the lightly-accounted Flemings, who, advancing more to slaughter than to battle, drained the noblest blood in France with little risk to themselves.

The slain presented a mournful catalogue of illustrious names. Among them were to be reckoned the two authors of the calamity, the Count of Artois and the Constable Raoul de Nesle; a brother of the latter who was a Maréchal of France; Châtillon, the Royal Governor; Pierre Flotte, the Chancellor; the Duke of Brabant and his son; a long train of lesser Nobles; 200 Gentlemen of distinction, and at least 6000 men-at-arms. Philip had lost his most experienced Generals, and the flower of his troops; but his obstinacy was unbending, and disaster is easily repaired by Power which throws aside the restraint of equity. His first object was to replenish his Exchequer; for money, as he well knew, would provide men. Accordingly, all the plate in the possession of public functionaries, and half of that belonging to private individuals, was called into the Treasury; and there it was exchanged for a money-payment, which, if fairly calculated, would have been equivalent to its real value. But the Coinage had been purposely alloyed beforehand, and the King, by its deterioration, gained between 30 and 40 per cent.* By these and similar tyrannical means, he equipped 60,000 foot-soldiers and 10,000 men-at-arms, in the almost incredibly short period of two months, and led them in person to Arras before the close of Sept. —. September. The Flemings, inferior in number but animated by their recent great victory, skirmished on all occasions with success; the season was too far advanced to allow the King to compel them to a pitched battle; and when the conveyance of supplies became difficult from the impracticability of the roads during the autumnal rains, he found it prudent to retreat, to agree to an Armistice, and to disband his troops without having obtained revenge.

A similarly ignominious close terminated the campaign of the following year; during which the Flemings were commanded by A. D. 1303. another of those Princes whose self-abandonment deserves to be held in honourable remembrance. Philip of Dampierre, one of the many sons of the imprisoned Count Guy, had accompanied Charles of Anjou in his expedition to Naples; and as a reward for faithful service, had been invested in that Kingdom with the Fiefs of Riéti and of Lanciano. On the first notification of the Flemish War

* Velly, iv. 157, where he relates these odious exactions in a much more equable tone than he would have employed if he had been personally affected by them.

he restored these possessions to Charles, and having thus freed himself from allegiance to a French Prince, he generously hastened with as many followers as he could collect, to share the perils of his Countrymen. His arrival was hailed with joy, and he was instantly raised to the chief command, for which his experience in Italy had rendered him well qualified.

During the Truce which succeeded this campaign, the King of France granted a conditional release to the Count of Flanders. The old man agreed to return to his dungeon at Compiegne, provided the existing Armistice was not succeeded by a definitive Peace; and three of his sons were left as hostages for the fulfilment of this promise. Far, however, from recommending the concessions which France demanded as the price of her amity, he employed his few weeks of liberty in bidding farewell to his Family and Friends; and then, with a truly Roman spirit, he cheerfully surrendered himself once more to im- A. D. 1305.
prisonment, from which he was released only by death, Feb. —.
after the completion of his eightieth year*.

The following Summer was far advanced before Philip recommenced military operations; and then, for the first time, they were successful. His Fleet, commanded by Reniero Grimaldi, A. D. 1304. a Genoese Admiral, and assisted by a mercenary squadron hired from the same People, obtained a signal victory in the Zuruck-zee; and he himself achieved a triumph by land, which contemporary authority, demanding implicit respect †, attributes Sept. —. greatly, if not altogether, to his own personal valour. Sixty thousand Flemings, under the command of Philip of Riéti, were encamped near Mons-en-Puelle, where the King, after fording the passage of the Lys, marched to attack their position. As the French approached, the Flemings intrenched themselves behind a double line of baggage-cars and provision-waggons, so as to be unassailable by cavalry; the force which they most dreaded, and in which themselves were wholly deficient. The French had learned prudence from the disaster at Courtrai, and having ascertained the formidable nature of the position by sufficient reconnoissances, they withdrew to their quarters. The King was on foot, without his armour, and preparing to sit down to table, when three divisions of the Flemings, impatient of further delay, poured down upon his camp. Charles of Valois fled from the combat, overcome by surprise, and thinking all was lost, after he had seen 1500 Knights slain around him; but the King, although left alone, succeeded in rally-

* Giov. Villani, l. viii. c. 76. *Cont. Nangis*, 56.

Interque merentes amicos

Egregius properavit exul.

He died, says Villani, "like a wise and valiant gentleman."

† Giov. Villani, l. viii. c. 78. He was not recognised by the enemy.

ing his broken *gendarmérie*. The Flemish infantry were unable to pursue their first advantage; and when the French horse recovered from their panic and returned to the field, a fearful carnage began. After leaving 6000 dead, in a struggle which continued to rage even by torch-light, the vanquished Flemings slowly retired by Lille and Ypres.

Philip lost not a moment in besieging Lille, into which city Riéti had thrown himself, defeated but not dispirited; and while the French, from day to day, were looking for the entire mastery of Flanders, they were astonished by the re-appearance of a well-appointed force of 60,000 men, which had been organized in less than three weeks. The manufacturers of the rich towns, abandoning their looms and furnaces, had enrolled themselves personally in arms, to defend the wealth which they knew must be forfeited if they had resigned their liberty. "Are we never to have done? does it rain Flemings?" were the significant enquiries of the King* when Heralds from the new army defied him to battle; and, hopeless of subduing a People who appeared to obtain reinvigoration by every fresh defeat, he readily entered into a Treaty. The independence of Flanders was acknowledged under its Count, Robert de Bethune (the eldest son of Guy de Dampierre), who, together with his brothers and all the other Flemish prisoners, was to be restored to liberty. The Flemings, on the other hand, consented to surrender those districts beyond the Lys in which the French language was vernacularly spoken; and to this territory were added the Cities of Douai, Lille, and their dependencies. They engaged, moreover, to furnish by instalments 200,000 livres in order to cover the expenses which Philip had incurred by their invasion.

Thus ended a contest which had cost France most dearly; but before its close, Philip had already been successful in a struggle of widely different nature, with a Power far more dangerous than A. D. 1300. that of the Flemings. The Secular Games of Pagan Rome had been renewed by Boniface VIII., under the title of a Centenary Jubilee. The lure which he offered to invite attendance was plenary Indulgence for all sins to those Pilgrims who, during the course of the privileged year, should visit the *Basilicæ*† of the Eternal City for thirty days successively. It is said, that not a single day passed in that year in which fewer than 200,000 strangers were domiciled within the walls of Rome; and the great addition of wealth and power afforded to the Pope by this huge concourse of votaries proportionably increased his arrogance. He affected the absolute disposal of the Crown of Sicily; he bestowed on Charles of Valois the swollen titles of Gonfaloniere of

* Velly, iv. 181.

† Twelve of the earliest Christian churches in Rome are known under this name, from having been either originally used by the Pagans for the purposes in which they employed Halls so called, or from having been built upon the model of those Halls.

the Church, Pacificator of Tuscany, and Vicar Imperial in Italy; he excited in him a hope of succession to the Throne of Constantinople, and even to that of the Western Empire; he protected the Scots in their opposition to Edward I.; he pressed upon the King of Castile the hitherto unsatisfied claims of the De la Cerda Infants; and he summoned Albert of Austria to answer before his Tribunal the charges of murder and usurpation. Each of these measures, if examined to its source, contained in it something that was dictated by secret good will towards France; yet frequent disputes were occurring between that Country and the Holy See, towards which Philip treasured in his breast the seeds of former enmity. They were ripened by the appointment of a Legate whom many circumstances rendered obnoxious.

Bernard de Saisset, Bishop of Ramiers, had been consecrated to that See by Boniface, on its separation, by his sole authority, from the Diocese of Toulouse; an act which Philip not unjustly considered as an infringement upon his own prerogative. The nomination of this intrusive Bishop as Legate, which soon followed his first appointment, was by no means likely to conciliate; and Philip, of whom he is believed to have expressed himself with too little reserve, resolved upon his destruction. The four chief Civilians, who enjoyed the King's unlimited confidence and who were well inclined to depress Boniface, Pierre Flotte, the Chancellor, who afterwards fell at Courtrai; William de Nogaret, who succeeded that high officer; Enguerrand de Marigni, the Minister of Finance, whose calamitous fate will require further notice; and William de Plasian, a lawyer of distinguished subtilty, were instructed to prepare a secret accusation. Treason, Heresy, Blasphemy, and Simony were among the charges; the Bishop, having been arrested during the night-time, was thrown into prison; and many A. D. 1301. of his servants were subjected to torture, in order to extract July 12. testimony from them against their Master.

To a fierce and unseemly demand made by Philip, after the committal of this outrage, for the degradation of the Bishop, in order that one might be punished "who had evinced himself a traitor both to God and Man, who was plunged into an abyss of iniquity, and in whom no amendment could be hoped if he were permitted to exist, seeing that from youth upwards he had lived in sin, and baseness and perdition had been strengthened in him by inveterate habit," Boniface replied at first with calmness and dignity. He discredited the accusation; he protested against the seizure of the Bishop as illegal; he vindicated the Ecclesiastical immunities, and he summoned the French Prelates to a Synod at Rome. At the same time, he addressed to Philip personally a Bull, known in History by its opening words, "*Ausculata, Fili,*" in which he unsparingly detailed the numerous offences against the Church committed by him since his accession. The King was offended by this Remonstrance in proportion to the truth which it conveyed, and having

suppressed the original document*, he instructed Pierre Flotte to recite a summary (*La Petite Bulle* as it is called), in which France was declared to be dependent upon the Holy See not less in matters Temporal, than in those which are Spiritual; the King's right to collation was denied; and all Ecclesiastical appointments which he had made during his reign were utterly annulled†.

This unreal Bull was burned‡ by Philip in the presence of his Barons, and he then, in order to justify the further measures of violence which he meditated, convoked the Three Estates of his Realm, as is believed for the first time in the History of France. So that a King, than whom none ever evinced himself a greater enemy to popular enfranchisement, afforded the earliest precedent on record for admitting the A. D. 1302. Commons to a share in public deliberations. The assembly April 10. met in the Church of Nôtre Dâme at Paris; the Three Orders retired to separate Chambers to frame their respective Letters to Rome; and they were dissolved after one day's sitting.

It is probable that the fears of Boniface were awakened by this novel proceeding; for he was content to deny, in very temperate language, the authenticity of the Lesser Bull; while at the same time he hastened a reconciliation with the most powerful enemy whom he had created elsewhere, and recognized Albert as King of the Romans. Philip, however, was not to be turned aside from his projects of revenge; he A. D. 1303. summoned the Gallican Prelates to a Convocation at Paris, March 12. in which, using Nogaret as a mouth-piece, he represented the occupant of the Chair of St. Peter as the Father of lies, the self-styled *Boniface* as *un faiseur de mal* (an evil-doer); furthermore, he demanded the arrest of this pseudo-Pope, and his imprisonment till he could receive sentence from a future Œcumenical Council.

Boniface, in return, signified that Philip was included in a former general Excommunication, which he had directed against any one who should inhibit the meeting of the Synod which he had already summoned at Rome; and he cited the Royal Confessor to appear before the Papal Court within three months, as his Master's proxy. The King imprisoned the Ecclesiastics who were despatched as bearers of this ana-

* The original Bull was mutilated by Philip's orders, even in the Papal Registers when he afterwards obtained possession of them at Anagni. It is not given entire by Raynaldus, but it is to be found in Dupuy, *Preuves de l'Histoire du Différend entre le Pape Boniface VIII. et Philippe le Bel*, printed in the VIIth volume of the Works of De Thou, pp. 48, 52. In that volume each Treatise is pagged separately.

† M. de Sismondi (ix. 87.) believes that Pierre Flotte did not intend to falsify the original Bull; but that he made the summary, *La Petite Bulle*, in order to assist his memory, and in it exaggerated the expressions really employed by the Pope; that this *spirit* of the Bull was generally received in France as its *text*, and that it was therefore considered dangerous and impolitic to rectify the public belief during a period of great excitation.

‡ The burning of the Bull is ascribed by Dupuy (*ut supra*, p. 64.) to Robert of Artois. The most unprinciply Letter from Philip to the Pope, printed by the same writer (p. 44.), is probably a clumsy forgery.

thema ; and he offered a formal accusation of the Pope, framed in the name of the French Princes, to the new assembly of his *Baronnage*. Crimes the most impure are contained in the twenty-nine Articles of this singular indictment ; and, as a specimen of its reasoning, it may be enough to state that the ordinary assumption which the Popes make of Infallibility is adduced as a proof that Boniface entertained a Familiar Demon.

Philip never menaced a blow which he was unprepared to strike, and the Pontiff's steps had long been watched by the crafty Nogaret, who discovered that a direct Excommunication was about to be issued against the King. When Boniface therefore repaired during the Summer to pass some time at Anagni, his native town, about a day's journey South-east from Rome, the local authorities had been seduced to favour his arrest. Sciarra Colonna*, a brother of two Ghibelin Cardinals whom the Pope had excluded from the Conclave, lent himself also to the enterprise, in order to gratify personal resentment ; and Nogaret, in his company, supported by 300 horsemen and a much larger armed body on foot, entered the town by surprise, shouting Sept. 7.
 "Death to Boniface! Long live the King of France!"

The pillage of the Cardinals' houses, and of the Palace itself, which were abandoned to popular fury, gained the co-operation of the rabble, never too inquisitive into the purity of the source which affords plunder ; and the person of Boniface was secured after very slight resistance. The lofty spirit of the old man was nevertheless unbroken by the indignities to which he was exposed. Invested with the mantle of St. Peter, with the diadem of Constantine glittering on his brow, holding in one hand a Crucifix, in the other the Keys, and seated on his Pontifical Throne, he awaited the onset of the new Brennus by whom he was menaced. "Here is my throat," he exclaimed, "here is my head ; I am ready for death. Betrayed like my Saviour, still will I die as befits a Pope." Nogaret felt awed and embarrassed by the firmness of his prisoner ; he threatened indeed to carry him in chains to Lyons, but he left him under a guard in possession of his Palace during three days ; and perhaps he was not displeased when he learned that, from the negligence of attendants, from the fear of poison, or from mental anguish, Boniface, during that period, had been without any sustenance. At its expiration, the populace of Anagni had become sated with spoil ; and they then perceived the infamy to which they would be exposed by this outrage upon their fellow-townsmen, their Patron, and their Spiritual Father. The cry recently heard in the streets was changed into "Long live the Pope ! Death to the traitors !" and the fickle multitude in-

* Sciarra Colonna had undergone great hardships in consequence of the quarrel of his Family with Boniface. He had been compelled to hide himself in the woods near Antium (Nettuno), and afterwards, having been seized by some pirates, he had worked at the oar as a galley-slave. Philip ransomed him in order to employ his services against Boniface. Platina in *Vit. Bon.*

creased, by the support of the neighbouring peasants, to 10,000 men, chased Nogaret and Colonna from the Palace, and restored the venerable prisoner to freedom. The object of Philip, however, was accomplished, without need of further violence; and Boniface, in his eighty-sixth year, worn out by agitation, perhaps not wholly free from bodily injury, expired on his route to the Vatican, in about a month from the day of his capture*.

His successor, Benedict XI., held the 'Keys little longer than eight months. As soon as he ceased to temporize with Philip, and had acquired sufficient courage to excommunicate the chief perpetrators of the outrage, at Anagni, he perished mysteriously, but, as there can be little doubt, by poison. A veiled Lady presented to him, while at table, a basket of figs. They were the earliest produce of the Season; and the

Pope, after partaking largely of the fruit, of which he was
A. D. 1304. known to be fond, sickened and died. It was only by con-

July 7. jecture that an author for this crime could be assigned; but Nogaret and Colonna are freely mentioned by contemporaries; and one writer, either more bold or better informed than his fellows, has ventured to denounce even Philip himself †.

The Conclave at Perugia passed nine weary months without approaching to decision; for the Cardinals who espoused the interests of France, and those who owed their elevation to the deceased Boniface, were so equal in number, that no Candidate proposed by either party could hope to obtain the two-thirds of suffrages requisite for his election. It was at length privately arranged that the French Cardinals should bind themselves to select one out of three ultramontane names submitted to them by their opponents, and the period for choice was limited to forty days. The Cardinal di Prato, Philip's confidential instrument, found means of communication with his Master, and named Bertrand de Goth, Archbishop of Bordeaux, as the Candidate whom he thought most likely to be corrupted. Bertrand was a Gascon by birth, a subject of the King of England, and an *élève* of Boniface; moreover he had been engaged in a personal quarrel with Charles of Valois, during that Prince's occupation of Bourdeaux. Yet, notwithstanding these many obstacles to amity with France, when Philip in a secret conference showed that the Popedom was at his command, Bertrand thought the prize too brilliant to be rejected in consequence of any unseasonable adherence to former principles. The Pontiff elect bound himself by an oath sworn upon the Eucharist, and by a pledge which Philip deemed of still greater value, the deliverance of a brother and two nephews as hostages, to comply

* On the thirty-fifth day afterwards. Platina.

† Dupuy omits all notice of the poisoning. Ferrus Vicentinus, *ap. Muratori*, ix. 1013, accuses Philip pointedly, but differs from the ordinarily received particulars of the story, stating that some Neapolitans, gained by Philip, bribed two of the Pope's domestics to poison a basket of figs.

with six conditions which the King named as the price of his elevation. They were his own full reconciliation with the Church ; absolution for all those who had shared in the transaction at Anagni ; a grant of the tenths of the Gallican Clergy for five years ; the restoration of the deposed Colonna, and the nomination of some French Ecclesiastics to the Sacred College ; a Decree against the memory of Boniface ; and a sixth demand which the King was not to make known till the moment at which he required its accomplishment*. The Cardinal di Prato was advised of this successful negociation on the A. D. 1305. thirty-fifth day, and on the stipulated fortieth, Bertrand de Goth was proclaimed Pope, under the title of Clement V. June 5.

From the reign of Clement V. is dated the transfer of the Papal residence to Avignon, which the Romanist writers, on account of the term of its duration, and of the eclipse which their City underwent while it continued, are fond of assimilating to the Babylonish captivity. Clement, a Frenchman by birth, even if he had been unshackled by Philip, could have little wished to encounter the insubordination so frequently manifested by the Italian Capital ; and after celebrating his Coronation at Lyons (during which ceremony, the falling of a shattered wall exposed Philip, who was officiating as *Strator*, to considerable danger, and occasioned the death of the Duke of Bretany), he fixed his seat of Government on the Rhône, in a tranquil Country, in which he mistakenly hoped to receive the protection, without at the A. D. 1309. same time undergoing the domination of France.

Of the six conditions for which Philip had stipulated, four were readily fulfilled ; and while Clement sought time to extricate himself from the countless difficulties in which he was likely to become involved by even a simple Decree against Boniface, the King materially increased his perplexity, by a further demand, which is supposed to have been involved in the secret clause. The bitter hatred of Philip pursued his antagonist even beyond the grave ; nor was it to be satiated with less than a sentence which might blast his memory, by declaring him guilty of the foulest crimes, adjudge him to ignominious disinterment, and erase his name from the Catalogue of Popes. The eagerness with which this posthumous vengeance was coveted, underwent, however, a brief arrest in consequence of a transaction, which, notwithstanding the frequent and searching investigation to which it has been submitted, still remains among the most questionable portions of History.

* Dupuy very positively refers this sixth condition to the condemnation of Boniface. We do not think that there is any authority for this direct statement. It is very probable that Philip himself, at the time at which he obtained the promise, had by no means determined in his own mind what the request should be ; and that he subtly reserved the engagement to be produced according to circumstances. It might relate to the suppression of the Templars, as we shall see by and by ; or to the election of Charles of Valois to the Imperial Crown. M. de Sismondî inclines to the latter supposition. IX. 216.

Two Ex-Templars, the Prior of Montfauçon, and a Florentine, Noffo Dei, both of whom had been condemned to expiate numerous crimes by perpetual imprisonment, notified that it was in their power to make extraordinary revelations concerning the secrets of the Order from which they had been expelled. The King accepted the evidence of these informers, and communicated it to the Pope, without any expression of misgiving as to the impure source from which it was derived. A military brotherhood, bound by religious vows to the service of the Church, was indisputably under the sole cognizance of a Spiritual Tribunal; but

Philip, who had determined upon a less tardy process than that usually adopted by Ecclesiastical Courts, arrested in one day all the Templars within the limits of France; threw them into prison; and ordered their examination to be conducted before Commissioners permitted to subject the accused to torture.

Clement at first disputed this invasion of his legitimate authority; suspended the proceedings of the Secular Judges; and evoked the Cause of the Templars to himself. After the examination of a few prisoners, however, he granted licence for a renewal of the Civil processes already commenced, reserving for his own judgment only the Cases of the Grand Master and of the chief Preceptors.

The revolting charges produced against the Knights were in many instances strengthened by their own confessions; but confession, it must be remembered, was obtained in dungeons, by the question, by menace of death, or by assurance of pardon; and the avowals, thus extorted, were almost always retracted in moments at which the accused were more entitled to belief. Frightful punishments were inflicted upon the relapsed who denied their former admissions; and we read of fifty-six victims burned slowly, in the neighbourhood of Paris, not one of whom in the midst of his excruciating agonies would purchase remission by again criminating his Order. The Persecution extended throughout Europe; and in spite of acquittals pronounced by more than one Provincial Synod held beyond the confines of France, Clement assembled a General Council at Vienne, which demanded the abolition of the Order.

The voluminous documents which curiosity and research have accumulated respecting the Dissolution of the Templars contribute rather to darken than to illustrate that most remarkable event. They are beyond measure complicated and contradictory; and the examination of them has produced directly opposite convictions in judgments which in both instances are well entitled to respect. We gladly therefore avoid the painful and unsatisfactory task of enlarging upon their details. Some of the charges eagerly admitted in a superstitious Age, are at present instantly refuted by their own absurdity. Those also most likely to excite abhorrence and disgust were on that account least likely to receive

dispassionate investigation. No probable motive can be assigned for making the rejection of the Saviour, and a wanton desecration of the holiest symbols of His Religion, a part of the Ceremonial by which a Fraternity professedly enrolled for the rescue of His Sepulchre should inaugurate its Brethren. The pollutions of which they are accused are similar to those which have often been charged upon other secret Societies; which it is easy to impute, and which it is impossible wholly to disprove. That the Templars were proud, avaricious and licentious may readily be conceded; for they formed a rich and powerful Body, and Avarice, Pride, and Libertinism are the evil qualities most easily besetting their class. But was their great accuser free from similar stains? Was Philip devoid of Pride or of Avarice? Had he not, on the other hand, most cogent motives for believing, or for affecting to believe, in guilt which ensured a wholesale confiscation? The Decree of Clement, indeed, annexed the Revenues of the dissolved Priories to the use of the Knights Hospitallers; but that Decree was not promulgated till between four and five years after Philip had seized the property of all the Templars in his dominions. His Treasury was always craving; and we have sufficient proof on other occasions that a violation of justice for the attainment of wealth, was not an obstacle which the King of France would weigh with very scrupulous nicety.

The Council of Vienne terminated the controversy also respecting Boniface. Clement had already received, at Avignon, depositions which cannot be read without surprise. Witnesses were found to affirm that the deceased Pope had unreservedly expressed disbelief of almost every Article of the Christian Faith; that he sacrificed to the Devil; held personal conference with him; and worshipped Idols; that he indulged in detestable sensuality; and urged sophisms to prove that his abominations were innocent. If Philip had continued to press his hitherto eager suit for the utter condemnation of his enemy, it is not easy to perceive in what manner Clement could have refused assent after the admission of statements such as these. But perhaps the King discovered the peril of too great success, which might involve in it the downfall of the Church; perhaps his vengeance was satisfied by feeling that triumph was in his power; perhaps (and this conjecture is more in accordance with all that we know of his character) some unavowed motive of policy, some hidden fear or hope, prompted his abstinence. He allowed a Bull to be issued, in which blame was removed from himself without any inculpation of Boniface. All Excommunications and Interdicts resulting from the seizure of the late Pope at Anagni, which appeared, however indirectly, to affect the Royal Prerogative, were rescinded, annulled, and expunged from the Pontifical Registers; and even Nogaret and his fifteen nearest adherents, who had hitherto been excluded from any hope of absolution, now received that boon conditionally, provided they

would devote the remainder of their lives to service in Palestine, and to the performance of certain other acts of mortification and penance. The Council of Vienne, without interference with this Bull, finally pronounced that Boniface had been a legitimate Pope, and that he was unsullied with Heresy.

In directing our notice to these great occurrences we have been compelled to omit some minor, but not altogether unimportant contemporary events. The embarrassment of Philip's finances induced him to a perpetual tampering with the Coinage, and the ruinous changes which he authorized from time to time more than once aroused popular discontent, which he was not able to suppress without resorting to severity. In order to counterpoise this insurrectionary disposition of the lower Orders, the Nobles were diligently cultivated, and their good will was obtained by a boon which sufficiently speaks both the general want of Civilization, and the little confidence as yet inspired by Legislative Institutions. Philip, rescinding one of the most salutary Ordinances of his wiser father, again authorized the barbarous appeals of Judicial Combat, and revived the Wager of Battle, in all heavier accusations which affected the Nobility. The Jews, according to established precedent, afforded supplies to his rapacity. After the appropriation to the Crown of all debts owing to them (in which transfer the tenderness of the Royal conscience annihilated the interest, from fear of defilement by usury), they were banished the Kingdom under the penalty of death; and thus, as we are informed by a Writer not much addicted to the general praise of Philip, France was delivered from an egregious pest.*

The Crown of England had passed to the weak and effeminate Edward II., who, far from disputing power with Philip, looked to him for support. Putting aside all the claims which had been contested by his warlike father, he hastened to Boulogne to perform homage for Aquitaine and Ponthieu, and to cement his alliance with France by receiving the hand of the Princess Isabella, which had been engaged to him at the Peace of Montreuil. His Queen at a later period solicited the interference of her father to remove the worthless Favourites who abused her husband's confidence; and after the fall of Piers Gaveston, we hear of some splendid festivities, at which Edward and his Consort were entertained by the Court of Paris; while Enguerrand de Marigny, one of Philip's ablest Ministers, was more usefully endeavouring to reconcile the disaffected Barons in London.

On the assassination of Albert of Austria, Philip strenuously exerted himself to obtain the vacant Imperial Crown for his brother Charles of Valois, and he reckoned greatly on the support of the Pope, whom, as

* Raynaldus, *Annal. ad ann. 1306*, § 18. The Jews appear to have returned, and to have been banished by a fresh Ordinance, Aug. 22, 1311. *Ord. de France*, I. 408.

some have said, he reminded on that occasion of his sixth promise. The Pontiff durst not offer any open resistance, but he secretly warned the Electors that he did not wish attention paid to his apparent recommendation; and he heartily concurred in their choice, A. D. 1309. when, after seven months of interregnum, it confirmed the independence of Germany by selecting Henry (VII.) of Luxemburg. Philip, who was greatly mortified by the event, suspected, and therefore never forgave the intrigue of Clement.

The annexation of the rich and important City of Lyons to the French Crown materially increased the power of Philip in the South, without subjecting him to the usual accompaniment of political gain, the imputation of injustice. The Archbishops, whose oppressive sway he overthrew, were at least equally usurpers with himself; and the *Bourgeois* were unfit either to administer or to defend a separate Government. The King's latter years were clouded with domestic misfortune. His Queen Jane was secretly poisoned, and the wives of his three sons were accused of adultery. The brothers De Lannai, the paramours of Margaret, the Consort of Louis the Quarrelsome (*Hutin*), Heir-apparent, and of Blanche, Countess de la Marche, were sentenced, on their own confession, to expire in fearful tortures; and the offending Princesses were condemned to imprisonment. Louis, after his accession, ordered his first wife to be strangled, in order to make way for a second marriage; Charles de la Marche contented himself by procuring a divorce; and either love or interest so far blinded Philip of Poitiers,* the remaining brother, that he obtained a Decree from the Parliament of Paris declaratory of the innocence of his Consort Jane, the rich heiress of Burgundy, who was thus restored to all her dignities and possessions.†

Clement V. and Philip IV. expired within a few months of each other, and popular belief connected their deaths with the last wrongs of the illustrious Body which they had jointly laboured to exterminate. Jacques de Molay, the Grand Master of the Templars, and three other Dignitaries of that Order, had hitherto escaped the fate which had consigned so many of their Brethren to the scaffold; and after an examination before an Ecclesiastical Commission, in which it was said that a full avowal of guilt was obtained, they were adjudged to perpetual imprisonment. When the sentence, preparatory to its execution, was read to the culprits, in the Porch of Nôtre Dâme, at Paris, De Molay and the Commander of Normandy protested their entire innocence, and declared that the confession which had been recited was altogether false. The Prelates,

* "More happy, or at least more wise, than his brothers." Mezeray, *Abr. Chr.* II. 806.

† Jane and Blanche were sisters, the issue of Otho IV. of Burgundy and Matilda, Countess d'Artois.

to whose custody the prisoners had been intrusted, hesitated as to further proceedings; but Philip, less inclined to mercy, ordered the relapsed to instant execution. A pile was hastily framed at the hour of Vespers, on a spot adjoining the Royal Gardens; and the noble sufferers, while amid the flames, continued to maintain the iniquity of their sentence. It is asserted that the Grand Master, after he had been chained to the stake, cited his two oppressors to appear with him before the judgment seat of Heaven, Clement within forty days, Philip within a year and a day from the hour of his execution*. If the words were ever really spoken, they were perhaps remembered, not without anguish, on the dying pillows of those to whom they had been directed. The April 20. treasure of Clement was pillaged by the rapacity of his attendants, almost before he had drawn his latest breath, and the magnificent bier upon which his corpse was exposed in Funeral pomp, caught fire amid the tumult, so that his remains were more than half-consumed. The last moments of Philip did not encounter like disturbance; but his death occurred at the premature age of Nov. 29. forty-six, from an accident while hunting. A wild Boar rose between the legs of his horse, which threw him, and the King, having been conveyed to Fontainebleau, died, after languishing many weeks under the injuries which he received from his fall.

CHAPTER VIII.

From A. D. 1314 to A. D. 1343.

Louis X. *le Hutin*—Power of Charles of Valois—Execution of Enguerrand de Marigny—The King's Marriage with Clemence of Hungary—Fruitless attempt upon Flanders—Famine and Pestilence—Death of Louis *Hutin*—Regency of Philip V. *Le Long*—His Accession—The Fief of Artois adjudged to Matilda of Burgundy—Establishment of the Salic Law—Expedition of Philip of Valois into Italy—Crusade of the *Pastoureaux*—Persecution of the Lepers—Death of Philip V.—Charles IV. (*Le Bel*)—His Second Marriage—Project of a Crusade—Revival of the Floral Games at Toulouse—Third Marriage of Charles—Transactions with England—Death of Charles *Le Bel*—Regency and Accession of Philip VI. *de Valois*—Edward III. of England performs Homage for Aquitaine—Victory over the Flemings at Cassel—Condemnation and Banishment of Robert d'Artois—He finds an Asylum in England—War with Edward III.—Alliance of Edward with Jacob d'Arteveldt—Edward assumes the Title of King of France—Sack of Qadsand—Edward is appointed Vicar Imperial—The French destroy

* A very similar story is related of François I. Duke of Bretany, which we shall have occasion to notice by and by. Ferdinand IV. of Castile, who died in 1312, is reported to have been summoned in like manner by two brothers, Carjoval, who were executed for murder on insufficient proof. He died on the appointed day, and is known in History by the title *El Citado*.

Southampton—Inconclusive Campaign in Flanders—The Flemings openly declare for England—First mention of Fire-arms—Great Naval Victory gained by Edward at Sluys—His Failure before Tournai—His Challenge of the King of France—Truce—Dispute for the Succession of Brittany—Edward espouses the cause of De Montfort—De Montfort taken prisoner—Gallant defence of Hennebon by his Countess—Death of Robert d'Artois—Truce of Malestroit.

HISTORY has not preserved, nor is its silence to be regretted, any particulars of the youthful follies from which it is supposed that Louis X. derived the name *Hutin**. But the qualities A. D. 1314. which it implies sufficiently betoken his incapacity to administer the Government of a People rendered unruly by long and heavy oppression. The severity of disposition and the selfish wariness with which his father guarded against all inroads upon his power, had enabled him to pursue a course of exaction which impoverished his subjects, and prepared an abundant harvest of turbulence for his successors. The young King, on the contrary, enamoured of pleasure, willingly surrendered the weightier cares of State polity to hands which were equally willing to receive the burthen; and his uncle Charles of Valois, a Prince more distinguished for activity and ambition than for any predominant talent, undertook the guidance of public affairs from the moment of the accession.

Popular discontent is seldom fastidious as to its victims. Give it but a sacrifice—let the blood but flow—and the coarse appetite of the vulgar is blunted, without any nice enquiry as to the source from which it has been supplied. In the perpetration of the great act of injustice which we are about to relate, private enmity was mingled with public odium; and Charles of Valois, in order to revenge a personal quarrel, roused or directed the storm which overwhelmed the chief confident of his deceased brother.

Enguerrand de Marigny, the Finance Minister of the late reign, on some occasion, had resented an attack made upon him by Charles, before the Council, with a firmness which the haughty temper of the Prince was little calculated to endure. High words, much unbecoming violence, and even a mutual imputation of the lie, passed during this dispute; and Charles, who brooded over the insult with secret and bitter indignation, eagerly seized the opportunity for vengeance offered to him by the possession of authority. Marigny and Pierre de Latilly (who had been Chancellor to Philip IV.) were arrested and thrown into prison. Against the latter, who was also Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, heinous charges of poisoning were advanced; and he was accused of having occasioned the death not only of his predecessor in the See of Châlons, but also of the

* *Mulin, altier, querelleur*; c'est la véritable signification de ce vieux mot François. Velly, IV. 275. Mezeray, II. 250. gives it a more honorable origin; attributing it either to the success with which the young Prince restrained some insurrections in Navarre and Lyons, or to his early love of playing at military evolutions. But Mezeray, although ungratefully used, was a Court Historiographer.

late King himself. The immunities of the Clergy afforded far greater security to Latilly, than he could have derived from innocence, however clearly established; and he escaped by sheltering himself behind the tardy forms of the Ecclesiastical Courts; which protracted his trial till the popular ferment had subsided, and till his leading enemies were removed. Marigny, who was not similarly shielded, found to his cost that no other armour was proof against attack.

When numerous attempts had been made in vain to procure sufficient evidence of embezzlement and dishonest practices against Marigny; when even the confessions of his Clerks, obtained under the agonies of the question, proved inconclusive, Louis *Hutin* would have been contented to inflict no heavier punishment than exile upon one against whom no offence had been substantiated. Marigny, doubtless, had lent himself as an instrument to the tyranny of Philip IV.; had planned or assisted in the deterioration of the Mint; and had repeatedly spoiled both the Jews and the Lombards; but these acts, even if they appeared at all criminal in the eyes of his accusers, by no means exposed their perpetrator to capital punishment. Charles of Valois, however, felt that the prey was in his grasp, and would not consent to relax his hold. The wife and the sister of Marigny were included in a new and a more fatal charge. It was said that with the assistance of a Sorcerer, and at the instigation of the Minister, they had framed waxen Images of the King, of his uncles, and of his brothers. These Images, according to a current superstition of the time, were to be slowly melted before a fire; and as they wasted, so also would waste the bodies which they were designed to represent. The Magician, in order to escape torture, hanged himself in his cell; his wife and one of his servants were burned alive; the Ladies of Marigny's family were immured in the closest imprisonment; and himself, notwithstanding the impossibility of his alleged crime and repeated protestations of innocence, was adjudged to an ignominious death. Without having been permitted to speak in his defence before the Court which sentenced him, and in spite of his privileged descent from an ancient Norman Family, he was hanged; and in order to in-

crease the infamy of his punishment, his body was attached
 a. d. 1315. April 30. to a Gibbet at Montfauçon, which had been erected by his own orders, for the exposure of criminals after their execution*. The punishment of Queen Margaret, who was strangled in prison, although unaccompanied by any judicial process, does not

* Louis X. was so oppressed with remorse for the injustice which he had allowed to be exercised against De Marigny, that he bequeathed 10,000 livres to his widow and children. Charles of Valois, while labouring under the disease which proved mortal to him, although not till several years afterwards, restored to the Family a confiscated estate, and performed a Funeral service, at great cost, in commemoration of the murdered Statesman.

appear to have excited much attention*. Louis was eager to renew the nuptial contract, and he obtained a fresh bride, Clemence of Hungary, as she is usually styled, because her uncle Robert was titular King of that Country, in which her brother Charobert afterwards really established authority. Clemence, however, was of Neapolitan birth, the daughter of Charles to whom was given the title of *Martel*. Her virtues placed her in most agreeable contrast with her predecessor; and she succeeded in inspiring general attachment. At the time of her arrival, however, so exhausted was the Royal Treasury, and so unable or so unwilling was the Country to supply its wants, that the losses which she had suffered by shipwreck during her voyage to France could not be repaired with sufficient speed to permit the performance of her Coronation with the customary magnificence. Aug. 15. Louis had delayed this ceremony till he could share it with his Consort, and it was celebrated with curtailed pomp a few days after their marriage.

Numerous important concessions to the Nobles in different Provinces, which their own selfishness and want of union prevented from becoming Nationally advantageous, in some degree quieted the discontents of the Kingdom, and enabled Louis to prosecute the design which he ardently cherished, of renewing War in Flanders. An attempt was made to procure money for this enterprise, by an expedient remarkable both in itself, and in the little effect which it produced. The serfs (or *gens de main-morte* as they were otherwise termed) were invited to purchase liberty; and it was proposed to create a free Peasantry on equitable terms, by assimilating the condition of the great mass of rural population to the name, *Franks*, which they had borne so long and so untruly. But the privilege was either not understood, and was therefore not properly valued; or the Royal promises were mistrusted: so that when an Ordinance was issued even in a more compulsory tone, few accepted the proffered emancipation; and the King was obliged to resort to a forced loan from the Lombard Merchants.

The preparations for the Flemish Campaign were conducted on an extensive scale; and Louis commenced his march within a few days after his Coronation. But his advance was speedily checked, not by any want of skill, but by the Autumnal rains of more than usual heaviness, which destroyed his stores and equipages, spread disease among his ranks, and compelled him to retreat, without having been in presence of the enemy. The wild fancies to which Superstition resorted in order to promote his success, have been repeated at later periods and in other Countries; and both the streets of Paris, during the Fanaticism of the League, and those

* Giovanni Villani dismisses the fate of this wretched Lady very briefly. "When Louis became King of France, he ordered her to be strangled with a napkin." IX. 65.

of London during that of the Fifth Monarchy men, have been thronged with Penitents, who, as in the days of Louis *Hutin*, imagined that they could propitiate Heaven by an indecent exhibition of complete nakedness. Persons of both sexes, headed by the Clergy bearing Reliques, accompanied these unseemly processions; which commencing in the large Cities, extended at length through the greater part of France.

To general poverty and military disaster was added the appalling calamity of Famine, which more or less pervaded the whole of Europe during the years 1315 and 1316; scarcity of grain had followed an inclement season and a deficient harvest; and the Bakers, who had been compelled to employ various substitutes for flour, were exposed to popular outcry as having adulterated their bread with disgusting and even with poisonous ingredients. Without examining the futility of these charges, or endeavouring to remove the absurd prejudices which they created, the Government found temporary disembarassment by sacrificing the victims against whom the blind fury of the rabble was in the first instance directed; and the destruction of numerous Bake-houses and of their stores materially aggravated distress. We are assured that full a third of the inhabitants of Northern Europe perished on this occasion from want of sustenance*.

The miserable reign of Louis *Hutin* was brought to a close, after eighteen months duration, by his own imprudence. While A. D. 1316. violently heated by Tennis, he entered a cold vault, and June 5. drank copiously of new wine. The sudden change of temperature thus produced struck inwardly, and a few hours of suffering terminated his existence. Clemence immediately proclaimed her pregnancy; but Philip, next brother to her late husband, hastening from Lyons (where he had been engaged in watching the tumultuous deliberations of that Conclave which finally elevated John XXII. to the Pontifical throne), assumed the Regency, with powers rendering him in all but name a King. If Clemence bore a son, the Count of Poitiers was to retain his guardianship and the administration of public affairs till the Youth entered his nineteenth year; if the issue were a Princess, Philip was to renounce Navarre and Champagne in favour of the daughters of Louis *Hutin*, who, when they attained an age at which their consent would be deemed legal, were to offer a counter-renunciation of all claim to the Throne of France†. No Constitutional usage, however, assigned to Philip the right of Regency as First Prince of the Blood; nor was the exclusion of females as yet established by Law, by precedent, or even by

* G. Villani, lib. ix. c. 78.

† This Treaty was purposely, no doubt, worded with obscurity. If the Princesses refuse to make the renunciation, their claim was to remain, and "right was to be done them therein." But what right (restitution being their right) could they expect from a King *de facto*? as Philip would by that time have made himself. The whole transaction is very ably treated by Mr. Hallam, *Hist. of Middle Ages*, I. 44. 4to.

public opinion *. At the expiration of five months, Clemence was delivered of a son, who died within a few days after his birth. Since the Coronation of this Prince, John, was never celebrated, he is not to be counted among the Kings of France, but, to use the more cautious language of contemporaries, as the Royal Infant, who, if he had lived, *would have been King* †. Nov. 15.

The Regency of Philip is distinguished by one transaction far more important in its ulterior bearings, than it appeared to be in itself at the moment of occurrence. Louis IX. had bestowed the County of Artois as an *apanage* upon his brother Robert, who was killed at Mansourah †. To Robert II., son of that Prince, were born Philip and Matilda. The former was slain at the Battle of Furnes, in his Father's lifetime, and left issue a son, another Robert; the latter married Otho IV. Count of Burgundy. On the death of Robert II. his Fief was disputed between Matilda and her nephew, and Philip IV. pronounced in favour of Matilda, who accordingly received investiture. Robert III. (as he is called) yielding at the time to necessity, dissembled his claim, till the presumed weakness of a Regency appeared favourable for its re-assertion; but he was speedily undeceived by the promptness with which Philip armed to support the right of Matilda, whose daughter he had married. Philip was recalled from his camp at Amiens to receive the Crown, and the final decision of the Cause was referred to a solemn deliberation of the Peers of France, whose sentence two years afterwards confirmed Matilda in possession of the contested territory. The hand of A. D. 1318. Jane, a younger daughter of Charles of Valois, was con- May —.ferred on Robert, as some indemnification for his loss; but the inheritance of which he had been deprived was far too valuable to be readily forgotten, and we shall perceive, as our narrative advances, that the revival of his claims in a future reign, was one of the proximate causes of those bloody Wars, which for more than a Century and a quarter inflamed the National passions, and wasted the energies of both France and England.

The Princess Jane, daughter of Louis *Hutin* by his first wife, an orphan child in her sixth year, had little chance of countervailing the adult power of Philip, who indeed soon made it A. D. 1316. the interest of her sole natural protector, Eudes, Duke of Burgundy, to abandon the pretensions of his niece. The Princes of the Blood (*les Royaux de France*), who at first demurred as to the exclu-

* M. de Sismondi, IX. 339. The compromise negotiated soon after the commencement of the Regency, with Eudes of Burgundy, evinces Philip's fear of the claims of the Princess Jane, and the dangerous uncertainty which at that time prevailed respecting hereditary right.

† *Id. Ibid.* 345.

‡ The County of Artois was the portion of Isabella of Hainault, Queen of Philippe Auguste.

sion of females*, were similarly bribed to assent by various promises and intermarriages; and the *Salic Law* (as it is called by one of the most remarkable misnomers in History) was finally established as a Constitutional rule of the French Monarchy, when an Assembly of the States was convened by Philip soon after his Coronation. The succession, during the 328 years which had elapsed since the beginning of the Capetian Dynasty, had been hereditary without variation; and the Crown, during that long period, had quietly descended, in every instance, from father to son, in an unbroken line of twelve Kings. The question even of collateral right, much less that of female succession, had never been actively raised, and it is not likely that it would be abstractedly discussed. To the *usurpation* therefore of Philip V. must be assigned the origin of a Law, the practical wisdom of which by no means requires for its support the aid of a false and fanciful appeal to remote Antiquity.

While Philip was thus engaged in setting aside the claims of his niece, and in preparing to erect round the Throne of France a barrier which no Woman was hereafter to pass, by affirming that hands used to wield the Distaff were unfitted for the management of the Lance†, his Coronation (which he thought it discreet to celebrate under the protection of an armed force) exhibited a memorable contradiction of the principle which it was his interest to support. During that ceremony, the Countess Matilda, representing Artois, officiated as one of the Twelve Peers, and held the Crown over the head of the new King. A subtle argument has been employed in order to reconcile this marked opposition of usages between parts of the Kingdom and its whole. Each Province, it is said, is governed by its own peculiar customs; and there is nothing to prevent a Woman from holding a Fief under her male Suzerain; but the Crown which is held from God alone is not a Fief, and therefore must be otherwise regulated‡.

The energy which Philip had displayed in seizing the Throne appears to have deserted him after he had once attained its possession, and his rule was feeble and inglorious. John XXII., a bold and ambitious Pontiff, instead of receiving commands like his immediate predecessor, issued his own ordinances from Avignon, and considered his residence in that City as furnishing him with a key to the control of France. His interference with her domestic Government was frequent and mischievous; his love of quibbling disputation awakened a fierce contro-

* Charles of Valois was so strongly opposed to the succession of Philip, that he quitted Rheims on the morning of the Coronation, and refused to assist in it. The Continuator of Nangis attributes this conduct to some private personal pique (698), and Bonamy, whose research is invaluable, but who is much stronger as an Antiquary than as a Logician, refines a little too much upon the conjecture. *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.*, xvii. 366. It is probable that Charles was wavering in his opinions respecting the equity of the proposed exclusion. See an Essay on the Salic Law as applied to the First Race of Kings. Id. viii. 476.

† *La Lance ne tombe point en Quenouille.*

‡ Henault. *Abr. Chron.*, i. 320.

versy with the Franciscans, in which he resorted to the stake for his final arguments; his idle belief in Sorcery and Magic was fed by the sacrifice of numerous victims; and his abhorrence of Heresy encouraged the Sermons of the Toulousain Inquisition.

We read of three assemblies of the States General under Philip V.*, but their proceedings are unrecorded. A tedious negotiation with Flanders procured from Count Robert III. an abandonment of claims which he had obstinately asserted for the restoration of the towns of Bethune, Lille, and Douai; and he performed homage for his Fief. Edward II. of England had been relieved from similar personal service at the accession; but that weak Prince, notwithstanding the dispensation, was induced, either by love of the Pageantry attendant on a Royal Conference, or by a more serious hope that he might obtain assistance from his brother-in-law against his insurgent subjects, to visit Amiens in the Summer of 1320; and there, in the course of a month's festivity, to acknowledge his vassalage for Aquitaine.

The abstraction from the rest of Europe which for the most part characterized this reign was unsuitable to the active and impatient spirit of the French Nobles; and when Philip of Valois†, a cousin-german of the King, announced his intention of embarking in the Wars of Italy, a brilliant train enrolled itself under his command. Seven Counts, a hundred and twenty Knights, and six hundred mounted Gentlemen, accompanied an expedition in which they were spared from destruction solely by the generosity or by the policy of the Visconti. The rashness with which Philip advanced upon Mortara, and the unexpected leniency with which the subtle Princes of Milan permitted him to retreat unharmed, after he was completely in their power, are episodes scarcely belonging to the National History of France, and to which therefore we should not make even this passing allusion, if the Prince, who was the chief actor in them, had not afterwards worn the Crown of that Kingdom.

Nor was restlessness confined to the Higher Orders only; a like temper pervaded the inferior classes, and created an insane movement, in many respects similar to one which we have already noticed as agitating France during the captivity of St. Louis. The achievement of the deliverance of Jerusalem was again declared to be reserved, not for the rich and high-born, but for the lowly and the meek. Innumerable throngs were attracted by two apostate Priests, who inculcated this doctrine in their Sermons; and the peasants, throughout the greater part of France, abandoning their fields and flocks, commenced a wandering life, apparently without any fixed object. Their course at first was peaceable; but when the support of idle thousands was felt to be burden-

* In 1317, 1319, and 1321.

† Son of Charles, Count of Valois, brother of Philip IV.

some, and the Magistrates interfered to prevent the seizure of food, no longer afforded by charity, the Enthusiasts resorted to violence. One division of them advanced upon Paris; forced the prisons to which some of their brethren had been committed; and offered so formidable an array in the Pré-aux-Clercs, in which they afterwards mustered, that it was deemed prudent to allow their retreat without interruption. In their passage through the South, this deluded rabble perpetrated merciless outrages upon the Jews. More than five-hundred of that miserable Sect sought protection within the walls of the Royal Castle of Verdun upon the Garonne; and when the last tower into which they were driven had been fired at its base, the wretched fugitives, in order to escape the death of torture which awaited them if they should fall alive into the power of their besiegers, threw their children from the battlements, and then directed their swords against each other, till the whole number perished by mutual slaughter.

The *Pastoreaux*, undisciplined and without efficient Leaders, spread alarm wherever they penetrated; and as they approached Avignon, John XXII. excommunicated all who should engage in any Crusade till it had received Ecclesiastical sanction; and summoned the neighbouring Militia to his protection. When the Fanatics sought embarkation at Aigues-Mortes, they found themselves surrounded; and their onward march to the shore and their inland retreat were alike intercepted by an overwhelming force. Hemmed in on all sides by pestilential marshes, they wasted away miserably, for the most part, by Famine and Disease; many, however, were delivered to the executioner, and the trees by the road-side groaned with the burden of gibbeted criminals. The few who escaped were indebted for safety chiefly to a fresh channel into which Superstition inclined*.

In the year 1321, a general rumour prevailed through Europe that the unhappy Beings afflicted with Leprosy (a disease with
A. D. 1321. which the Crusaders had become infected in the East, and which spread epidemically wherever it met encouragement from neglect or want of cleanliness) had conspired to inoculate all their healthy fellow-creatures with their own loathsome malady. The malignant affirmed, and the credulous believed, that every Lazar-house in which charity afforded the sufferers a retreat, with the exception of two in England, had deputed representatives to four General Councils; in which assemblies it had been resolved to poison all the wells, fountains, and reservoirs of water, with substances the natural destructiveness of which should be heightened by magical incantation. The King of Grenada and the Jews were denounced as the prime movers of this nefarious plot directed to the extermination of Christianity; and it was said that the latter, unable to overcome the many impediments which

* The Crusade of Shepherds is related by Bernard Guido, and by other writers, who may be found, *ap. Muratori*, iii. 682, &c.

opposed their own agency, had bribed the Lepers to become their instruments*.

This "enormous Creed," in spite of its manifold absurdities, found easy admission; and, if other evidence were wanting for its support, torture was always at hand to provide Confessions. Philip V. was among the firmest believers, and therefore among the most active avengers of the imaginary crime; and he encouraged persecution by numerous penal Edicts. At Toulouse, 160 Jews were burned alive at once on a single pile, without distinction of sex, and, as it seems, without any forms of previous examination. In Paris, greater gentleness was manifested; those only were led to the stake from whom an avowal of guilt could be extorted; and perpetual exile was the sole punishment which awaited the possessors of that superior physical or moral strength which resisted the searching inquiries of the Rack. The wealthy, indeed, did not obtain the privilege of banishment, without disbursing for it an adequate price; and the Royal Treasury was enriched with 150,000 livres plundered from the innocent as their ransom.

Amid these horrors, Philip was oppressed with a mortal disease. He languished under fever and dysentery, which confined him to bed from August till January, and he then expired at A. D. 1322. Longchamps, before he had fully attained the age of thirty, Jan. 23. and after a reign of little more than five years.

Charles IV. the Handsome (*le Bel*), third brother of the two preceding Kings, ascended the vacant throne; for the law by which Philip V. had transferred the Crown to his own brows, now proved an effectual obstacle to the admission of his daughters. Philip had a son living at the time at which he demanded the sanction of the States to the perpetual exclusion of females; and Charles, then by no means contemplating the speedy attainment of presumptive heirdom, opposed the measure which ultimately occasioned his own undisputed succession.

The first care of the King, warned by the fate of his brothers, was directed to the perpetuation of his Line; and unwilling to proceed to the extreme punishment of his guilty consort Blanche, who still lived in imprisonment, he established sufficient proof of consanguinity to render his marriage null without imputation of adultery. True it is that the bride whom he selected to supply her place was yet nearer in blood than her from whom he was divorced; and that John XXII., who pronounced that the third and even the fourth degree might be pleaded in bar of the matrimonial contract, did not hesitate to grant a Dispensation which united the King of France with a cousin-german. The new Queen was Mary of Luxemburg, daughter of the late Emperor Henry VII., and sister of John King of Bohemia.

* Velly, iv. 332, relates the Conspiracy of the Lepers with the most unflinching gravity of belief. The authorities are the same as those for the Crusade of Shepherds.

The Lepers and the Jews found some remission from suffering at the commencement of this reign; and the Acts of Grace, then issued, sufficiently betoken the utter wretchedness of even those who were thought deserving of mercy. Not a doubt is expressed of the reality of the alleged Conspiracy, or of the justice of the punishments which had been exacted; but it is advised that the revenues of the Lazar-houses may still be appropriated to their original use, for the support of those against whom no charge had been established; and that the outcasts who were prohibited from seeking any occupation by which sustenance was to be obtained might be permitted to prolong existence by the aid of those funds which Charity had contributed for their maintenance. The Jews also were allowed to quit their prisons in the 'day-time, in order that they might collect the sums requisite for the purchase of exile.

The announcement of a fresh Crusade, to promote the deliverance of Armenia, recently conquered by the Moslems, for a time occupied public attention, and replenished the Royal coffers by the tenths granted from the Clergy for its prosecution. It is not probable that Charles ever seriously contemplated the fulfilment of this design. But he had assumed the Cross nine years before, together with his father and his brothers; and he acquired some popularity by not opposing the ebullition of zeal which had been excited for the moment by a promulgation of Apostolical Bulls and a lavish promise of Indulgences. As soon as the first ardour had subsided, the project gradually died away, and Charles, otherwise unemployed, A. D. 1324. found leisure to undertake a progress through his Southern Provinces. During his stay at Toulouse, some of the Burghers of that City attempted a revival of the ancient Provençal Poetry; and idly hoping that the resumption of *names* might bring back with it the *things* also once designated, they invited Candidates to *Floral Games*, to be held on the 1st of May, when the successful Competitor should be graduated *Doctor in the Gaie Science*, and be presented with a golden Violet by the *Seven Troubadours* who were appointed to adjudge the prize. Charles, who was unimbuéd with Literature, and whose tastes were coarse, broke up his Court in the middle of March, in order to escape this Poetical contest; but the *Mainteneurs* of the Academy of Flora, or as it was afterwards named the College of Rhetoric, continued to summon all the rhymers in Languedoc to the celebration of their 'fantastic anniversary, till, after the lapse of more than four Centuries and a half, every sound of harmony was interrupted in France by the overpowering yell of Revolution*.

Charles had scarcely retired from Toulouse to Issoudun, before the birth of a son was followed by the almost immediate death of both the infant and his mother. The haste with which he re-married was in-

* Velly, iv. 352. In his time (1770), the 3d of May was the day on which the Prizes were distributed.

decorous and unfeeling; for within three months from the death of his second wife he received the hand of another cousin-german, Jane, daughter of Louis Count d'Evreux.

By carefully waiting upon opportunity, Charles exercised far greater influence over Flanders than his predecessors had obtained by the sword; and a Treaty, concluded at Arques, established in that Country the interest of France as predominant, and procured 200,000 *livres tournois* for her Exchequer. During the great contest between Louis of Bavaria and Frederic of Austria for the Imperial Crown, Charles nourished hopes of superseding both those competitors, and he was encouraged by the Pope and by John of Bohemia. The Decree of the Diet of Spire, which recognised the Bavarian Prince and gave Peace to Germany, March — terminated these ambitious visions.

The nuptial wrongs of his sister Isabella (who, however greatly she is to be condemned for her profligate and unprincipled retaliation, was still an injured wife), and the manifest weakness of Edward II., provoked an attack upon the English possessions in Aquitaine.

The immediate cause of War was a paltry Castle in the Agenois, the right to which was disputed between the French and the Sieur de Montpezat, one of Edward's vassals. The latter attacked the troops which had dispossessed him, put them to the sword, razed the walls of the fortress, and transported its stores to his own Château. The King of France, indignant at this outrage, committed the task of vengeance to Charles of Valois*, by whom Aquitaine was speedily overrun. Montpezat died of grief before his possessions were seized, and Edward, unable to offer resistance, committed the negociation of Peace to the unfaithful ministry of his Queen, and deputed his eldest son to perform homage.

The intrigues by which Isabella overthrew her husband, and transferred the Crown to that son, belong properly to English History, although they were materially forwarded by both the gold and the arms of Charles IV. On the accession of Edward III. a Treaty was signed at Paris, which reconciled the conflicting Nations, and promised restitution of the conquered portion of Aquitaine. The King not long afterwards was afflicted with a tedious and painful malady, and as he became convinced of the near approach of death, he carefully provided for the succession. Like his brothers, he was devoid of male issue; but his Queen was pregnant at the moment of his decease, and he died therefore not entirely without hope that the birth of a posthumous son might prevent the transfer of the Crown to another branch of his Family.

* It was the last military enterprise of Charles of Valois, who died December 16 of this year.

Philip, grandson of Philip IV., and heir of that Charles Count of Valois whom we have had frequent occasion to notice, and whose death had but recently occurred, was nominated Regent by Charles IV. during his last illness. The circumstances in which Philip of Valois was placed, resembled those which had preceded the accession of Philip V.,
 A. D. 1328. and when after the expiration of two months Jane was April 1. delivered of a posthumous daughter, he found himself similarly in possession of the throne.

The new King was at that time in his thirty-sixth year, rich, powerful in the number of his retainers, and, although unfortunate in his Italian expedition, possessed of an outward figure and of many personal qualities which endeared him to the soldiery. If the Salic Law were constitutionally recognised, he was indisputably entitled to the Crown as nearest heir in the male Line; if hesitation were still entertained as to the reception of that Institute, there were two competitors who might advance a claim against him. One of these, Philip Count of Evreux, had married Jane, daughter of Louis *Hutin*; but ten years of exclusion had already confirmed that Prince in a belief that his pretension was not to be established, and he readily assented to a renunciation of it, on condition that another part of his wife's inheritance, the Kingdom of Navarre, of which he had hitherto been deprived, should be quietly ceded.

Edward III. of England was not more likely, at the moment, to dispute the succession than was Philip of Evreux. By his mother, Isabella, he was grandson of Philip IV.; nearer in blood therefore than the acknowledged King, and a male, but not by the male Line. He was but sixteen years of age, the whole administration of his insular Government was in the hands of his mother, yet reeking with the blood of her husband, and sullied by illicit intercourse with Mortimer. While Rebellion was hourly expected in England, a successful War for the

A. D. 1329. attainment of the Crown of France appeared to be hopeless;

June 6. and, after some temporizing, Edward crossed the Channel, and performed homage for Aquitaine in the Cathedral at Amiens.

Before the performance of that ceremony, Philip VI. had greatly strengthened himself by a severe chastisement of the Flemings in revolt against their Count Louis I. A War with Flanders was always popular in France, from the prospect of rich spoil which it afforded; and when the King after his Coronation announced his intention of taking the field in person, 170 banners eagerly ranged themselves under his

A. D. 1328. command. The Boors, posted at Cassel, surprised the

Aug. 23. French army by night, and penetrated even to the Royal tent, in which the King, unarmed, was carelessly preparing for supper. It was not without much difficulty that his Knights protected him till he could mount and escape. But the panic was of short duration; and when the French recovered from their first alarm, victory was easily attained. Sixteen thousand Flemings had marched to the

attack in three divisions.. Three heaps of slain were counted on the morrow in the French lines, amounting altogether to 13,000 corpses; and it is said that Louis having been admitted to all his insurgent Cities without farther resistance, inflicted death upon 10,000 more of the Rebels, doomed to expiate their opposition to his authority and some coarse insults offered to his ally, by tortures the most unprecedented. Robert of Artois, who greatly distinguished himself in this Battle, had also been very actively engaged in promoting the succession of Philip. The King, grateful for those services, erected his County of Beaumont-le-Roger into a Peerage; and regarded him, both as a friend and as a brother-in-law, with marked personal favour. Strong in hopes thus excited, Robert, at a Conference at Amiens, renewed the claim upon Artois which had twice before received an unfavourable decision. The transaction is not wholly free from obscurity; but the judgment of the Peers on this occasion pronounced not only that the pretension of Robert was untenable, but also ascribed to him very atrocious guilt. It was affirmed that he had produced forged documents in order to furnish new and more cogent evidence of his disputed right; and that he had poisoned Matilda and her daughter Jane, the legitimate inheritresses, who had obtained proofs of the falsehood of these depositions*. For these felonies, he was sentenced, while absent and contumacious, to perpetual banishment. The judgment was too lenient if he were guilty, and Philip is to be blamed for undue gentleness rather than for severity. Some of the instruments of crime, as often happens, were less fortunate than their employer, and compensated for the lightness of his sentence by the heavier weight of their own. Among them, a young woman of Divion, who had been largely employed in the nefarious scheme, and who had an evil repute for general flagitiousness, was burned alive as actual perpetrator of the forgeries†.

The fury of Robert was unbounded when he learned his discomfiture, and in his first paroxysm of rage, no sacrifice appeared excessive for the

* Matilda died during the Process, Oct. 27, 1329, *enherbée*, as the *Chron. de Flandres*, c. lxix. p. 138, expresses itself. Her eldest daughter, Jane, relict of Philip V., survived her mother only a month. She died with indisputable marks of poison, within a few hours after she had drunk some *Clarré* (wine mixed with honey and spices and strained till it is *clear*) prepared and presented by an officer of her Household. *Id.*, *ibid.*

† The innocence of Robert d'Artois has been asserted by many writers; but a

Robert as *Prince d'ailleurs qui avoit de très-grandes qualités, et qu'on pourroit regarder comme le plus glorieux de son siècle s'il n'avoit terni l'éclat de sa vie, &c.* The tarnish resulted from bearing arms against his Country, from forgery, and from murder. Velly, iv. 499, gives a much fairer estimate.

In one of the Testimonies cited by M. Lancelot (x. 595) the Lady of Divion is said to have been a *pluribus annis super vilia incontinentiæ, adulterii, sacrilegiorum, et aliorum crimina multipliciter diffamata*. Much more also is there written to her disparagement.

purchase of revenge. In accordance with the prevailing Superstition of his Age, he firmly relied upon the potency of Magic; and he believed that the parchment scrolls blazoned with diabolical characters, which he found means to deposit under the pillow of the Duke of Burgundy*, would reduce his enemy to so sound a slumber, that he might be carried off at will. The evidence of his Chaplain, Henry Sagebran, relating to the *voults* or waxen Images which Robert asked him to baptize (a ceremony necessary to render them completely effective), bears internal evidence of truth. The figure which represented John of Normandy, the Heir apparent of France, had been already thus consecrated, if we may apply the word to so evil a ritual; that which was intended to procure the destruction of the Queen—"not a Queen, 'but a she Devil,'" as Robert characterised her—still needed the Sacramental dedication which,

although the Sponsors were at hand, the Priest declined to
A. D. 1334. administer. Nor were merely human means neglected, and

Jan. — hired assassins penetrated so far as Rheims before their project was discovered. After this detection, Flanders was no longer a safe abode for Robert; and, disguising himself as a merchant, he passed the sea, and sought an asylum from Edward III. in England †.

The suggestions of such a counsellor as Robert, whom Edward soon admitted to his confidence, doubtless enhanced the animosity between the Kings of France and of England, but there were ample

A. D. 1331. previous causes for its existence. By the overthrow of

Oct. 19. Mortimer and Isabella (the latter of whom passed twenty-eight years in honourable restraint after the capital punishment of her minion), Edward found himself in possession of full power before he was twenty years of age; and glowing with the ardour of youth, and conscious of the great military talent which he afterwards so largely exhibited, he renewed a favourite design of his predecessors, and directed all his energies to the subjugation of Scotland. The injustice of aggression upon an independent People was little likely to deter a youthful conqueror who felt strong enough to attack their liberties; and resentment of it certainly was not the motive which induced Philip to oppose him. But the King of France, in espousing the cause of David Bruce, whom he received at his Court, believed that he might depress a rival whose eminent qualities he had discovered in their germ, and whose future ascendancy he feared; and he therefore lent more than clandestine aid to the Scots from the outset of the struggle.

* The County of Artois had descended to the Duke of Burgundy by his wife Jane, eldest daughter of Philip V. and of Queen Jane, daughter of Matilda.

† Robert, however, entered England by no means in poverty; for already, in 1331, he had transmitted thither "his horses and his treasure, which was very large." *Chron. de Flandres*, and *Chron. de St. Denys*, cited *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, x. 614. *

Nevertheless a bond had been formed between the two Princes, which even their mutual jealousy found difficulty in breaking; they had jointly engaged in a Crusade. The Court of France was the very mirror of Chivalry; and Europe had never yet beheld any spectacles which in costliness and magnificence might compete with those exhibited by Philip. John of Bohemia, the most accomplished Knight of his time, was so far dazzled by these attractions that he abandoned his Kingdom, after a short experience of its Barbarian manners; and careless of the hazards to which he exposed his Crown, fixed his residence among the more courteous and cultivated foreigners. No enterprise in which Philip could engage seemed more brilliant than that of heading a confederacy of Kings in a new Crusade, which the Pope, John XXII. readily agreed to sanction. Edward of England promised A. D. 1331. his co-operation, and the Spring of 1334 was named for the Dec. 5. departure of the armament.

Long, however, before the arrival of the appointed gathering, the increased differences between the two Princes plainly evinced that they would become engaged in War much nearer home; and the fixed time passed away without any departure of the Crusaders. Benedict XII., who had succeeded to the Popedom, em- A. D. 1335. ployed useless mediation, and expressed bitter grief that champions already devoted to the service of God should be arming against each other. But the breach was not thus easily to be repaired; and it was widened by the refusal of Philip to fulfil a promise which he had made upon receiving Edward's homage for Aquitaine, that he would subject certain doubtful claims on that Fief to the judgment of the Parliament of Paris. Forcible occupation appeared a shorter method of adjustment than legal process; and when the Seneschal of Agenois, acting under the orders of the King of France, had A. D. 1336. expelled some vassals of England from the disputed territory, and when Philip was known to be gathering troops on the coast of Normandy, Edward assembled a Fleet at Portsmouth in order to resist these hostile menaces.

Many reasons concurred to render the Flemings natural allies of England in a struggle with France. The Burghers of the Low Countries had at all times chafed against the rule of their Counts; and the reigning Prince, Louis I., was peculiarly unpopular among them from his constant residence at the Court of Philip. England was also closely linked in commercial intercourse with the traders of the Netherlands; and her wool was the staple commodity which supplied their looms, and therefore chiefly contributed to their wealth. The principal leader of the Citizens of Ghent, James von Artevelde, a native Brewer of the town, was one of those demagogues who obtain from the voluntary homage of the multitude a far more abject submission than is ever exacted by any despotism in the erection of which their own hands

have not laboured. Froissart assures us that this Mob-King never appeared abroad without a retinue of sixty attendants, prompt to obey his orders, which terror had made irresistible and upon which depended not less than life or death*. He had already taken advantage of some Civil discontent to expel the municipal officers of the Court; and the finances and the population of Ghent were directed by his sovereign control.

An ally thus powerful was of no small importance to Edward, who accordingly sought to conciliate his good will by an especial embassy. Some attachment to ancient Institutions still however prevailed among the Flemings; they could renounce their Count indeed, to whom personally they were devoid of regard, and remembrance of former Wars had generated a National antipathy against the French People; but the *King of France* was their immemorial Sovereign; their Fief ranked as the first Peerage in the oldest Monarchy of Christendom; and to separate themselves altogether from that Monarchy seemed a voluntary abandonment of their most honourable distinction. The ingenuity of Artevelde found an expedient by which, as we shall by and by perceive, he was enabled to overcome this reluctance of his fellow-citizens. He proposed that Edward, who asserted claims to the Throne of France, should at once assume the title of King of that Country. Thus, he might interpose between the Flemings and their Count with at least a semblance of legitimate right; and the former, on contracting alliance with England, would not at the same time become rebels and traitors to their Sovereign.

This suggestion, no doubt, agreed with views of ambition long cherished by Edward; and perhaps occasioned the first Instrument in which he described Philip as "the pretended King of France†," a

A. D. 1337. letter written in 1337 to propose alliance with the Emperor,

Aug. 26. Louis of Bavaria. Before the close of the same year, he issued a Declaration from Westminster, in which he formally styled himself King of France by lineal descent,‡ and appointed Lieutenants to administer his Government in that Country. Soon afterwards, he directed an expedition against Cadsand; in which Henry of Lancaster

Earl of Derby and Sir Walter Manny, at the head of a very inferior force, overthrew Guy the Bastard of Flanders, and having pillaged and burned the town, re-embarked with a considerable booty.

The wars between France and England henceforward assume a widely different aspect, from that which they have hitherto borne. They were no longer struggles maintained by a Feudal Lord against his Sovereign on some disputed point of homage, or for the possession of a town or

* Vol. I. c. 65.

† *Nunc pro Rege Francorum se gerentem. Fredera*, I. 991.

‡ *Jure successorio legitimè devolutum. Id. ibid.* 1001.

district, but they were contests for superiority between two independent monarchs, in which the stake was not a Province but a Kingdom. The first campaign was weakly conducted, and does not present any occurrence of interest. The force with which Edward landed at Antwerp, was by no means sufficient for uncombined move- A. D. 1338. ments; and his allies in the Netherlands refused all active July 20. co-operation until the Emperor should openly declare himself. A Conference was accordingly arranged between the two Princes; and in a Diet held with great magnificence at Coblentz, Edward was declared Vicar-Imperial, with military autho- Sept. 3. rity over all the Country on the left bank of the Rhine and beyond Cologne, for a period of seven years. But the season for the field had ended before these solemnities were brought to a close; and while Edward made his preparations for the ensuing campaign during the Winter which he passed at Antwerp, Philip had ample leisure to collect the money and the troops which were required for the coming encounter.

Exactions from the wealthy and a debasement of the Coinage appear to have been the only financial arts which ever suggested themselves to the Rulers of those days in cases of distress; and to both of these easy but short-sighted and ruinous expedients Philip unsparingly resorted. By a menace of Excommunication which he prevailed upon Benedict XII. to issue, and through the address of John of Bohemia, whom he employed upon a mission for the purpose, he for a while retarded the weak Emperor Louis from a fulfilment of his recent alliance; and the Autumn of the following year found the King of A. D. 1339. England, after a lavish expenditure in subsidies, still unable to reckon upon any efficient coadjutor. A Fleet, engaged by the French from the Italian ports which traded in maritime War, rode triumphantly in the Channel; and the pillage of Southampton by Hugues Quieret and Pierre Béhuchet, the destruction of its walls, and the massacre of its inhabitants, excited very general consternation in a Country little used to hostile invasion*.

The Emperor at length despatched one hundred lances to the Netherlands, and his example was soon followed by most of his great Feudatories. Towards the end of September, Edward, September. therefore, was able to commence his march at the head of 20,000 men at arms, with whom advancing through Picardy as far as the Oise he mercilessly ravaged the intermediate country. A formal defiance was exchanged between the Kings as soon as their armies were in presence; but after confronting each other Oct. 23. for a whole day near Buiron-fosse, they separated without having struck a blow, notwithstanding the great numerical superiority of

* Froissart, Vol. I., c. 36. The French landed on a Sunday morning, while the inhabitants were at Church.

the French. This reluctance of the stronger party to attack is ascribed to a communication, delivered to Philip while on the field, from Robert King of Sicily; in which that sagacious Astrologer predicted the certain defeat of his cousin, if he should ever hazard an engagement when Edward commanded in person*.

The English retired unmolested upon Brussels, and there Artevelde succeeded in persuading the Flemings openly to espouse the cause of Edward, and to recognize him as King of France. They were engaged by oath to pay a fine of two millions of florins to the Apostolical chamber, if ever they should act offensively in any way towards the King of that Country; and the subtle proposal of Artevelde reconciled their consciences with their interests, enabled them to violate this oath without any injury to thrift, and as they persuaded themselves, and would fain have convinced others also, "without prejudice A. D. 1340. to their honour and faith." Froissart is not likely to be

Jan. 28. mistaken in the transaction itself, although he is clearly wrong in dating Edward's *reluctant* assent to the assumption of the title and arms of France from the conclusion of this Treaty†. We have already shown that he advanced the pretension more than two years earlier.

The following campaign was opened by a war of posts, occasioning great mutual loss without equivalent advantage. The first mention of the use of fire-arms occurs in an account given by Froissart of the repulse of Philip's eldest son, John Duke of Normandy, from the walls of Quesnoy; whence, we are told, that the "cannons and bombards flung large bolts of iron in such a manner as made the French afraid for their horses‡." By sea, the operations were more conclusive, and one of the greatest Naval victories recorded in the History of the Middle Ages, was won by Edward in person off the coast between Sluys and Blankenberg. One hundred and twenty sail, manned by 40,000 combatants, were anchored closely together under the command of the two pillagers of Southampton; and it was in vain that the more experienced Genoese, Barbanera (Blackbeard), remonstrated upon the want of sea-room, and urged them to follow his own example by standing out from land in order to allow freedom of manœuvring. When Edward first

June 30. descried the stationary "forest of masts" which opposed his progress, he expressed great joy; and having carefully provided for the safety of a band of noble ladies who were accompa-

* Froissart, Vol. I., c. 39, 40, 41. He seems to contradict himself; but so far as we understand his computation, the English mustered 27,000 men, the French 105,000. M. de Sismondi, who refers to the same authority, raises the English force to 44,000. A hare was started at one moment in the French ranks; and the Count of Hainault, in consequence of the shouting occasioned by the accident, thinking that the Battle had begun, knighted fourteen of his company, who were known ever afterwards as *Les Chevaliers du Lièvre*.

† Vol. I., c. 42.

‡ Ib. c. 46.

nying him to join the Court of his Queen at Ghent, he tacked till he had obtained the advantage of both wind and sun, and then bore down upon the French, who had regarded this manœuvre as the prelude to flight. His ships, as they neared the enemy, threw out grappling irons, and so narrowly compacted and so precluded from movement were the French, that almost a continuous stage of decks was provided for the combatants. The battle raged during six hours, and the English, who had attacked fourfold their number, for a while were sorely pressed; but in the end their obstinate valour prevailed; 30,000 of their adversaries were put to the sword, or driven into the sea; and the sole division of the Fleet which escaped was that which, led by Barbanera himself, had obeyed his tactics*.

The convenient ministry of a Jester was employed to acquaint Philip with this great defeat, which no Courtier was willing to hazard his favour by communicating, and the King was accordingly invited to join his Buffoon in railing at "the cowardly English," who durst not leap into the sea after the manner of his brave Normans†. Want of skill, or deficiency of means, protracted, through a period of eleven weeks, the siege of Tournai, which Edward commenced soon after his landing; and Philip would have evinced little policy if, by the acceptance of a personal challenge, during that period, he had relieved his foe from daily increasing embarrassment. The Cartel which Edward sent, was addressed, most offensively, to "Philip of Valois;" and it defied him to single combat, to a meeting with one hundred knights on each side, or to a pitched battle at a given place and time. The termination of the calamities necessarily inflicted upon a Country occupied by two great armies, and the general repose of Christendom, were the arguments upon which this proposal rested; and it was dated in the first year of Edward's reign in France, the fourteenth of his sway in England. Philip declined any reply to letters which he said were not July 30. addressed to himself; nevertheless, he added, having heard by other means that the King of England "in violation of the liege homage which he has sworn to his Sovereign, has entered the French dominions, it is our fixed intention at whatever time we ourselves may think best, to expel this perjured invader from our Kingdom‡."

Notwithstanding this boast, Philip was not less inclined to accept than Edward was to offer terms of adjustment. Each Prince indeed had cogent reasons to wish for a suspension of hostilities. Edward was menaced at home by invasion from Scotland; before Tournai he had

* Froissart, vol. i., c. 49.

† Thomas de Walsingham. *Ypodeigma* ap. *Neust.* 448.

‡ *Nostre intention est, quand bon nous semblera, de vous jeter hors de nostre Royaume.* Both Edward's Challenge and Philip's Letter are printed in the *Fœdera*, I., 1131, and by Velly, IV., 483.

made little apparent progress, and the Flemings taking alarm in consequence of a defeat of Robert of Artois with the loss of 1800 men at St. Omer, had broken up, and had retired from their quarters. Philip, on the other hand, knew that provisions were rapidly failing in the besieged City; and that although his position enabled him to decline battle, it equally impeded him from offering it for the relief of the distressed garrison, unless at considerable risk and disadvantage. Under these circumstances, the conclusion of a Truce for six months was by no means difficult. Edward returned to England, and Philip, having thrown supplies into Tournai, and having rewarded its brave defenders by the restoration of the full rights of Communeship, transferred his Court to Paris.

The Emperor, affecting indignation that he had not been consulted previously to this armistice, dissolved his connexion with Edward, revoked the commission which appointed him Vicar-Imperial, and entered into close alliance with Philip. The Truce nevertheless was prolonged, and might perhaps have been converted into a definitive Peace, but for the occurrence of a new cause of dispute. So uncertainly were the rights of succession defined by the Feudal Code, which for ever varied locally, that on the death of John III., Duke of Brittany, without issue, his Fief was contested between a niece, whom, as it is said, he had wished to make his heiress; and a half-brother whom he had sought to exclude. Jane, the lame (*la Boiteuse*), the niece *, was consort of Charles Count of Blois, son of Margaret, a sister of the King of France, whose support therefore she was certain of receiving. The Count of Montfort †, her competitor, by seizing the treasure and by occupying the chief towns of his brother on the moment of his death, had possessed himself *de facto* of the Duchy. Charles of Blois appealed to the Court of Peers; and the right by which Philip held A. D. 1341. the Crown was again virtually condemned, as it had been Sept. 7. before in the case of Robert of Artois, by an adjudication in favour of the female claimant ‡.

Montfort, before receiving the Arrêt which commanded his surrender, had passed over into England, where he solicited and obtained assurance of aid from Edward, who hoped to find in Brittany that key to France for the attainment of which he had uselessly expended much treasure in the

* Daughter of Gui Count of Penthievre, second son of Arthur II.

† John, third son of Arthur II., by his second wife Yoland de Dreux Countess of Montfort. He inherited the title from his mother.

‡ One of the arguments urged by De Montfort to prove the incapacity of Females to assume the government of Men, affords a remarkable specimen both of the taste and of the reasoning of his times. *Nous avons l'exemple de la benoiste Vierge Marie, qui ne succéda mie à Dieu au gouvernement temporel ni spirituel.* Daru. *Hist. de Bretagne.* II. 83, where we learn that many original Papers illustrative of this Process still exist in the Archives of Naples.

Netherlands. The Count, however, on return to his Capital, Nantes, having been betrayed into the hands of his enemies, was committed to the Tower of the Louvre. His lady, Margaret, sister of the Count of Flanders, animated her despairing followers, by exhibiting to them her infant son. "This child," said the Heroine, "is free, notwithstanding his father's captivity; and by him, under God's favour, shall our Line be restored." She then threw herself into Hennebon, a strong town on the coast, in which she might expect reinforcement from England. Within its walls that extraordinary woman maintained herself during a long siege; and clad in armour, and mounted upon a war-horse headed sallows, cut her way through the enemy's ranks, repulsed their assaults, and counterbalanced either the treachery or the cowardice of some of her own garrison; till Sir Walter Manny, who had been detained by contrary winds for more than two months, arrived to her relief. Already were her faithless or terrified officers treating for capitulation, when Margaret, who was eagerly watching on a turret which overlooked the bay, exclaimed with a loud voice of joy, "I see them, I see them, the long-desired succours are coming!" "Those who beheld the reception which the Countess afforded to her gallant deliverers, and how descending from her Castle she twice or thrice kissed Sir Walter and each of his comrades, might well say," remarks Froissart in concluding this spirit-stirring episode, "that she was indeed a valiant Lady*."

When the term of armistice expired, Edward, who had resolved to make a descent upon Brittany, despatched Robert of Artois with a strong advanced guard, under the command of the Earls of Suffolk, of Salisbury, and of Pembroke. The Fleet, in company with which was the Countess of Montfort also, was intercepted off Guernsey, by a squadron under Louis of Spain†. During the night which succeeded an indecisive combat, the parties were separated by a storm, and the English, having landed, possessed themselves of Vannes. That town however was recovered by the French after a few days' occupation, and Robert, who had been severely wounded in its defence, died in London, whither he had been conveyed for surgical advice. On Nov. —. Edward's disembarkation, Vannes underwent a third siege in the same campaign; and the English felt strong enough simultaneously to invest both Nantes and Rennes. Into the former, Charles of Blois had retreated; and when an overpowering army hastened to his assistance, Edward again concentrated his whole forces near Vannes in a position which defied attack. Midwinter arrived while the hosts were thus engaged in mutual observation; and a severe season, and an

* Vol. i., c. 79, 80.

† Grandson of Ferdinand de la Cerda, whose pretensions to the Crown of Castile had been supported by France.

exhausted country, fatiguing service and inadequate supplies, produced great suffering, and consequently great discontent. The Papal Legates profited by this feeling to offer mediation, and a fresh A. D. 1343. armistice was signed at Malestroit, the leading conditions Jan. 19. of which engaged the two Kings to suspend hostilities during nearly four years; and meantime to send Ambassadors to Avignon, who might negotiate Peace under the arbitration of the Pope.

CHAPTER IX.

From A. D. 1343, to A. D. 1356.

Financial exactions—Executions of Breton Noblemen—War renewed with England—Successful Campaign of the Earl of Derby in Guyenne.—Escape and Death of De Montfort—Assassination of James von Artevelde—Edward treats with the Flemings—Invades Normandy—Danger of the English—They force the Somme at Blanchetache—Battle of Crécy—Investment of Calais—Its relief ineffectually attempted by Philip—Its surrender—Truce—Pestilence—Brigands—Acquisition of Dauphiné—Treacherous attempt upon Calais—Second marriage and death of Philip of Valois—John—Assassination of Charles of Spain by Charles *le Mauvais* King of Navarre—Arrest and Imprisonment of the King of Navarre—Combat of the Thirty in Brittany—Operations of the English—Battle of Poitiers—Defeat and Captivity of John.

DURING every cessation of positive hostility, the fiscal burdens of his Kingdom were necessarily a subject of deep attention to Philip; but Political Economy was not yet even in embryo, and the National distress was invariably augmented by the quackery applied for its cure. Recourse was again had to debasement of the Coinage, and a Royal Ordinance enjoined the Mint to increase the alloy by a fifth. Another Decree revived an excise which had become proverbially odious, the *gabelle* on salt. The Parisians, according to their fashion, avenged themselves by a Pun, the original invention of which is attributed to Edward III., and were contented to name the despot who thus monopolized one of the most important commodities of life “the Author of the

Salic law *.” Yet farther, under the sanction of an assembly of the States General (thus abusing to purposes of Aug. — arbitrary exaction, a body by which Freedom ought to have been protected) he introduced an impost, the *Alcavala* of Spain, which struck at the very root of Commerce. Every article of merchandise, at every exchange of possessors which it underwent, was assessed at one twentieth of its value to the Royal Treasury. The

* *Gabelle* is traced by Du Cange to a Saxon and even to a Hebrew origin, and is applicable to any tribute. Velly (IV. 497) shows that a *Gabelle* on Salt existed in the reign of St. Louis. See also Mr. Hallam *Middle Ages* I. 182. 4to. For the jest of Edward III. we are indebted to Velly, who adds that Philip retorted upon his Brother of England by calling him a Wool-merchant.

Deputies of Languedoc in vain represented the heaviness with which such a tax must fetter the industry of their Province, and they were compelled to purchase redemption from it by a fixed annual payment, which for the Seneschalship of Toulouse alone amounted to 17,800 *livres tournois* *.

Much obscurity envelops a bloody act by which Philip brought to the scaffold fifteen distinguished gentlemen of Bretany. The most illustrious among them, Olier de Clisson, had Nov. —. been in arms for Charles of Blois, and was taken prisoner at Vannes. On his exchange and return to Paris, he was thrown into the Châtelet, and beheaded after a few days' confinement without any legislative process †. His widow Jane de Belleville took fearful vengeance upon some inferior and innocent agents of the Faction which, unmindful of former services in its behalf, had destroyed her husband. Before the execution of Clisson was generally known, she presented herself with a small retinue at the gates of a Castle in the occupation of Galois de la Heuse, one of the officers of Charles of Blois. Orders were immediately given for her respectful admission as the consort of an eminent Chieftain of the Party. But no sooner was the drawbridge lowered for her passage, than it was seized by an armed force which she had placed in ambush, and which massacred under her own eyes the wretched and unoffending garrison, with the reserve of one individual. Having poured out this libation of blood to the Spirit of her murdered Lord, she took refuge with the Countess of Montfort at Hennebon. Her son, a child who accompanied her, afterwards became an implacable enemy of the Family from which he derived protection, and was elevated in a future reign to the high dignity of Constable of France ‡.

To the displeasure which Edward signified at the perpetration of "this right cruel felony" upon the Breton Knights, Philip did not vouchsafe any direct answer; but he instructed the Pope (now wholly at his controul) to represent that so far from the act having been committed in despite of the King of England, it ought to be considered by him as a benefit; for the punishment was due to the lawlessness of the criminals, and must contribute to the preservation of the Truce. Edward temporized till his preparations were completed, and then recommenced War on a far more extensive scale than that of the former campaign.

His Cousin, Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, was despatched into

* M. de Sismondi X. 232, with a reference to *Hist. de Languedoc*, lib. xxxi., c. i., p. 249.

† Both M. de Sismondi (X. 235) and Daru (II. 99) discredit the assertion made in the *Chronique de Flandres* (173), that the Earl of Salisbury, jealous of the admiration expressed by Edward III. for his Countess, betrayed to Philip the secret alliance into which the Breton Lords had entered with his enemy: but Daru fully believes in their treason.

‡ Daru, tom. ii., p. 101.

Guyenne, where he maintained an eminently successful warfare against the Count L'Isle Jourdain. Among many other brilliant

A. D. 1345. exploits which Froissart has vividly particularized, we may

July —. select the combat at Auberoche as a sample of Derby's general achievements. He had marched for the relief of

Oct. 23. that town at the head of three hundred lances, and twice as many archers, in the full confidence of being largely reinforced

by the Earl of Pembroke. Some accident prevented the expected junction; and the French Army was known to be 10,000 strong. But

the safety of Auberoche depended upon the completion of the enterprise;

and this little handful of English Knights throwing themselves upon the enemy by surprise, put them entirely to the rout, and made prisoner

their wounded Commander, with a rich and numerous Staff. The Duke

of Normandy, instead of pressing forward to revenge this disaster, com-

menced a retreat, and Derby having reduced the chief towns of the

Province, distributed his troops in winter cantonments at Bordeaux.

Less activity had been shown in Brittany, although the Count of Montfort had re-appeared there. He effected his escape from the Louvre in

disguise; and visited London, where he performed homage to Edward for the Fief of Brittany; but broken by imprisonment, and

Sep. 26. dispirited by the failure of some recent military projects, he

breathed his last at Hennebon, not long after he had regained

his liberty. His Countess, as we shall see, maintained the pretensions

of her son with vigour equal to that which she had evinced in behalf of her husband.

Edward had reserved the North for his own theatre of action, and

accompanied by the Prince of Wales and a magnificent

July 3. Court he entered Sluys at the invitation of Artevelde. On

board of his own Galley, before landing, he proposed to the

Deputies of Ypres, Ghent, and Bruges, that they should set aside their

reigning Count, and invest the young Prince of Wales with his Fief,

a proposition which was cordially supported by Artevelde. But the

sluggish Burghers, although prepared for Rebellion, wanted energy

to complete a Revolution; and they preferred the clumsy fiction of

respect to the privileges of a Master against whom they were engaged in

continual war, to the bold and open assertion of independence. They

asked a month for deliberation, and it was in vain that Artevelde, who no

longer indeed possessed his former undivided influence, sought to abridge

the term. A new popular Idol had arisen in his personal enemy

Gerard Denys, a saddler, who taxed him with peculation, and with an

ambitious design of erecting his own sovereignty upon the ruins of the

liberty of his fellow-citizens. Little beyond these accusations was

needed to stimulate the jealous rabble to fury. The Hôtel

July 19. of Artevelde was beset; the assailants refused to listen to the

defence which he offered; and Gerard Denys struck the

first blow, which was the signal for assassination. "Thus," says Lord Berners, translating Froissart in language applicable to the crises of every democracy, "Thus Jaques Dartveld endedde his dayes, who had been a great Maister in Fläders. Poore men first mounteth up, and unhappy men sleeth them in the ende."

The murder of Arteveldt convinced Edward that Flanders was no longer his stronghold, and he hastily weighed anchor and returned to Sandwich. His first emotions of resentment were violent, July 26. and he meditated the arrest of all the Flemish merchants established in his dominions. This anger however was speedily soothed, by a new proposition from the Deputies who followed him to Westminster. "We cannot depose our Count," said these subtle knaves, ever seeking to compound with conscience, "we should be pointed at as disloyal, if we disinherited our natural Lord in favour of a stranger; but he has a daughter and you have a son; and by their union we may accommodate our interests to our honesty." The suggestion was so plainly advantageous to Edward, that he was not long in reconciling himself to the fate of Arteveldt, and the Treaty was accordingly concluded.

The Duke of Normandy was actively employed during the winter in collecting a force by which the disasters of the preceding campaign in the South might be repaired; and many of the A. D. 1346. greatest Nobles in France brought their whole Feudal contingent to his standard in the ensuing Spring. It was not possible that the Earl of Derby could keep the field against the 100,000 men by whom it is said that he was opposed; and in order to gain time till he could receive assistance from England, and to distract the attention of his enemy, he ordered the little garrisons into which he divided his forces to defend themselves in every instance to extremity. It was thus that about 1,500 resolute men detained the whole French army before Aiguillon, during a four months' siege, and Edward was not backward in wishing to reward this gallant devotion by attempting their succour.

The fleet in which a powerful army embarked for that purpose was baffled by contrary winds, and Edward, finding himself unable to make the coast of Guyenne, resolved upon an invasion of Normandy. That Province had been left almost entirely unprotected; and the King of England landed * without resistance at La Hogue July 12. St. Vast, and commenced a series of easy and triumphant marches at the head of 32,000 men through a rich country, which he pillaged without mercy. Caën was the first spot at which he encountered opposition, and there the citizens, who had persuaded the Count of

* As he sprang to the land Edward fell, and turned the accident to advantage, as Julius Cæsar and William the Conqueror had done before him, declaring to his intimidated followers that it was an omen how greatly the land desired him. Froissart, ii. ch. 126.

Guines and of Eu, who was Constable, and the Count of Tancarville, to marshal them for the defence of that opulent town, fled at the first sight of the English army without finding safety from their cowardice. The conquerors pursued them through the streets with horrible butchery; 5000 men perished in the massacre which followed; and the immediate spoil, together with the prisoners from whom further gain by ransom might be expected (and among whom were numbered the Counts of Eu and of Tancarville), was hurried to the fleet and despatched to England.

After three days' occupation of Caën, Edward continued his advance, and having mastered Louviers, directed his steps towards Rouen. The bridges on the Seine, however, had been destroyed before his arrival; and Poissy appeared to be the most favourable spot upon which a new one could be constructed. While that work was in preparation, detachments from the English army were employed in laying waste the left bank of the river; and they spread destruction to the very gates of the Capital, burning and ravaging the peaceful villages in its environs, and levelling to the ground the palaces and the wealthy mansions which adorned St. Germain, Montjoie, Saint Cloué, and Bourg la Reine.

Philip, meantime, although surprised by this most unexpected inroad, was assembling a force greatly superior to that of the invaders. The army of Aquitaine indeed could not be expected to pass over the whole Kingdom with sufficient expedition to defend the North; but the disasters of the House of Luxemburg, with which he was allied in Germany, contributed to increase his own strength; and John of Bohemia, his son the rejected Emperor Charles IV.*, the Duke of Lorraine, and a large body of distinguished German Knights, sought enrolment in his service, at the very moment at which he most needed their assistance. The Hainaulters also obeyed his summons, "in such numbers as France had not seen for 100 years†." Several thousand Genoese, reputed to be among the most expert cross-bowmen as they were the most skilful mariners in Europe, were drafted from his fleet; and at least 70,000 men, probably a much larger number, followed him when he broke up from St. Denis in pursuit of Edward, who had already discovered the perils to which he had been exposed by too great reliance on early success.

That Edward should retrace his steps was indeed impossible; the country through which he had passed had been swept by fire and sword till it was utterly destitute of means of supply; and an exasperated peasantry would have profited by every disorder incident even to the

* Clement VI., after repeatedly excommunicating Louis of Bavaria, had procured the election of the Marquis of Moravia as Charles IV. in July, 1346. A Diet at Spire declared the election null, and the chief Princes assisted Louis in chasing from Germany "the King of the Priests," as they styled the intruder; who, in consequence of his reverse, sought asylum in France.

† Froissart describes the French army quartered at Amiens to have been upwards of 100,000 men. ii. c. 124.

best-disciplined army in retreat, and would have cut off his troops in detail. To traverse Picardy therefore by rapid marches, and afterwards to gain the coast, or to fall back upon the support of the Flemings, appeared to be the only means of extrication. With that object, Edward having crossed the Seine at Poissy, pre- Aug. 16. vented more than a skirmish with his rear guard under the walls of Beauvais, surprised and overthrew a reinforcement proceeding from Amiens to join the French camp, established his head-quarters at Airaines, and employed the three days during which he unwillingly halted in that town in reconnoitring the banks of the Somme. That river, however, which was wide and deep, presented a formidable barrier. Philip had either destroyed or pre-occupied all its bridges, and the single ford of Blanchetache, near its mouth, below Abbeville, which is passable twice in the twenty-four hours at low water, was strongly guarded by a Norman Baron, Sir Godemar du Fay. To that ford, however, guided by a prisoner*, Edward advanced in Aug. 24. desperation, by a march commenced at midnight. The stream was too high for the attempt, when he first approached it at dawn; and while he patiently awaited its subsidence, the opposite shore became thronged with the enemy. About twelve men abreast might find a passage, with water not above their knees, on a hard, gravelly bottom; and into this ford, "the most doughty and the best mounted†" immediately plunged, "in the names of God and of St. George." Many on both sides were unhorsed by tilting in the very channel, and as the English ascended on the further bank, they were sorely galled by a company of Genoese cross-bowmen. The archers, in return, "shot so well together," that in the end the enemy gave way in disorder. Sir Godemar and his men-at-arms saved themselves by flight; but his infantry was almost wholly destroyed. In a pursuit of more than a league, great numbers were killed or taken prisoners‡.

Philip had entered Airaines on the preceding day within two hours after its evacuation by the English; and so hurried had been the movements of the retreating army, that the French found in the town provisions of all sorts, "meat on the spits, bread and pastry in the ovens, wine in the barrels, and even some tables ready spread." The King entertained little doubt that he should blockade his enemies between Abbeville and the Somme, and thus should either take them prisoners

* The name of the traitor was Gobin Agace. He was bribed by the promise of 100 Nobles, of his own freedom, and of permission to select twenty prisoners to be liberated together with him. Froissart, ii. c. 124.

† *Les plus bachelereux et les mieuz montés.*

‡ The Continuator of Nangis accuses Du Fay of a treacherous abandonment of his post; and Froissart informs us that Philip afterwards wished to put him to death. But from the account of the latter, it seems as if he would have been unjustly sacrificed, in order to appease popular indignation, which at the moment of disaster always eagerly demands some victim.

without a battle, or compel them to fight at disadvantage. Great, therefore, was his surprise and mortification upon learning that Sir Godemar du Fay had been defeated, and that the advanced guard of Hainaulters, despatched upon the river, had captured only a few stragglers lingering behind the main body of English, now secured from immediate pursuit by the reflux of the tide*.

Edward continued his march unmolested; and on a Friday, in the afternoon (as the Chroniclers particularize the eve of the memorable succeeding day), fixed his quarters near Crécy in Ponthieu, Aug. 25. with an avowed determination of accepting battle from his pursuers. Much bravery, perhaps some touch of remorse for the assertion of a title which he knew to be untenable, is to be discovered in the words by which he notified this intention. "Let us post ourselves here; for we will not go farther before we have seen our enemies. I have good reason to wish for them on this spot; as I am now upon the lawful inheritance of my Lady Mother, which was given her as her marriage-portion; and I am resolved to defend it against my adversary, Philippe de Valois." His confidence revived as soon as he felt that he should be *repelling* aggression; while he was *offering* it, the sophistry which he employed to deceive others into a belief that his claim was just, was of little avail to deceive himself.

He then reconnoitred his position, which was advantageously chosen; and having ascertained by scouts that no immediate attack was to be apprehended, he entertained his Nobles at supper, where they made good cheer. After they had retired, he fell on his knees, and prayed fervently for an honourable issue on the morrow. Having Aug. 26. risen early, he heard Mass, and confessed, together with his son, and then proceeded to make arrangements for the field. All his baggage and horses were disposed "in a large park," by which must be understood a stockaded inclosure thrown up for the occasion, near a wood in his rear; and into this park was only a single entrance. Both his men-at-arms and archers, therefore, were dismounted, and the whole army was distributed into three battalions. "The first was commanded by the Prince of Wales, at that time in his fifteenth year, and who had received Knighthood on the landing at La Hogue. He was supported by many of those illustrious warriors whose names are still household words to Englishmen; the Earls of Warwick and of Oxford, Lords Harcourt, Cobham, Holland, Stafford, Delaware, Chandos, Burghersh, Neville, Clifford, Bouchier, and Latimer. They were followed by about 800 men-at-arms, 2000 archers, and half as many Welsh and Cornish men, a rude and semi-barbarous race, scantily

* The Ford of Blanchetache is below, *au dessous d'Abbeville*, as M. de Sismondi correctly describes it; Velly therefore is mistaken when he says that Philip, after discovering his inability to cross in consequence of the rising of the tide, was obliged *de descendre jusqu'à Abbeville*. iv. 516.

clothed, and armed only with long knives, weapons which, as we shall perceive, they knew how to employ to bloody purpose. The second division equalled the first in its number of men-at-arms, but had not more than 1200 archers. It was led by the Earls of Northampton and of Arundel, the latter of whom had been created Constable, and included among its officers Sir William Tufton, Lords Roos, Basset, Willoughby, St. Alban's, and Lascelles. The King chose for himself the reserve, occupying a hill at some little distance, and composed of about 700 men-at-arms and 2000 archers. If we reckon each man-at-arms with his customary attendants as equivalent to four men, the whole force did not amount to 14,000.

The King then mounted a small palfrey, and bearing a white wand in his hand, and attended by his two Marshals (Sir Godfrey de Harcourt and the Earl of Warwick), he rode at a foot's pace through the ranks, which he greatly inspirited by a few words of cheerful encouragement. It was nearly ten in the forenoon when he retired to his own division; having ordered that the troops, after a hearty refreshment, should remain seated on the ground*, with their helmets and bows before them, until the enemy appeared in sight.

A strong contrast to this steady and skilful marshalling was exhibited by the disorderly advance of the French. Philip rose betimes, and, having attended Mass, quitted Abbeville by sunrise. So loosely, however, was his movement conducted, that not till he arrived close to the English position was he advised to form his order of battle, to reconnoitre his adversaries, and to command "his foot to march forward, that they might not be trampled upon by the horse." The four Knights whom he deputed to survey the enemy's line agreed in recommending a halt for the night; for they stated that before the rear could come up, it would be very late, and that the men would be tired and in disorder, while the enemy was fresh and properly arrayed. To this sound advice the King agreed; but so little discipline prevailed in his ranks, that the order to halt was disobeyed. Those in front indeed were checked; "but those behind said they would not halt until they were as forward as the front." When the front perceived the rear pressing on, they too pushed forward; and neither the King nor the *Maréchals* could stop them, but they marched on without any order till they came in sight of their enemies. As soon as the foremost rank saw them, they fell back at once in great disorder, which alarmed those in the rear, who thought they had been fighting. There was then space and room enough for them to have passed forward had they been willing so to do. "Some did so, but others remained shy."

The confusion was increased by a number of peasants, who, pouring out from the neighbouring villages, crowded the roads, and shouted

* *Que tous ses gens mangeassent à leur aise et busent un coup.*

tumultuously. The King himself, as if infected by the contagion, forgot all prudence as soon as he came in sight of the English, "whom he hated*;" and revoking his former instructions, he cried out to his Maréchals, "Order the Genoese forward, and begin the battle in the name of God and of St. Denis!" Fifteen thousand Genoese cross-bowmen, who formed the van, were fatigued by a long march of six leagues, during which they had been completely armed, and had carried their bows. They hesitated therefore, and professed themselves little fit to engage, till they were roused by the taunts of the Count of Alençon, the King's brother, who termed them a rabble and a rascality whom it was folly to hire, since they always failed at the moment in which their service was most needed. While they were forming, "a heavy rain fell, accompanied by thunder and a very terrible Eclipse of the Sun, and, before this rain, a great flight of crows hovered in the air over all their battalions, making a great noise."

When the sky cleared up, the Sun shone brightly in the faces of the Genoese, the strings of whose bows were soddened and relaxed by the wet†. The English archers, on the contrary, had all the advantage of the Sun on their backs, and of having kept their bowstrings dry in their helmets. The Genoese shouted thrice as they moved on, thinking to frighten the enemy; at the third cry they began to shoot; but most of their bolts fell short. The English, when they saw them approach, "ran undauntedly up, and fell into their ranks‡," without moving till they had received the first volley. "The archers then advanced one step forward, and shot their arrows with such force and quickness, that it seemed as if it snowed."

The Genoese, smarting under their wounds, instantly gave way; they had attacked with little good will, and some of them now cut their bowstrings, or threw their arms on the ground. Philip, irritated at their speedy discomfiture, which doubtless he attributed to treachery, ordered his men-at-arms to fall upon the runaways, and to clear the road for the onset of the rest of the army. In the confusion which ensued, and while the French were slaying their own men, the English archers continued to ply their bows with vigour; and some rude pieces of small artillery, then for the first time employed in the field§, increased the consternation, more perhaps by the unwonted smoke, flame, and noise of their explosion, than by the balls which they discharged. Several horses were wounded, and the riders, encumbered by heavy armour, when thrown were unable to rise again. The Welch and Cornish men, rushing forward at the moment, despatched them while on the ground with their

* *Quand le Roi Philippe vint jusques sur la place où les Anglois étoient de là arrêtés et ordonnés, et il les vit, le sang lui mua, car il les haïssoit.*

† *Contin. Nangis*, p. 108.

‡ *Se leverent moult ordonnement, sans nul effroi, et se rangèrent en leurs batailles.*

§ *G. Villani*, lib. xii. c. 65, 66, pp. 947, 948.

long knives; and many "Earls, Barons, Knights, and Squires" thus perished by churlish hands, "at which the King of England was afterwards much exasperated*." It was in this tumultuary affray that John of Bohemia terminated his chivalrous career. He was nearly blind, in consequence, as is supposed, of a potion administered to him during his Italian Wars. His son Charles fled early from the field; "when he perceived that it was likely to turn against the French he departed," says Froissart, perhaps with a gentle sarcasm, "and I do not well know what way he took." The more gallant father requested his attendants, by the love they bore him, to lead him so far forward that he might strike one stroke with his sword. His Knights complied; and in order that they might not lose the King in the *melée*, they fastened the reins of their horses together before they advanced to the charge. All of them were slain, and they were found on the next day in the very order in which they had moved forward, with their horses dead, and still bridled together.

The superior numbers of the French enabled the Counts of Alençon and of Flanders, notwithstanding the overthrow of the van, to attack the Prince of Wales's division on both flanks, and Philip himself would at the same time have charged in front, "but there was a hedge of archers before him." The Prince of Wales was hard pressed, when the second division moved to his support; and the Earl of Warwick despatched a Knight to request assistance from the reserve. The King, on receiving the application, first inquired if his son were dead, unhorsed, or badly wounded? And upon hearing in answer that nothing of the sort had occurred, he replied as follows to Sir Thomas Norwich the messenger: "Now, Sir Thomas, return back to those that sent you, and tell them from me not to send again for me this day, nor to expect that I shall come let what will happen, so long as my son has life; and say that I command them to let the boy win his spurs; for I am determined, if it please God, that all the glory and honour of this day shall be given to him, and to those into whose care I have intrusted him."

This chivalrous encouragement infused greater spirit into the combatants than they would have derived from a reinforcement of ten thousand lances, and they fought so stoutly, that the Counts of Alençon and of Flanders were killed, and their divisions twice driven back. The disparity of force was too great to allow quarter to be given by the conquerors, and the slain therefore were more than usually numerous. About the hour of vespers, the French had been routed on every part of the field; and Philip, who had exhibited much courage, and whose horse had been killed under him, was left with a scanty retinue not exceeding sixty men. Even then, however, it was not without some force that Sir John of Hainault, seizing his bridle, compelled him to retire.

* Not only from aristocratic sympathy, but also from the loss of ransom.

It was dark before they reached the Castle of la Broyes, but the gates were opened to the summons of "the Fortunes of France." That fortress, however, was too near the scene of recent defeat to promise safety; and the King, having refreshed himself and obtained guides, rode through the night, till he arrived at Amiens.

The English remained in their ranks, scarcely crediting their marvellous success, till the war-cries having ceased, they believed the field to be their own. The King, who all that day had never put on his helmet, then came down from his post with his battalion, and embraced and kissed the Prince of Wales, and said, "Sweet son, God give you good perseverance! You are my son, for most loyally have you acquitted yourself this day; you are worthy to be a Sovereign." The Prince bowed down very low, and humbled himself, giving all honour to the King his father.

Numerous stragglers were put to the sword on the following morning; and the English patrols, after a sharp engagement, wholly destroyed two large detachments, which, uninformed of the battle on the day before, were marching to Philip's head-quarters. The French killed, numbered by heralds on the field, amounted to eleven Princes, eighty Bannerets, 1200 Knights, and about 30,000 common men. Of the English loss much less precise accounts have been recorded; but from this very silence we are justified in believing that it was trifling; if it had been otherwise, it would have been blazoned by the French in extenuation of their defeat*. After a short repose, and a Truce of three

days granted for the interment of the dead, Edward proceeded on his march to Calais, and finding that town too well defended to permit a hope of carrying it by assault, he determined upon its reduction by the slower process of blockade. Winter was now before him; and having the full command of the Channel, he sent to England for building materials, and framed cantonments so stable, that his lines of circumvallation are compared to a second town.

The Duke of Normandy, provoked by the gallant resistance of Aiguillon, had vowed not to quit its walls till he had entered them by the breach. But a soldier's perjuries of this kind are not less common than those of lovers; and six days before the disaster at Crécy, he received and obeyed peremptory orders to break up, and to hasten to the defence of Paris. No sooner, however, was it plain that Edward, content with his victory, did not mean for the present to renew active operations, than Philip gladly escaped from the ruinous expense to which the maintenance of a large standing force exposed him; and disbanded both the army of the South and the remnant of that which had fought under

* Nevertheless, we greatly mistrust the return given by Henry of Knyghton, who says that one Esquire was killed before the battle, three Knights during it, and that all the rest were preserved by God's grace. 2588.

his own command. The Earl of Derby was not slow in profiting by the retreat of the former, and having captured many Castles, he returned to England towards the close of the year, leaving behind him, in consequence of his bounty and splendour, the reputation of being "the most noble Prince that ever mounted steed."

Fresh debasements of the Coinage, a rigid exaction of the *gabelle*, the arrest and pillage of the Lombard merchants, and a subsidy granted by the Clergy, enabled the King to take the field A. D. 1347. early in the following Spring. The campaign opened unfavourably for him in Bretany, where Charles of Blois was surprised near Roche de Rien, dangerously wounded, and conveyed prisoner to England*. Philip himself directed his efforts. June 18. to the relief of Calais, which, notwithstanding the precautions of its Governor, Jean de Vienne, a most expert and valiant soldier, was in imminent peril. So far back as the first month of the investment, he had carefully examined the stores which each family possessed for subsistence, and wherever sufficiency was wanting, he issued a stern but necessary order for the expulsion of all the "useless mouths." Seventeen-hundred destitute wretches were in this manner excluded from the walls, and their fate is variously recounted. According to Froissart†, they met with hospitable entertainment, and a dole of alms from the King of England's charity. But Henry of Knyghton‡ relates a widely different tale, and informs us that they perished miserably by famine, in the sight of abundance, between the camp and the ramparts. It is to be feared that the latter account is of the two more in conformity with the spirit of the times, and with other transactions in Edward's career.

The gathering of Philip was made at Amiens, and thence he designed to move down upon Calais by way of Gavelines; but the Flemings having made rapid passage through the intermediate districts, he changed his route for Boulogne. A strong block-house had been built by Edward, which commanded the harbour of Calais, and prevented the reception of supplies by sea. Of the two roads by which alone the town could be approached, that which ran along the downs near the shore was within bow-shot of the English fleet; that which crossed the country higher up was intersected by numerous bogs and ditches; and the Bridge of Neuillet, which it was indispensable to pass, was fortified and occupied by a powerful detachment. Philip, therefore, was compelled to halt at the hill of Sangatte; and as the famishing citizens of Calais watched from their towers the display of tents and standards by moonlight, not

* In the *Fœdera*, iii. 134, is a Grant of a pension of 10*l.* a year from the Exchequer, till an equivalent landed provision could be made, to John de Merle, who brought the happy news of the capture of Charles of Blois.

† II. c. 131.

‡ 2593.

knowing to whom they belonged, they shuddered with a belief that they were surrounded by a new host of besiegers*.

One hope of provoking the combat, which Edward's position enabled him to persist in declining, still remained to Philip; and he sent his adversary a defiance to meet him upon equal ground. The Knights who bore this cartel expressed their admiration of the English outposts, as they rode through them; and especially of the strength with which the Earl of Derby had fortified the *tête-du-pont* at Neuillet. They were perhaps scarcely less surprised at the sound discretion with which Edward replied to their challenge, than at the military skill which had made such a challenge necessary. Philip, no doubt, had calculated upon piquing the well-known chivalrous spirit of his opponent into an abandonment of the signal advantage which he had obtained by superior generalship. But Edward answered with prudence and with truth, that during the twelve months in which he had occupied the same spot, the King of France, had he so chosen, might have taken an earlier opportunity of seeking him; that now, when he had already expended very large sums, and must soon inevitably be master of Calais, it could little be expected that he should sacrifice all his gains in order to suit Philip's convenience. "Inform your Master, therefore," was his conclusion, "that if neither he nor his army can pass this way, he must seek out some other road." Philip, on receiving this message, perceived that his enterprise was useless, retired to Amiens, and there disbanded his troops.

Calais, reduced to the very extremity of famine, surrendered after this retreat. Edward at first demanded unconditional submission, and notified that he should accept ransom or inflict death at pleasure. From this most ferocious design he was induced to relax by the well-timed admonition of Sir Walter Manny, who showed him that reprisals would some day probably be in the power of the French; and that he could little expect persevering loyalty and constancy of devotion from his own subjects, if he visited those qualities in his enemies with so severe and misjudged a punishment. The King then signified that he would pardon the mass of inhabitants, provided six of the principal Burgesses would surrender themselves to his absolute disposal, bareheaded and barefooted, with halters round their necks, and with the keys of the town and castle in their hands. Eustace de St. Pierre was the first who devoted himself for his fellow-citizens to this apparently certain death; and his glorious example was followed by Jean d'Aire, and by the two brothers, Jacques and Pierre de Vissant, all of whom were connected by ties of relation-

* This, as we think, is Froissart's representation, ii. c. 142. M. de Sismondi (x. 326.) understands it as if the garrison of Calais knew that the army belonged to Philip, and therefore that they expected relief. But the original words do not seem capable of this interpretation. *Cruz de Calais q les vedēt de leurs murs quant ils apperçurent qu'ilz se logioient ce leur sembloit ung petit siege.* Tom. i. froll. ccviii.

ship with their noble-minded leader. The names of the two other associates in this more than Roman band unfortunately are not transmitted to us. It is said that when they presented themselves in the Royal pavilion, Edward remained inexorable; that he had already made a sign for the presence of the headsman, and that he was moved from his bloody and ungenerous revenge only by the tears of his Queen. The rigid scepticism of modern inquiry has cast some doubt upon the particulars of this narrative, which depends principally upon the authority of Froissart. But the general leaning of that most delightful Chronicler is far too aristocratical to permit us to suppose that he would either have invented or have adopted, upon any other than conclusive evidence, an anecdote by which the otherwise brilliant memory of Edward III. is so darkly tarnished. Corroborative instances of a disposition little tempered by mercy are not wanting in the annals of that Prince. The Scottish Wars were pursued with unrelenting barbarity; and in the campaign of Bretany, but a year before the surrender of Calais, the King was prevented only by the remonstrance of Godfrey de Harcourt from massacring in cold blood the whole population of Caën*.

Calais for more than two Centuries afterwards† became the favourite continental possession of the Crown of England; and Edward's first intention was to render it a Colony altogether peopled by his insular subjects. The inhabitants were accordingly removed, great privileges were conceded to settlers, and heavy restrictions forbade the alienation of property to any but English purchasers‡. The experiment failed; and the town having become an asylum for outcasts and renegades, was speedily re-peopled by its original tenants. It is not unworthy of remark, that among the natives permitted to return earliest to their hearths, was one who had shown that he was willing to sacrifice even life itself for their preservation—Eustace de St. Pierre§.

The exhausted finances of each of the rival Kingdoms loudly proclaimed the necessity for repose||; and a Truce, at first concluded for ten months, was afterwards repeatedly prolonged. Sept. 28. The allies on both sides were embraced in this armistice,

* Many particulars relative to the siege and surrender of Calais are given by M. de Burigny in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des Ins.* xxxvii. He inspected the MSS. in the Exchequer at London, and gives a very curious account of their receptacle. For Sir Godfrey de Harcourt's successful remonstrance at Caën, see Froissart, ii. 122.

† Calais was retaken by the Duke of Guise in 1558. •

‡ Many ordinances relative to Calais occur during the year 1347, and may be found in the *Fœdera*, iii. The title of one, dated Aug. 12, may suffice. *De Calesia jam expugnato incolis Anglicanis suppeditando.* 130.

§ In the *Fœdera*, iii. 138, is a Grant of a Pension of 40 marks sterling to Eustace de St. Pierre, *Pro bono servicio nobis, pro bonâ custodiâ et bonâ dispositione villæ nostræ Calesie, impendendo.* M. de Burigny (*ut sup.*) satisfactorily defends the character of St. Pierre, which has been unjustly attacked.

|| According to the “Book of Particular Accounts” of Walter Wentwayht, Treasurer of the Royal Household, the sum total of the “Wages of War in Normandy,

which was negotiated by Papal mediation; and Edward, on its signature, returned home. No sooner, however, had France been relieved from the scourge of War, than she was exposed to the yet more terrible devastation of Pestilence; and it has been computed that she lost one third of her population during the Plague, which ravaged all Europe in the middle of the XIVth Century, and which is now chiefly remembered through the vivid picture given by Boccaccio of the sufferings of his own City. Nor could the habits of a People long accustomed to violence and rapine subside at once into tranquillity. When the sword ceased to be requisite for national defence, it still remained unsheathed for private gain; and troops of banditti, headed by lawless spirits, who made arms both their trade and their pastime, set authority at defiance, and marauded in open day. The names of Bacon in Languedoc, and of Croc-quart in Brittany, are transmitted to us as having spread terror through their respective Provinces. They obtained forcible possession of many Castles and much treasure. With the former of them, the King at length entered into composition, legitimated his thefts by purchase, and soothed him to obedience by the bestowal of honours. Froissart tells us that he always appeared in public handsomely mounted on a horse of generous breed, apparelled like an Earl, and very richly armed; and this state he maintained as long as he lived*.

One important acquisition was made by France during the latter part of Philip's reign. Humbert II. Count of Viennois was most careless and profuse in his expenditure, and being without issue, he disposed at various times of the reversion of different parts of his dominions, in order to supply his extravagance. In this manner the succession of Dauphiné had been transferred by him for 120,000 florins, so far back as the year 1343, as an *apanage* for which ever of the Princes Philip might choose to name. Overwhelmed with debts, and unable any longer to maintain the splendour in which he had hitherto been accustomed to live, this vain and inconsiderate Prince at length determined to make an immediate cession of his Sovereignty, and to retire to a Cloister. The price was increased to 200,000 florins; "A. D. 1349. on the payment of which sum, Charles, heir of the Duke of July 16. Normandy, and grandson of the King, was solemnly invested with that title and those territorial rights which afterwards, under his own reign, became inseparably annexed to the eldest sons of the Kings of France.

The Truce with England appears to have been faithfully observed, at least by the chief negociators; for there is not any evidence to convict Philip of participation in a treacherous attempt upon Calais, which was frustrated principally by the valour of Edward III. himself. Geoffrey

France, and before Calais," from June 4, 1346, to Oct. 12, 1347, was 127,201*l.* 2*s.* 9½*d.* *Groce, Military Antiquities*, i. 330.

* Froissart, ii. c. 146.

de Charny*, who commanded on the frontiers of Picardy, bribed the Governor of Calais, a Lombard named Aymery of Pavia, to open the gates of the town intrusted to his charge. But Edward having received information of the design, secretly embarked with a force sufficient to render it abortive. Himself and the Prince of Wales served as private soldiers under the command of Sir Dec. 31. Walter Manny, and on the appointed night they surprised and captured the whole band engaged in this disgraceful enterprise. The King entertained his prisoners courteously at supper; and it was on that occasion that he presented a costly chaplet of pearls, taken from his own brow, to Sir Eustache of Ribaumont, with whom he had fought hand to hand. Sir Eustache, who was strong and hardy, had, before his surrender, twice struck the King down upon his knees, and Edward, in this instance, exhibiting a generous admiration of bravery even when exercised against himself, released his opponent without ransom, and added the chaplet as a prize due to the best combatant of the day, to the Knight who of all he had ever encountered had given him most trouble in battle †.

The close of Philip's reign and life was fast approaching. At fifty-eight years of age, he weakly surrendered himself to a misplaced passion for Blanche of Navarre, a young Princess of great beauty, destined as bride to his son the Duke of Normandy, at that time a widower. The King, regardless of the Lady's engagement, found a pretext for his son's temporary removal from Court, and during his absence married the betrothed. A lingering debility A. D. 1350. succeeded these dishonest and unseasonable nuptials, and Aug. 22. he expired in little more than six months after their celebration.

The accession of John was marked by a few political changes, which were unexpected on account of the close union in which he had always lived with his father. Immediately after his Coronation, he restored to liberty and to their hereditary station the two sons of Robert of Artois, who, since the conviction and banishment of that Prince, had undergone fifteen years of imprisonment. This act of grace was succeeded by one of unexplained severity. Raoul Count of Eu and Guines had enjoyed the confidence of Philip VI., who bestowed upon him the Sword of Constable. Having been taken prisoner by the English at Caën, he was permitted to return to France, in order to collect his ransom, fixed at 60,000 crowns of gold. No sooner, however, had he arrived at Paris, than he was arrested, after a private audience with the King, and was executed almost immediately, without any process and without even the assignment of a reason. The dignity which he left vacant was conferred

* He afterwards bore the Royal Banner at the Battle of Poitiers, in which engagement he was killed by the Lord Reginald de Cobham. Froissart II., c. 161.

† Froissart II., c. 150.

on Charles of Spain, son of the exiled Alfonso de la Cerda, and younger brother of that Louis whom we have already seen distinguished in naval command. Charles possessed great bravery, considerable talent, and a pleasing exterior; and the exclusive favour with which he was regarded by his Sovereign soon exposed him as a mark to the envy of less fortunate Courtiers.

Among those who sought the overthrow of the new Constable, none exhibited greater virulence than Charles, King of Navarre, Brother of the Queen Dowager Blanche, upon whom contemporaries A. D. 1349. bestowed 'the odious title *Le Mauvais*. Charles, sprung

Oct. 6. from the Count of Evreux and Jane, daughter of Louis Hutin, succeeded to his maternal dominions at seventeen years of age; and, at that early season of life, in consequence of some cruel punishments by which he suppressed a conspiracy among his subjects, he obtained the evil appendage which has never quitted his name.

The possessions in Normandy which he held by descent from A. D. 1353. his Father, rendered his alliance important to John, and it was secured by the hand of Jane, the eldest daughter of France, a child in her eighth year*.

This marriage, however, created dissension instead of harmony, on account of a breach of the provisions by which it was accompanied. The annuity of 12,000 livres which formed the portion of the Bride was never paid; Angoulême and Mortaing, which the King of Navarre had received in compensation for the surrender of his claims on Champagne and la Brie, and which he returned to the Crown as not defraying their own charges, were bestowed on Charles of Spain, with additions which made them eminently productive. Other bounties which tended to the aggrandizement of this Favourite at the expense of the King of Navarre were regarded with an evil eye by the latter, and the Court was distracted by the jealousy of their rival Factions.

The King of Navarre appears at first to have entertained a design of waylaying his rival in the streets of Paris itself; but, failing A. D. 1354. in opportunity, he assassinated him while in bed at Aigle in Jan. 8. Normandy. "It is done!" were the words in which one of the Bravoes announced the intelligence to his employer, who breathlessly awaited him in a barn close to the mansion within which his victim was butchered. Even if this bloody deed had allowed concealment, its perpetrator was far from seeking to dissemble its commission. On the contrary, he openly avowed the act, and occupying

* Blanche, daughter of the Duke of Bourbon and sister of the consort of the Dauphin Charles, was married at the same time to Pedro the Cruel, King of Castile. The illicit passion of that Prince for Maria Padilla, the consequent imprisonment of Blanche on the second day after her marriage, and the poison, administered by her husband's command, which terminated seven years' confinement, are well known portions of Spanish History.

Mantes with a large armed force, he defied the anger with which he knew that his crime must be pursued by the King *.

John however at the time was ill prepared for Civil War, and although indignant at the outrage offered to his authority and deeply grieved by the loss of his Favourite, he yielded to necessity; and admitting the powerful mediation exerted in behalf of the Murderer †, he granted him a pardon, and allowed him even to offer an extenuating plea before a Bed of Justice. •Resentment, however, was far from being extinguished in his heart; and when the King of Navarre, finding that his position was becoming most insecure at Court, privately withdrew to Avignon, John proceeded to the seizure and confiscation of many of the chief towns in Normandy. •

The King of Navarre formed a League with England, and John, who perceived the danger of this alliance, again proffered reconciliation. His displeasure was, however, renewed not long A. D. 1355. afterwards, by the opposition which Navarre excited or supported to the levy of a *gabelle*; and he then resolved at once to deprive his turbulent vassal of all future power of resistance. "France," he said, "must not have two masters;" and the connexion which his son Prince Charles maintained with the King of Navarre soon afforded him an opportunity for vengeance. Charles, either treacherously assisting or not partaking his Father's resentment, found or affected to find in the King of Navarre a companion fitted to his taste and years; and invited him, together with some of his chief confidants, to pass a day in festivity at the Castle of Rouen. This engagement was made known to John, who entered the banqueting hall with an armed force, while the company were seated at table. The Count of Harcourt, and three gentlemen in Navarre's train, were beheaded in John's presence immediately after he had partaken of the dinner which his unexpected entrance had interrupted; and the King of Navarre himself, after suffering much indignity, was transferred to close imprisonment in the Louvre ‡.

These incidents which, for the sake of perspicuity, we have related in an unbroken narrative, were scattered over the course of several years, during which little else of public interest occurred. The Truce with England, although occasionally interrupted by hostilities, was renewed from time to time; and the feats of arms by which it was broken often partook more of the nature of a private Feud than of National Warfare.

* Froissart, ii., c. 152.

† Jane, relict of Charles *le Bel*, was aunt, Blanche, relict of Philippe *de Valois*, was sister to Charles *le Mauvais*, and both of those Queens interfered in his behalf.

‡ On the explosion of this quarrel between John and Charles *le Mauvais*, Edward III. wrote to the Pope and to the Emperor letters, in which he denied any conspiracy with the King of Navarre for the recovery of Normandy, an imputation which the King of France sought to attach to him. *Fœdera*, iii., 329.

The scene of one combat deeply tinctured with chivalrous spirit is laid in Brittany, and although the authenticity of the fact has been disputed upon the negative testimony of Froissart's silence, there is not on the whole any reason which justifies us in rejecting it. John of Beaumanoir, a noble Baron, challenged Richard Bembrough, the English Commander at Ploermel, to meet him in the lists with thirty A. D. 1351. Knights on each side, and there to decide the question so March 27. frequently disputed by the lance, to which of their Mistresses the prize of beauty should be adjudged.* The place agreed upon for the contest was marked by an oak standing half way between Josselin and Ploermel. Beaumanoir, grievously wounded in the first onset, and parched with thirst, called for drink; and he received an answer from one of his followers which afterwards became the War-cry of his Family. "Beaumanoir, drink your own blood †!" At the close of the day (as the French narrative relates) four Bretons and twice that number of their opponents had fallen; and a manœuvre, which wears some appearance of treachery, compelled the remaining Englishmen to surrender. A stone fixed on the spot, which preserved the remembrance of the contest by a simple inscription, was replaced in 1811 by a more costly monument ‡.

At the time in which Edward III. imagined himself secure of the co-operation of the King of Navarre, he disembarked at A. D. 1355. Calais. During a short campaign he inflicted great severities on those parts of Artois and Picardy which he traversed; and he returned to his ships pursued by the Royal army, although each party had avoided an engagement. Operations of equally little importance were at the same time commenced in Languedoc by his son the Black Prince, who, after menacing Avignon, retired into winter-quarters at Bordeaux.

On the arrest of the King of Navarre, and the execution of the Count of Harcourt, Philip, brother of the former, and Godfrey, uncle of the latter, threw themselves on the protection of England §. The Duke of Lancaster reinforced them in Normandy, and displayed great skill

* *Nous allons voir qui peut se vanter d'avoir la plus belle amie.*

† *Beaumanoir bois ton sang.*

‡ Daru, ii. 109, &c. Where the whole narrative of the combat is examined, and, as we think, satisfactorily established. Much stress on the other hand has been laid upon Froissart's silence, notwithstanding the facts were especially adapted to his taste. But Froissart is *not* altogether silent; he mentions the combat incidentally by stating that the Brigand Croquart was the most active Champion on the side of the English, ii. c. 147.

§ A safe-conduct for their passage to England, June 24, 1356, is printed *Fœdera*, iii. 331. The homage of Godfrey de Harcourt, July 17, p. 332, and a commendation of him by Edward to his officers, Aug. 1, p. 333. A safe-conduct for the return of Philip of Navarre to Normandy, Aug. 20, p. 338. Godfrey de Harcourt remained in arms till he was killed at Coutantin. Froissart, ii. c. 168, 169.

in evading the superior numbers against which he manœuvred, till he at length found security in Cherbourg. The King of France conducted this pursuit in person, and he was engaged A. D. 1356. in pressing the siege of Breteuil when events of greater June — moment demanded his presence in the South.

The force under the Black Prince was by no means considerable, amounting in all to not more than 2000 men at arms, about the same number of light infantry, both of which were chiefly Gascons, and 4000 English archers. With these troops, however, he had taken the field early in the Summer; had passed the Garonne and the Dordogne; had pillaged Auvergne and Limousin, and had threatened to extend his devastations over all the Provinces southward from the Loire. The close of August was nearly at hand before John marched from the North to repel this irruption, and even when he had fixed his head-quarters at Blois, he was unable to prevent the storming of the Castle of Romorantin, but ten leagues distant from his camp. The Prince of Wales, irritated by the loss of a favourite officer, had vowed not to leave that fortress till it was taken; and an obstinate adherence to his oath compromised the safety of his army. John by rapid marches gained his rear, and occupied the road leading to Poitiers, upon which the English intended to fall back. So deficient however were both Generals in intelligence, that each was utterly ignorant of the other's real position. The King of France expected to find the English already in occupation of Poitiers; the Black Prince believed that his enemy was still pressing on his front, when an accidental skirmish of some foragers revealed to John his advantage, to Edward his infinite peril.

Retreat without a battle was utterly impossible to Edward, and the enormous superiority of the French appeared to promise them certain success. "God help us!" was the remark of the Black Prince when he learned his situation, "we must now consider which will be the best manner to fight them conveniently;" and the pious confidence, the unshaken courage, and the calm discretion which this observation implied directed his arrangements for the field. Sept. 18. He drew up his line on a ridge, called Maupertuis*, near Beaumont, about two leagues north from Poitiers. The ground was rough, broken, covered with bushes, and surrounded by vineyards which impeded the action of cavalry; and it was approached in front only by one lane, admitting but four horsemen abreast, and flanked by thick hedges which were lined with archers. The men at arms, dismounted, were arranged on the plain at the end of this narrow tunnel, and before them was disposed a *hearse harrow*, or double square of archers.

To overwhelm this gallant handful of enemies, the King of France

* Froissart, who in such a matter is not likely to be mistaken, supplies this name; which however is disputed by Walckenaer in his *Additions to Henault. Abrégé Chronologique*, i. 359.

ranged under his standard four of his sons, six and twenty Dukes and Counts, 140 Bannerets, and nearly 60,000 other combatants. He distributed this great force, than which none more brilliant or more amply provided had ever been levied in France, into three nearly equal battalions. The first he assigned to his brother the Duke of Orleans; in the second commanded the three Princes, Charles, Louis, and John; and he kept by his own person in the reserve his youngest son Philip, a boy in his fourteenth year. The English position was reconnoitred by Sir Eustace de Ribaultmont and three other Knights of tried military skill, who reported its strength and arrangement with extraordinary precision. In conformity with their advice, three hundred men at arms were ordered to advance on horseback along the lane, and to overthrow the hearse of archers at its termination. When this service should have been performed, the rest of the army was directed to follow on foot, for which purpose the Knights were ordered to take off their spurs, and to shorten their lances. These dispositions were already made, and only the signal for onset was needed, when the impending carnage was arrested for a few hours, by the intercession of two Legates whom the Pope had deputed to attempt reconciliation. Talleyrand de Perigord (a name belonging to the History of more than a single Age) and Nicolo Capoccio prevailed upon John to suspend his attack, and to offer conditions to the Prince of Wales. Edward, well aware of the dangers to which he was exposed, expressed willingness to abandon his recent conquests, to release his prisoners, and to pledge himself to abstain from personal service against France for a term of seven years; but he rejected with disdain, as inconsistent with honour, the arrogant demand that himself and 100 of his Knights should surrender as prisoners.

Even on the following morning negotiation was renewed by Talleyrand, who met but harsh reception from the French*. When he announced his failure, Edward replied, "God defend the right!" and made ready for battle. The dispositions were the same as those of the preceding day; excepting that Maupertuis had been somewhat strengthened by such field-works as the time had permitted the English to throw up; and that 300 men-at-arms and an equal number of mounted archers were posted under cover of a rising ground on the right wing, with orders to charge the enemy in flank whenever the moment should appear to be favourable.

The signal for attack was given about nine in the morning, when the

* Nevertheless, the suite of the Cardinal remained on the field, and fought in the French ranks. Edward, greatly irritated at this conduct of the retainers of a Minister of Peace, sent to the Cardinal the body of his nephew, Lord Robert de Duras, borne upon a shield, with a message that he saluted him by that token. Sir John Chandos prevented a more vigorous demonstration of anger which Edward meditated, discreetly remarking that, perhaps, the Cardinal by and by might excuse himself so well as to afford conviction that he was not at all to blame.

French moved forward. As soon as the whole body of men-at-arms, who formed the Van, headed by their Marshals, had entered the lane, the English archers planted in the hedges commenced their volleys from either side. So thickly and so well did they then shoot, that the wounded horses became unruly, and the dense mass was speedily thrown into confusion. As the Van fell back, it disordered the first and second battalions, and their panic was increased by an unexpected flank attack from the English ambuscade in advance upon the right. The experienced eye of Sir John Chandos, who had placed himself near the side of Edward, "to guard and to advise him," perceived that this was the crisis of the battle; and he assured the Prince that if he ordered his men-at-arms to mount their horses, which were placed ready at hand, and to make at once to the post of the King of France,—“where would lie the main stress of the business, for his valour would never let him fly,”—the day would be his own*. Edward, burning for the enterprise, gave the word to advance, and, galloping forward with shouts of “St. George for Guyenne!” overthrew first the division of the Duke of Athens†, and then a troop of Germans. The Duke of Orleans abandoned his ground, and sought shelter behind the rear; and the Duke of Normandy and his brothers too readily consulting their safety, took to flight, with 800 lances, without abiding the charge.

The division commanded by the King in person was still however firm and entire, and that alone was more than twice as numerous as the whole English army. But, notwithstanding the gallantry of John, who fought with a battle-axe on foot, and of the boy Philip, who richly deserved the name *le Hardi*, which was then bestowed upon him, the combat was already decided; and the Nobles, who gathered round their Sovereign, fell thickly in his defence. When John saw that all further resistance was useless, and that his enemies, every moment pressing closer, urged him to surrender if he hoped for life, he inquired for his cousin the Prince of Wales. Sir Denis de Morbeque, a young Knight of Artois engaged in the English service, made himself known to the King, and undertook to lead him to the Prince. “To you, then, I surrender myself,” replied John, at the same time presenting his right gauntlet in token of submission. But his danger by no means ended here. A throng of armed men disputed the honour of the capture; and when the Earl of Warwick and Reginald Lord Cobham, despatched by the Prince of Wales to ascertain the situation of the King, arrived in his presence, angry words were, perhaps, forerunning blows which might have occasioned the destruction of the contested prize. The interposition

* For his good service on this day, Sir John Chandos received a Grant for life of two portions of the Manor of Kirketon in Lindsay, to be held by the presentation of a Red Rose on Midsummer-day. The Grant is dated Nov. 15, 1356. *Fœdera*, iii. 343.

† Gaultier de Brienne, who had succeeded James of Bourbon as Constable.

of those Noblemen succeeded in restraining the tumult; and approaching John with profound reverence, they conducted him, together with Prince Philip, to the quarters of the conqueror.

About noon, when the fortune of the day was evidently decided, Sir John Chandos prevailed upon the Black Prince to halt awhile for refreshment, and to plant his banner upon a bush as a signal by which his troops, at that time much dispersed over the field, might re-assemble. A small tent was accordingly pitched upon the spot, and it was surrounded by Knights returning from the pursuit, and bringing in numerous prisoners, when the Barons arrived with their illustrious charge.

The Prince made a very low obeisance as the King entered, and ordered wine and spices, which he presented with his own hand. In the evening he entertained him at supper in his tent; and it is worthy of remark, that the table, which we are informed was well covered, received its provisions from the French camp, because the English, among their other disadvantages, had been so straitened for supplies, that many of them had not tasted bread for the last three days. The King, Prince Philip, James of Bourbon, John of Artois, the Counts de Tancarville, Estampes, and Dammartin, and the Lords of Joinville and of Partenay, were seated apart on a sort of dais, the remaining Barons and Knights were placed in different quarters. Edward himself served at the Royal and other tables, with every mark of humility; protesting in reply to the King's invitation, that he was unworthy of being seated in company with so great a King and so valiant a man as John had proved himself that day by his actions. He added assurances of friendship and of honourable treatment by his father, and concluded by declaring that, notwithstanding the discomfiture of the French, the unanimous testimony of all who had seen and observed the deeds of each party, decreed the prize and garland of prowess to the captive Monarch. "At the end of this speech, there were murmurs of praise heard from every one; and the French said the Prince had spoken nobly and truly, and that he would be one of the most gallant Princes in Christendom, if God should grant him life to pursue his career of glory."

Eleven thousand French perished in the battle or in the pursuit. The Registers of only two Churches in Poitiers* furnish the names of 126 Nobles and 40 Esquires who were buried underneath their pavement, exclusively of the uncounted bodies which were shot from carts into large graves dug within the consecrated precincts. The English lost 900 men-at-arms and 1500 archers. Their prisoners were twice as numerous as themselves; and this abundance, the joy occasioned by the greatness of success, and a reasonable sense of danger from disparity of force, made ransom unusually easy. So rich was the spoil in gold and silver plate, in jewels, ornaments, and furred mantles, that tents and

* The *Frères Mineurs* and the *Frères Prescheurs*. Bouchet, *Annales d'Aquitaine*, p. 4, f. 15, cited in Johnes's *Froissart*, ii. p. 346.

armour were but little prized. The French, we are told, had come as magnificently dressed as if they had been sure of gaining the victory. Most of the booty, it is added, was foolishly expended in feasting and merriment during the Winter passed at Bordeaux. Thither the Prince retired, by easy marches, without opposition, and without attempting the achievement of further triumphs. His natural anxiety was, in the first instance, to secure his recent, and most important acquisition from the hazard of recapture*.

CHAPTER X.

From A. D. 1356, to A. D. 1380.

Miserable condition of France—Meeting of the States-General—Their constitution—Their second meeting—Truce—Removal of John to England—Third meeting of the States—Escape of the King of Navarre—He joins the popular faction—Tumults and murders in Paris—The Dauphin declared Regent—Great power of Etienne Marcel—He prepares to defend Paris—Treachery of the King of Navarre—Violent death of Marcel—Campaign against the King of Navarre—Siege of Melun—Treaty of Pontoise—Rejection of the Terms proposed for the release of John—Ravages of the Free Companies—Insurrection of *La Jacquerie*—Invasion by the English—Treaty of Bretigny—John returns to England—His death and character—Charles V.—The King of Navarre claims the Fief of Burgundy—Rise of Bertrand du Guesclin—The Duke of Anjou breaks his parole—Battle of Aurai—Death of Charles of Blois—Treaty of Guerande—Civil war in Castile—Employment of the Free Companies—Battle of Najara—Guyenne rebels against the Black Prince—Charles defies Edward III.—Close of the Civil war in Castile—Edward III. reassumes the title of King of France—Capture and massacre of Limoges—Retirement of the Black Prince—Naval defeat of the English by the Castilians off La Rochelle—La Rochelle won by stratagem—Expulsion of the English from Poitou—Clisson's inhumanity in Brittany—John of Gaunt marches across France—His misery on arriving at Bordeaux—Truce of Bourges—War renewed on the accession of Richard II.—War with the King of Navarre—Insurrection in Languedoc—Severities at Montpellier—The Duke of Anjou removed from his Government—Troubles in Brittany—Return of De Montfort—Death of Du Guesclin—Expedition of the Earl of Buckingham—Death of Charles V.

THE condition of France during the period which succeeded this great defeat was infinitely perilous and miserable; and there is scarcely a calamity by which a Nation can be afflicted which A. D. 1356. she did not in some measure undergo. Pestilence, and its

* The Black Prince sent home as trophies John's Coat of Arms and Bassinet, and some gratuity was probably ordered to the bearer *Gulfrido Hemelyn vallatio cameræ Principis Walliæ, venienti de partibus Vasconiz cum tunica ac armis et bacynetto adversarii de Franciâ. Fœdera*, iii. 340. In the page following to which may be found a Brief addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated Oct. 10, ordering a Thanksgiving for the Victory at Poitiers.

invariable companion, Famine, had already ravaged her fields; the sword had mowed down the flower of her Nobles; her glory was tarnished; a foreign enemy had carried away her King into captivity; and she was now about to become a prey to Civil broils and intestine sedition.

The Duke of Normandy*, on flying from Poitiers, directed his steps at once to Paris, and there assuming the Royal authority as his father's Lieutenant, prepared to deliberate with the States-General, whose promised meeting was accelerated by the public disasters. As yet we have made but slight and incidental mention of a body which, on this occasion, became elevated into importance. Its early history, like that of most other institutions, is enveloped in obscurity. Some General Assemblies no doubt were held even under the Merovingian Kings; and the Capitularies of Charlemagne seem to have been framed at legislative Diets. After the establishment of the Feudal System, however, these Conventions altogether ceased; and the Royal Council was limited entirely to the tenants in chief. The mass of the Nation did not exercise even the semblance of Political functions, till the necessities of Philip *le Bel* induced him to make a bold innovation, in the hope of obtaining relief. Having enrolled the Deputies of Towns as a separate Order (the *Tiers Etat*), he twice summoned a representative body, within which were included the Three Estates or States-General; in the first instance, in 1302, to support him in his quarrel with Boniface, and afterwards, more to our present purpose, in 1314, to grant a subsidy. Before the last-mentioned epoch, the Royal authority never ventured to levy a tax within the dominions of a vassal, until that vassal had previously granted consent. But the *Roturiers*, upon their admission to the States-General, were empowered to tax themselves; and in the outset they paid more liberally and less reluctantly when the impost went immediately to the Crown, than they had been accustomed to do to their own Lords, by whom a considerable share of the produce was intercepted in its passage to the National Treasury.

The early Constitutional privileges of the States-General are very little known, and perhaps were by no means accurately defined. It was obviously the policy of the King to restrict them within the narrowest possible limit; for otherwise he would only have substituted the rule of the Populace for that of the Aristocracy; he would have exchanged, not have destroyed, his letters. Nevertheless, the right of controlling the purse seems so naturally to appertain to those by whom the purse is filled, that the Royal authority must soon have been diminished, if the sittings of the States had become fixed and periodical; if they had been regulated like those of the Parliament of England. In no instance, indeed, did they assemble without effecting some curtailment of the pre-

* Charles was Duke of Normandy, a title superior to that of Count of Dauphiné. M. de Sismondi, x. 512.

rogative of the Crown; and the final Revolution under which, in latter days, the Monarchy sank, was consummated by their operation. We shall perceive that even in their cradle they evinced a spirit of determined resistance to arbitrary sway*.

John had already twice assembled the States, first immediately after his accession, and again in the year before the Battle of Poitiers; at which last sitting it had been understood that they were to meet annually, in order to renew the necessary taxes; and the close of the following November had been fixed for their convocation. The ferment of the public mind, arising from National danger, Oct. 17. brought them together, however, six weeks earlier than the appointed time. Although they consisted only of Representatives of the Northern division of the Kingdom, the *Langue d'Oil*† as it was named, the Assembly comprised not less than 800 Deputies; and, notwithstanding the vagueness and uncertainty of the powers attributed to them, all men appeared confidently to expect that some benefit, they knew not what, would result from their deliberations. The benches of the Clergy, and of the Nobles, were thronged with personages of high birth and distinction; and Etiennè Marcel, Provost of the Merchants of Paris, was prepared to exhibit himself as the most able and the most active among the *Bourgeois*.

The Deputies, when invited to vote a subsidy, required time for deliberation, and retired for the purpose into separate Chambers in the *Cordeliers*. For the sake of convenience, a Committee of Fifty was chosen from the whole body; who, after meeting fifteen days consecutively, instead of providing the Funds which the Dauphin expected, demanded a Conference, in order to acquaint him with a Remonstrance which they intended to offer at their next public sitting. Its contents in brief required the dismissal and the punishment of certain agents of the Crown who were accused of malversation; the release of the King of Navarre; and the appointment of a Council of State, selected from the Deputies, and composed of four Prelates, twelve Nobles, and twelve Bourgeois.

Charles, thus forewarned of the attempt about to be made to shackle his authority, evaded a public sitting, and succeeded in dissolving the

* For the best account of the States-General with which we are acquainted, the reader may turn to the 11^d Part of Chapter ii. of Mr. Hallam's *History of Europe during the Middle Ages*.

† The Loire was the boundary between the *Langue d'Oil* and the *Langue d'Oc*, so named from the manner in which the population of the two Districts respectively pronounced the monosyllable *Oui*. This is well explained by M. de Sismondi, x. 427. *On regardoit la France comme composée à quelque sorte de deux royaumes: le pays qui parloit le Roman Wallon, qui étoit régi par des coutumes, et qui faisant usage du mot oil, oui, pour affirmation, étoit nommé Langue d'Oil, et le pays qui parloit le Roman Provençal, qui étoit régi par le droit Latin ou droit écrit, et qui étoit nommé Langue d'Oc, d'après l'emploi du monosyllabe oc pour l'affirmation.* See also Ducange, *Gloss. ad v. Lingua*.

States before the presentation of this Remonstrance. He was not able, however, to prevent a recital of grievances made before the Committee by Robert le Cocq, Bishop of Laon; one of those stirring spirits which the times awakened to activity, and whose motives, perhaps ill understood even by himself, will always be variously represented according to the political bias of the writer by whom they are described.

From the assemblies of the Three Orders which were accustomed to meet in the separate Provinces, Charles expected and found greater deference than he had experienced from the large mass of National Deputies. These smaller bodies were much more easily influenced than the great representative union; and their existence frequently enabled the Crown to postpone a Convention of the States-General, to which, indeed, no motive short of necessity was ever likely to incline it*. The States of Languedoc, assembled at Toulouse, made a considerable Grant; and their example was followed, in the course of the Winter, by many other Provinces. Meanwhile, the Duke of Normandy withdrew to Metz, where he passed some time in festivity with his uncle the Emperor Charles IV., to whom he owed homage for the newly-acquired Fief of Viennois.

A debasement of the Coinage, to which, when all other means had failed, the Dauphin resorted, served to increase popular discontent, without at the same time replenishing the Exchequer; and early in the following year he was compelled once again to summon the States-General. Marcel and Le Cocq were still the favourite Deputies; and after a month's discussion, of which no memorial is left to us, they obtained the publication of an Ordinance, engaging the Dauphin to undertake a Reform of abuses on the promise of a subsidy. The funds procured were to be sufficient for the levy and the maintenance of 30,000 men; but the distribution of this money was jealously reserved to the hands by which it was furnished. This remarkable Edict, by informing us of some of the measures from which the Government intended in future to abstain, affords a frightful picture of those acts which it had heretofore been accustomed to commit with impunity. The Dauphin solemnly protested that the moneys destined for the protection of the Kingdom should not be diverted from their legitimate purpose by himself, by the Princes of the Blood, or by the Ministers; that he would no longer postpone the decision of the Tribunals out of respect to parties concerned in Trials—instances of which were produced wherein the delay had extended to twenty years; that he would neither sell nor farm out judicial offices; nor instruct Magistrates to receive pecuniary mulcts in commutation of punishment; that he would establish a regular system of accounts in the Chamber of Revenue; would restore the currency to an equitable standard; and

* Mr. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 188, 4to.

would not permit any change in it without the consent of the States ; that he would restrain all forcible seizures of provisions for the service of the Royal Household ; and that he would oblige the purveyors to make entries of all articles taken up by them for such purposes, instead of appropriating them to their own profit ; that he would prohibit the exactions which were practised by inferior officers of justice ; would abolish monopolies among the retainers of the Court ; would suppress all private wars ; and would authorise every class of his subjects to resist by force acts of pillage attempted by any Soldiery, even by those enrolled under the Royal banner.

In combating such abuses as these, the popular leaders were secure of general approbation and support. But some clauses of the Ordinance which they obtained betray an ambitious design of annihilating the independence of the Crown, and of subjecting it to control in matters over which wiser Statesmen have determined that, even in a mixed Government, its authority ought to be supreme. Thus they objected to the exercise of the prerogative of Mercy in the issue of Letters of Pardon. *Atrocious* crimes, indeed, were specified as the offences, which were to be excluded from Grace, but by whom was the standard of atrocity to be adjusted ? They restricted the free choice of the King in his selection of a Ministry, by personally denouncing a certain number of individuals as for ever unworthy of his confidence ; and they interfered with the rights of private property (for such must the Fiefs of the French Crown be considered) by forbidding any Grant or alienation of territory*.

Charles, however, was at the mercy of the Deputies ; for the calamities of the Government which he administered were hourly increasing. The Gascon Barons, bribed by the distribution of 100,000 florins, permitted the King, who had hitherto been detained among them at Bordeaux, to be removed from their shores ; and in order to ensure his unobstructed transport to England, a Truce for March 23. two years was signed between the Belligerents†. The reception and the entertainment of John by his conquerors are among the brightest portions of English History. Every abatement of the rigour of captivity which seemed compatible with his safe custody was proffered without ostentation and with good taste ; and a graceful respect for the feelings of the illustrious prisoner mingled even with the natural and laudable ebullitions of popular triumph.

The Spring and Summer of 1337 were passed in continual struggles between the Dauphin and the *Bourgeois* Faction, represented, during the intervals of the assembly of the States-General, by a standing Committee of thirty-six Deputies. The policy of Charles, however, was far

* *Ordonnances de France*, iii. 124, 146.

† *Fœdera*, iii. 348.

from being uniform; and the resistance prompted by an occasional access of courage, or by a favourable opportunity, often yielded to the first succeeding attack. Every day, and almost every hour, witnessed the promulgation of contradictory Edicts; and not the least remarkable

occurrence of these singular times is the issue of an Ordinance (which perhaps created a temporary revulsion in his favour), forbidding the payment of the subsidy granted by the States. This Ordinance was revoked within two days after it had been proclaimed; but the Deputies found difficulties in levying money, the rabble forgot their late oppression in present suffering, and attributed the relief which the Dauphin had apparently been willing to afford, to a wish that they should be freed from burdens altogether, rather than to a dissatisfaction that the power of imposing those burdens was taken away from himself. Charles, encouraged by these demonstrations of public opinion, dismissed the Council with which he had been shackled, and for a brief season shook off the yoke of the *Bourgeois*.

Inability to procure supplies soon occasioned a fresh assembly of the States, in which the influence of the malecontents was very greatly increased by the escape of the King of Navarre from prison. That turbulent Prince, after a short abode at Amiens, during which he consolidated his party, demanded re-admission into Paris. The Dauphin, who was his brother-in-law, and who had been living on terms of intimate confidence with him at the time of his arrest, was wholly without any pretext on which a refusal to the demand might be founded; and Navarre, having first harangued the populace, obtained permission to detach from the gibbets upon which they were still exposed at Rouen, the bodies of the friends who had suffered in his cause, and to celebrate public obsequies to their memory*.

Democracy has often borrowed the aid of some factious Patrician to cover its early aggressions; and Marcel soon availed himself of the alliance which the King of Navarre was willing to afford. Nor was he insensible of the strength which a cabal derives from outward distinctive badges of union; and when he instructed his adherents to wear parti-coloured hoods (*capuchins*) in which red and blue were mingled, he exhibited no slight knowledge of the contagious nature of human passions. At the head of a troop of ruffians thus arrayed, A. D. 1358. he burst into the presence of the Dauphin, and having Feb. 22. massacred two of his chief attendant Nobles, Robert de Clermont Maréchal of Normandy, and the Sire de Conflans who held similar high office in Champagne, he assured the trembling Prince, whose clothes were stained with the blood of his friends, that so

* The remains of the Count of Harcourt had already been secretly interred. He was buried in effigy on this occasion. Villaret, v., 148.

far as regarded himself there was not any cause for alarm. Then, having exchanged hoods as a guarantee of safety, he led Charles to a window in the Hôtel de Ville. The rabble meantime were hunting down a third great Officer of State, Reginald d'Acy* the Advocate-General, whom they murdered in the streets; and while this deed of horror was being enacted before his eyes, the Dauphin, tricked out in the colours under which the assassins were marshalled, assured them in words dictated by the Provost, that he rejoiced in the destruction of Traitors.

The States had assembled in the Capital, some few days before this commotion; and it is probable that they viewed the ascendancy of Marcel with suspicion; for although, from want of power or of will, they forebore from any enquiry into this outrage, they conferred at least the appearance of increased authority upon the Dauphin, by requesting him to assume the title of Regent. But this nominal addition to his power was more than counterbalanced by a fatal step which has been repeated under similar circumstances, and always with evil consequences. Many of the Clergy and of the Nobles finding themselves unequal to oppose the *Tiers Etat*, gradually withdrew from the meetings of the Committee, and Marcel taking advantage of their secession, supplied their vacant places with Deputies of his own creation, and thus gained double strength at every retreat of an opponent.

The Noblesse, however, as before, preserved their superiority in the Provincial States, and at those meetings, which Charles attended, they awakened in him a sense of violated dignity, and induced and enabled him to menace Paris with blockade. His demands at first excited fear for the entire population; but he at last contented himself by requiring the surrender of a few of the most guilty Citizens, and even to those he promised a remission of capital punishment. Marcel was not thus easily deceived; all History forewarned him of the lot of Rebels who surrender their arms; and resolutely preparing for defence, he occupied the Castle of the Louvre, and fortified and provisioned Paris to withstand a siege.

If the King of Navarre, when he issued from Paris to take the field, had continued faithful to his promises, Marcel might perhaps have triumphed; but Charles *le Mauvais* was engaged in a double treachery, and at the very moment at which the Provost had obtained for him the title of Captain-General of Paris, he had sold his alliance to the Dauphin for 400,000 florins. The part which he intended ultimately to assume cannot be determined, but it is little to be doubted that his chief object was to encourage National disunion in any shape, in the hope

* Froissart in his account of these murders (ii. c. 176) gives the name of "Simon de Buci, a Knight of Laws." This plainly is no more than a different version of d'Acy.

that some favourable opportunity would present itself during a period of struggle, in which he might set aside the Salic Law, and thus establish his own claim to the Crown—a claim which, if the female line were admitted, was undoubtedly legitimate in the nearest grandson of Louis X. Notwithstanding, therefore, his Treaty with the Dauphin, and his consequent breach with the Parisians, he continued to negotiate with Marcel, from whom he received a promise that the Gate and Fortress of St. Antoine should be delivered to his troops. Duped by his own ambitious hopes, the Provost conveyed the keys of those strong-holds in person; and although the *Bourgeois* had denounced the King of Navarre as an apostate from their cause, and had stripped him of his Captainship, Marcel persisted in his blindness. On the night of the 31st of July, he was engaged in substituting guards devoted to his own service in place of the ordinary sentinels at the posts which he had agreed to surrender. This step was preparatory to the admission of the Navarrois; but, before its completion, some Fellow-Citizens, either betraying or detecting the plot, raised the populace, accused Marcel of treachery, of which the keys at that moment in his hands were sufficient evidence, and put him to death upon the spot, together with several of his adherents. Their bodies, after having been stripped and exposed to public gaze, were thrown into the Seine, amid the execrations of the giddy rabble by whose suffrages the deceased leaders had recently obtained their influence*.

The Regent speedily occupied the Capital and avenged himself by numberless executions; but his success was little suited to the designs of the King of Navarre, who at once assumed a hostile attitude. Money, which he had largely at his command, soon swelled his ranks with adventurers of all Nations, at that time discharged from military service by the Truce between France and England. Before the Regent had acquired sufficient energy to move from Paris, these mercenary Brigands spread terror over some of the finest parts of the Isle of France, of the Vermandois, and of Picardy; and it was not A. D. 1358. till the middle of the following Summer that Charles was

June — roused to action, and commenced the siege of Melun. That City was the abode of three Queens, each nearly connected with Charles *le Mauvais*; Blanche of Navarre, relict of Philip VI., was his sister; Jane, widow of Charles IV. was his aunt; and another Jane, sister of the Regent, was his wife. The terror of these illustrious Ladies in a few days produced an accommodation for which the sufferings of the entire Kingdom during several months had

* Froissart, ii. c. 175, 176. *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, xliii. 563. *Question Historique à qui doit-on attribuer la gloire de la Révolution qui sauva Paris pendant la prison du Roi Jean.* Par M. Dacier.

pleaded ineffectually; and through their diplomacy a Treaty was negotiated at Pontoise, to which nevertheless Philip of Navarre, the brother of Charles *le Mauvais*, refused accession. Aug. 21.

Before the signature of this Peace, the Truce with England had been prolonged by John till the following Midsummer*, in order to receive the assent of his son to a compact which the tediousness of captivity had induced him to accept from Edward III. The document itself has perished, and it appears on the authority of Froissart, that the particulars contained in it were by no means publicly known; for not more than an outline framed by Edward and the Black Prince on the one hand, and agreed to by the King of France and James of Bourbon on the other, "without any arbitrator between them," was despatched by special messengers to Paris. The freedom of John would have deprived Charles of his Regency, and would have diminished the chances of anarchy upon which Navarre calculated for success. It was natural therefore that both those Princes should seek a pretext for opposition. Froissart tells us that the Dauphin consulted the King of Navarre, who advised the assembling of a Great Council, the Members of which unanimously declared that the conditions of Peace "were too hard," and that they would rather endure their present distress than suffer the Kingdom to be dismembered†. Thomas of Walsingham states more in detail that John agreed to surrender Flanders, Aquitaine, Picardy, and such other districts as the English had already "ridden through and ravaged‡." The terms, whatever they might be, were rejected by the French Council of State, upon which depended the provision of ransom. Edward, who suspected John of insincerity in the transaction, transferred him from Somerton to Berkhampstead, and afterwards to the Tower of London§. The King of France, perhaps more justly, attributed his disappointment to the subtilty of Charles *le Mauvais*, who he said was cunning enough to deceive forty such as his fair son§.

France at this time presented a frightful picture of calamity and misrule. "The Free Companies," as the disbanded soldiery styled themselves, pillaged, even in small bodies, without opposition. One troop, headed by a Welshman (variously called Ruffin and Griffith), marauded about Paris, Orleans, and Chartres, till their Captain, "whom they had knighted, acquired such immense riches that they could not be counted||." Another leader of Banditti, Sir Arnôld de Cervôle, who

* *Fœdera*, iii. 422, dated March 18, 1358.

† ii. c. 199.

‡ *Hist. Angliæ ap. Camden*, 173. The same words are repeated in the *Ypodeigma Neustriæ*; *id.* 523.

§ *Ha, ha, Charles, beau-fils, vous conseillez au Roi de Navarre, qui vous devoit et decevroit quarante tels que vous êtes.*

|| Froissart, ii. c. 175.

bore the title of Arch-Priest (*Archiprêtre**), levied contributions in Provence, and extended his violence even within the sacred pale of Avignon. The terrors felt by Innocent VI. prevailed over his self-respect. We are assured that the Bravo "dined several times with the Pope and Cardinals, who at his departure presented him with 40,000 Crowns to distribute among his companions †."

But no suffering with which this most wretched Country had been afflicted exceeded that produced by an insurrection which armed the *Villains* (or Labourers), chiefly in Beauvoisis, against the Lords of the soil. The Peasants of France, uneducated, unprotected, and hopeless of emancipation from the most grinding of all servitudes, were but little raised above the level of savage life. The *Bourgeoisie* indeed had made rapid advances towards civilization, and consequently towards independence, by the ties which associated them in *Communes*; but the great mass by which France was inhabited, the rural cultivators, were altogether without mutual union, and therefore were stationary in degradation. Toil and poverty were the only heritages transmitted by each father to his son; and it was not worth while to labour for the acquisition of property (if the word can be so applied) which might allure the violence of Banditti, or tempt the more legalized avarice of the paramount *Seigneur*.

Miserable as was this condition, its misery appears to have been capable of enhancement; and the great sums required by the Nobles captured at Poitiers for the provision of ransom could only be furnished by increased exactions from the Peasantry. "Jacques Bonhomme will pay for all" is said to have been the heartless and unfeeling declaration with which the Lords when enfranchised by the English returned to their Châteaux; and this idle levity aggravated the oppression by which it was accompanied. The *Villains*, either styling themselves or being styled *La Jacquerie* for the above reason, began to assemble in the neighbourhood of Soissons; they were devoid of weapons, (for in this instance the despoiled had not arms which they could retain ‡,) they were without leaders, and at first they did not exceed a few scores in number. Staves shod with iron, knives, and agricultural implements, supplied the

* Villaret, v. 161, explains the title *Archiprêtre* to have corresponded in the early Church with Vicar-Imperial, and that afterwards it was given to Priests subordinate to Archdeacons, who in modern times would be called Rural Deans. Arnold de Cervôle, although a married layman, enjoyed the revenue of an *Archiprêtre*, according to a common abuse among the Provincial Nobles.

A detailed history of Arnold de Cervôle may be found in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, xxiii. 153. He is there styled *Archipresbyter de Vernis*, of Vezins. He was wounded and taken prisoner at Poitiers, and afterwards ransomed by a sum paid from the Royal coffers. In 1361, while commanding the van of a Royal Army despatched against the very adventurers whom he had formerly led, he was defeated and captured. In 1365 he was appointed Chamberlain to Charles V., and in the year following he died quietly in his bed in Provence.

† Froissart, ii. c. 175 and c. 144.

‡ *Spoliatis arma supersunt*. Juv. viii. 123.

want of swords and spears; a Chief was provided under the title which had been given in derision, and Jacques Bonhomme, a peasant of Mello near Clermont (his real name was Guillaume Caillet), "the worst of the bad," having been elected their King, their forces soon amounted to more than 100,000 men; who burned and destroyed upwards of one hundred castles and mansions between Paris and Noyons. Horrors which we would far more willingly forget (if to forget them were possible) than transcribe for the perusal of others, were inflicted and retaliated; and in the Summer of 1358, the part taken by the King of Navarre in suppression of these enormities materially contributed to diminish the influence which he had established with the *Tiers Etat* of Paris. The *Villains*, indeed, placed but little confidence in the professions of alliance which Charles had made, for they justly deemed them alien from his *Caste*. It was against that *Caste*, against all superiority that their war was aimed; and when asked for what reason they acted so wickedly, they replied "They knew not, but they did so because they saw others do so, and they thought that by this means they should destroy all the Nobles and Gentlemen in the World *." The King of Navarre (as the same authority reports, but probably with much exaggeration) destroyed 3000 of them in one day; "and the Gentlemen of the Country hanged them in troops on the nearest trees." Nevertheless, so extensive was the insurrection, that the Duchess of Normandy, the Duchess of Orleans, and 300 other Ladies of illustrious birth, were compelled to seek shelter from outrage and dishonour within the walls of Meaux. Even in that City they obtained a very insecure asylum; and from circumstances attendant upon the final discomfiture of the *Jacquerie* in its streets, we learn both the audacity which success had inspired among the *Villains*, and also the want of courage in their Lords, to which that success is mainly to be attributed. Gaston Count de Foix, and his cousin the Captal † of Buch, the latter of whom was a retainer in the English service, returning from a Crusade (as it is termed) in Prussia ‡, chivalrously tendered their protection to the distressed ladies in Meaux. The *Bourgeois* of that City, who were leagued with the Peasantry, opened their gates to them and to a band of Parisian malecontents by whom they were accompanied; but at the moment at which the noble Dames were overcome with terror, the two Knights, followed by about sixty lances, galloped amid the unarmed and undisciplined rabble, "striking them down like beasts," till upwards of 7000 perished by the

* Froissart, ii. c. 181.

† This title is explained by Villaret, v. 289, and by Ducange *ad v. Capitalis*. It seems to have been equivalent to Count, but at the commencement of the XIVth Century it was assumed only by two French Nobles, the Captal of Buch and the Captal of Trene.

‡ Villaret's Note on this transaction is somewhat naïve. *La Prusse alors étoit encore en partie barbare. Nos Chevaliers étoient dans l'usage d'y aller exercer leur valeur.*

sword, or by the river into which they were chased. Not an individual would have escaped if the fugitives had been pursued; but the conquerors returned to inflict vengeance upon the Citizens of Meaux, whose town with most of its inhabitants they reduced to ashes. From that day the *Jacquerie* may be considered as suppressed, for they "never collected again in any great bodies."

In a Country so destitute of military energy and of sound Government, as to owe its deliverance from this most virulent A. D. 1359. sedition only to a lucky accident, a foreign invader was not likely to meet with any formidable resistance; and after Oct. — Edward III. had landed at Calais, he marched unopposed Nov. 30. to Rheims. His chief embarrassment, indeed, was created not by enemies, but by the throngs of mercenary adventurers who awaited his arrival, in the hope of finding engagement in his service, and provision for whom would at once have exhausted his resources, notwithstanding the unsparing cost with which they had been provided. He entertained them civilly, and although he declined entering into any compact for their aid, he offered them free participation in booty if they would accompany his enterprise. The English army was amply furnished with *matériel* for its own subsistence, without which its advance would have been impossible in a Country utterly devastated; and Froissart is lavish in his commendations of the gallant show exhibited by the richly equipped battalions, headed by the King and his four sons; and of the huge train of six-thousand sumpter carriages, many of them conveying whole workshops, which occupied two leagues in length in their rear*. After blockading Rheims during seven weeks, Edward fixed his quarters at Bourg la Reine within two short leagues of Paris, burning and ravaging every district through which he passed. The Dauphin, however, still remained inactive in the Capital, in which he was greatly harassed by the intrigues of the King of Navarre; and even when Sir Walter Manny shattered a lance against the barriers of the City, the unwarlike Prince brooked the insult, and maintained an obstinate resolution to avoid battle. The sole chance of escape from entire subjection depended therefore upon the moderation of Edward; who, listening to the wise remonstrances of his cousin of Lancaster, abandoned his views upon the Crown of France (the phantom which he had been accustomed to contemplate), and discreetly contented himself with a substantial acquisition, which there were reasonable A. D. 1360. grounds for believing he possessed strength enough to maintain. May 18. The TREATY OF BRETIGNY, long emphatically named

* In this expedition provision for amusement and pleasure was not omitted. During Lent, an ample supply of fish was obtained by means of boats of boiled leather, each of which was large enough to contain three men. The King had a train of thirty mounted Falconers with Hawks, sixty couple of Hounds, and as many greyhounds. Many Lords besides carried with them Hawks and Hounds. Froissart, iii. c. 208.

the Great Treaty, secured to England the independent sovereignty of Aquitaine, hitherto regarded as a Fief of France; certain adjoining districts were permanently annexed to this Duchy; and a small territory surrounding Calais, and embracing Ponthieu, Guines, and Montreuil, was transferred absolutely to the English dominion. The ransom of John was fixed at three millions of Crowns of gold, 600,000 of which were to be paid before his release, and the balance by equal instalments during the six ensuing years. As a guarantee for these moneys, Edward was allowed to select a certain number of hostages chosen from the most illustrious Nobles and the most wealthy *Bourgeois* of France. One point alone, the succession to Bretany, remained for adjustment; and since that dispute regarded accessories, not the chief negociators, the claims of John of Montfort and of Charles of Blois were reserved for future discussion.

Calais was to be John's abode* until the first instalment of the ransom should be defrayed; but from what funds was it likely that his impoverished Kingdom could furnish 600,000 Crowns? The sum which the exertions of a whole Nation were incompetent to supply was provided by the vanity of an individual, and Galeazzo Visconti, who had been unsparing of blood and crime to elevate himself from a private station to the sovereignty of Milan, was now equally prodigal of gold to confirm his ill gotten Lombard power by alliance with the Royal House of France. He offered half the requisite money as a free gift, whenever the hand of Isabella, daughter of John, should be bestowed on his son Giovanni, and the remaining moiety was to be delivered in return for the Bride's portion, the inconsiderable Fief of Vertus in Champagne. The bargain was accordingly struck, and the young Princess, in her eleventh year, was conducted with nuptial pomp to Milan. Oct. 8.

The few remaining years of the reign of John afford little which is either attractive or important. He was chiefly occupied in vain endeavours to escape from the sight and hearing of calamities which he was utterly without power even to mitigate. Pestilence from time to time swept through almost every Province of his Kingdom; and the Free Companies, the dregs and scum of Europe, "Germans, Brabanters, Flemings, Hainaulters, Gascons and

* The changes in the style of John in the numerous orders relative to him during his imprisonment, may be accepted as measures of the progress of negotiation for his ransom. Sometimes he is *adversarius noster*, sometimes *consanguineus noster*. In the *Fœdera*, iii. 455, may be found a Grant (dated April 28, 1360) to the Clerk of the Hanaper, giving him 60 shillings as an indemnification for the expense incurred by dislodging the Records of the Court of Chancery, which before were kept in the apartments of the Tower of London destined for the reception of the Royal captive, and for providing new cases in which they might be securely deposited.

'bad Frenchmen,' under various names *, "persevered in their wickedness," and defied all authority exerted for their suppression. One band, whose pre-eminence in robbery and violence had acquired for it the distinction of *La Grande*, after having defeated and mortally wounded James of Bourbon†, found more legitimate employment for its arms in the Wars of Italy; and released France from the terrors of its presence, by passing the Alps, in the service of the Marquis of Montferrat.

Even the good actions of John were to be the seeds of future ill. His son Philip had amply merited reward by the gallantry which in extreme youth he had displayed at Poitiers; but his father was less politic than munificent in his acknowledgment of this service. The death of Philip of Rouvre united to the French Crown the lapsed Fief of Burgundy, not indeed without a rival claimant, for so valuable a possession does not often pass undisputed to a new owner. The King of Navarre, however, was unprepared to contest his right at the moment, although he renewed war under this pretext six months afterwards, and John, having received homage from the Burgundians at Dijon, privately conferred the Duchy as an *apanage* upon his son Philip *le Hardi*. A second Royal House was thus established in Burgundy‡, and Philip afterwards marrying Margaret, the widow of his predecessor, and the daughter and heiress of Louis Count of Flanders, reunited in his single hand extensive territories, the resources of which were too often employed by his descendants in struggles injurious to the stock from which they had sprung§. Upon the accession of Urban V. to the Papal Throne, John paid a visit of congratulation to Avignon, in which City his days were partly spent in festivity, partly in urging an unsuccessful suit to Joanna Queen of Naples, at that time widowed from her second husband. The King of France, undeterred by the reported murder of her first Consort by that Lady (whose reputation has, perhaps undeservedly, been as grievously assailed as that of Semiramis or of Messalina), pro-

* *Les Turds-Venus, Malandrins, Routiers, Linsards, Coterels, Tuchins, etc.* Mezeray, ii. 456, explains the first of these names (the late-comers) by stating that their predecessors had reaped so closely, that nothing was left beyond a gleaning for those who came after them.

† James of Bourbon appears to have been a very accomplished Knight. His loss was often lamented during John's last visit to England in conversation with Edward III., and the King agreed that "no one ever better deserved his rank among Nobles." Froissart, iii., c. 217.

‡ The first Royal Line of Burgundy was founded by Robert, son of King Robert, grandson of Hugues Capet. It lasted 330 years.

§ The Charter conferring this Grant, dated Feb. 6, 1383, is printed in the *Fœdera*, iii. 708. It makes very honourable mention of Philip's service, and confirms the Duke of Burgundy in his right of the premier peerage of France; which heretofore had been claimed sometimes by the Duke of Aquitaine, sometimes by the Duke of Normandy (Henault, *Abr. Chron.* I. 366). Till after his father's death Philip was not recognized by any other title than that of Duke of Touraine.

posed either himself or his favourite son Philip as the partner of her Throne. But Joanna had already selected James of Aragon, whom she admitted to conjugal rights, without allowing him any share in her sovereignty. During this residence at Avignon, John also contracted the friendship of Pierre I. of Lusignan, King of Cyprus; and at the suggestion of that Prince, actuated by motives which it is difficult either to understand or to justify (unless we suppose that his chief object was to find a distant service which might effectually relieve France from the Free Companies), he took the Cross together with him, and received from Urban the sounding title of Commander of the Christian Host. Meagre, money, valour, energy and reputation were alike deficient at that moment in France; and the circumstances of the East by no means called for a repetition of those sacrifices which had hitherto cost Europe so profuse and so useless an expenditure of lives and of treasure. "Several Councils," as Froissart tells us, "were held on the subject of this Crusade, to discover in what manner it could turn out to the honour of the King of France, or to the good of his Realm." Yet notwithstanding the opposition of his wisest Ministers, John confirmed the engagement, entertained the King of Cyprus with great magnificence at his Court, and promised that he would embark from Marseilles in the ensuing year.

A scruple of honour frustrated this most impolitic enterprise. The Princes of the Blood (*les quatre Fleurdelys*), who had been left in England as hostages for payment of the King's ransom, eagerly longed for return to their native Country, and obtained permission to reside at Calais under certain restrictions, having previously delivered the principal towns in their several Fiefs to English garrisons, as pledges of their fidelity. The restraint imposed upon them was far from being burdensome; and was not indeed more than a prudent regard for their custody required: they were permitted access to every part of France which they chose to visit, on condition that they should present themselves before the Governor of Calais at every fourth sunset. Louis of Anjou, the King's second son, impatient of even this slight bond, dishonourably violated the compact*, and absented himself altogether from Calais. John was most indignant at this breach of promise; and acting upon a maxim which it is said he often repeated, "that if Good Faith were banished elsewhere from the Earth, she ought still to be found upon the lips of Kings†," he determined, in order to remove all imputation from himself, to cross to England in person, and there to offer apologies for the unworthiness of his son. The resolution was vehemently opposed, but John, expressing unlimited confidence in the loyalty and honour of his Brother of England, obtained from him a

* The promise, dated April 16, 1363, is printed in the *Fœdera*, iii. 700.

† Villaret, v. 241. Henault, i. 367.

safe-conduct for the passage, protection, and return of himself and a retinue of 200 Knights*. He was received at Dover with A. D. 1364. marked respect; paid his devotions at the shrine of a March 3. Becket at Canterbury; and after much pageantry and rich entertainment by the Court at Eltham, proceeded onward to London. The Winter passed away in a succession of festivities; and the Thames afforded easy and almost private communication between the Palace at Westminster and that of April 8. the Savoy, which had been prepared for John's abode. Of the fatal malady which attacked him in the Spring little is recorded; but we are told by Froissart that when he expired, the King of England, the Queen, the Princes of the Blood, and all the Nobles were exceedingly concerned for the great love and affection which he had shown to them since the conclusion of Peace. Notwithstanding the heavy disasters of his reign, John, indeed, appears to have possessed in eminence those qualities which command golden opinions. If the valour of a single arm could redeem the cowardice of thousands, the fortune of the day of Poitiers might have been changed by his personal courage. Amid the manifold seditions which disturbed his Government, and which successively embarrassed every other public character in his Realm, himself alone altogether escaped popular reproach and odium; and the latest act of his life evinces a lively sensitiveness to honour, akin to many other generous feelings, and little likely to have existed as a solitary virtue. The Annals of the French Monarchy do not afford many parallel examples; and we see no good ground on which we should defraud them of the lustre flowing from the memory of John, or should deny our esteem to one of the few Kings sprung from the House of Valois who have at all deserved its bestowal.

The remains of John were conveyed with becoming solemnity from London to St. Denis, and his Crown passed to that Son Charles, who although distinguished by the appendage *le Sage*, had as yet given little evidence of wisdom. The title indeed has been interpreted, and we doubt not justly †, far more to denote his attainments in Literature, than his general powers of mind. To what extent he had advanced in the cultivation of knowledge is ascertained by the words of his Panegyrist Christine of Pisa, a daughter of his chief Astrologer, Professor of an empiric Art which at that time held unbounded dominion over the minds of Princes, and regulated the secret Politics of most European Courts. Christine informs us, that the King was a proficient in Latin,

* Dec. 10, 1363. *Fœdera*, iii. 718.

† M. de Sismondi, xi. 4. Or may we not render *le Sage* as the subtle, cunning, crafty? For the claim which entitles Charles V. to the honour of forming the *Bibliothèque du Roi* in the Louvre, and for some very curious particulars relative to the outset of that most noble Collection, see *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, i., 310, and ii., 690.

and was competently acquainted with the rules of Grammar*. But these attainments scarcely furnish a key to the prosperity of his Government, or assist in determining the causes which rendered the sway of a manifestly weak Prince, commencing under clouds and darkness, a period of sunshine to his dominions.

The first disturbance of public tranquillity arose from the restlessness of the King of Navarre, who to his former claims upon Champagne and Brie, now added those which he asserted on Burgundy also. He was opposed in the field by a young Breton, Bertrand du Guesclin, who had already attained great celebrity as a General; and who, notwithstanding a repulsive exterior, and gross ignorance of all but military science, fills a distinguished place among the *Preux* of France. The Capital of Buch, an experienced soldier, who commanded the Navarrais, was entirely defeated and taken prisoner by the youthful warrior at Cocherel, a small village in Normandy, between Evreux and Vernon, and Charles V., who received the news of this success on the evening before his Coronation, soon afterwards confirmed his brother Philip in the investiture of Burgundy. In this act of Royal favour, which realized the intentions of his deceased father, he was more to be commended than in another which directly contradicted them. In spite of the blot which tarnished the honour of Louis of Anjou, and the reclamations of Edward III., who demanded the surrender of his perjured hostage†, the Government of the important Province of Languedoc was conferred upon that Prince, who was thus brought into immediate contact in Aquitaine with the English whom he had so justly offended.

The succession to Bretany was still undetermined; and the two Pretenders, refusing all mediation, had recourse to arms. In the Treaty of Bretigny the Kings of France and England had reserved to themselves a right of aiding their separate allies in this disputed Province (in case of the renewal of hostilities between them), without any infraction of the General Peace; and, accordingly, auxiliaries were despatched to the scene of action, on the one side under Du Guesclin, on the other under Sir John Chandos. The Countess Jane of Penthievre peremptorily forbade her husband from admitting any accommodation; Charles of Blois would readily have agreed to a partition, but she protested that, notwithstanding the timidity of her sex, she would prefer the loss of life twice repeated to the cession of one square inch of her inheritance. All negotiation was accordingly rejected, and the two armies met at Aurai, a sea-port town which De

May 16.

June 2.

Sept. 29.

* *Mémoires de Christine*, cited by M. de Sismondi, *ut sup.* i., 3.

† In the *Fœdera*, iii. 755, 757, may be found several papers to this effect, dated Nov. 20, 1364. One is a general Reclamation of the Hostages; a second, a Monition to the Duke of Anjou personally, which contains the following strong words, *parmi ce vous avez moult bleimi Ponur de vous et de tout vostre lignage*; a third is a Summons to him to appear before the English Council at the expiration of a month; and a fourth is an Appeal to the Peers of France.

Montfort was besieging, where they were separated only by a brook. The French, who in numbers doubled their opponents, crossed the stream in order to attack; and Sir John Chandos at once perceived the advantage afforded by this blunder, since as the tide rose they must be cut off from their reserve. The fight was very obstinately contested; Olivier de Clisson, who commanded one of De Montfort's wings, lost an eye by the stroke of a battle-axe which penetrated his vizor; Du Guesclin was grievously wounded and made prisoner; and Charles of Blois was cut down by an English soldier after he had surrendered and had been led from the *mêlée*. Froissart exculpates the conquerors from any peculiar blame in this otherwise savage assassination, by informing us that it had been agreed beforehand on both sides that, in order to render the combat final, quarter should be mutually refused to the principals. Not fewer than 5000 of the vanquished perished on the field; and De Montfort pushed his first success with so much activity, that ere long he had mastered all the chief towns in the Duchy.

Of three sons left by Charles of Blois, one was yet an infant, the two elder were prisoners in England. Louis of Anjou, who had married his daughter, made a demonstration in behalf of the widow, who had urged her husband to his own destruction; but the King of France was too politic to second the impetuosity of his brother; he perceived that Bretany was lost to the Family of Blois, and after a tedious negociation he consented that De Montfort should retain the Duchy, upon making a liberal allowance for the support of the Countess of Penthievre. Edward III. agreed to the ratification of this Peace, and the Treaty of Guérande closed a Civil War which had desolated Bretany for a quarter of a Century*.

Surer weapons than the sword were employed for the disturbance of De Montfort; and as the force of public opinion was directed to the posthumous elevation of his late Rival, he himself became proportionably depressed. Some years, indeed, elapsed before the efforts of the French party could obtain Canonization for Charles of Blois, and Urban V. steadily denied the boon which was wrung by importunity from his successor. But in the mean time it was affirmed that unnumbered miracles had been worked at the tomb of the deceased Prince; and if we were to believe the testimony of the 300 witnesses who deposed to these marvels before the Inquest appointed for their examination by Gregory XI., the lame and halt recovered the use of their limbs, the blind received their sight, the dumb their speech, the deranged their intellects, by reliance upon his mediation. If we hesitate in granting assent to these and still less credible wonders, we must however unreservedly admit certain claims to Beatification which Charles exhibited during his life-time. The fastings, the austerity, the watchings, the

* Froissart, iii. c. 222—227. Daru, *Hist. de Bretagne*, Liv. IV.

macerations, the infliction of bodily torture, the want of personal cleanliness, which he voluntarily underwent, have rarely been exceeded by any Devotee who has sought to exalt himself by self-abasement: yet it is but just to add, that these mistaken exercises of Fanaticism were accompanied for the most part by a meek, pious, charitable, humane, and Christian spirit*.

The Peace obtained for Brittany by the Treaty of Guérande was followed by an accommodation with the King of Navarre, and the tranquillity thus partially restored enabled Charles to direct undivided attention to the suppression of the brigandage of the Free Companies. The King of Cyprus, after a successful attempt upon Alexandria, had been compelled to abandon his conquest, so that no further hope remained of engagement for them in his service. The Emperor Charles IV. undertook to procure a passage through the Hungarian States for the Arch-priest, Arnold de Cervôle† and his formidable band, which Charles V. wished to despatch into Turkey; but the marauders provoked retaliation from the Peasants of Alsace, and suffered so greatly in the mountain defiles, that they were glad to regain the borders of France after considerable loss; and their fate inspired their comrades with abhorrence from all future German expeditions‡.

A new channel, however, for mercenary service was opened by the Civil War which commenced in Castile, between Pedro the Cruel and his natural brother Henry, Count of Trastamara. Charles V. and Pedro had married sisters; and the long imprisonment and the final poisoning of Blanche of Bourbon by her detestable husband, had provoked merited indignation in the bosom of the King of France, which the circumstances of his own Country had compelled him to dissemble. When, however, Henry of Trastamara offered himself to the Castilians as a deliverer from the tyranny under which they were groaning, Charles was prompted by the double hope of avenging the murder of his sister-in-law, and of emancipating himself from the Free Companies, to promise aid, and to license every engagement which his subjects formed under the Invader's banner. Du Guesclin was ransomed from Sir John Chandos, in order that he might command the expedition, and A. D. 1366. throngs of adventurers crowded his battalions when he Jan. — entered Catalonia.

The Tyrant, panic-stricken by the great force which menaced him, and by the evident disaffection of his subjects, did not venture to keep the field; and Henry, having entered Burgos triumphantly, there celebrated his Coronation. But this rapid and peace- April 5. able revolution was little in accord with the wishes of the army by the terror of whose advance it had been effected; and the Free

* See the extracts from the Inquest given by Daru, *ut sup.* Tom. ii. p. 144.

† At that time the Royal Chamberlain, as has been shown in a former Note.

‡ Froissart, iii, 228.

Companies, debarred from the expected chance of enrichment by pillage, gradually retired into their old quarters. In the meantime, Pedro, by his lavish promises of remuneration to the Aquitainers, and by awakening the ambition of the Black Prince, to whom he tendered the sovereignty of Biscay, was prepared, with their important aid, to dispute the Throne which he had abandoned. Many of the leaders to whom his late overthrow was attributable, were thus arrayed in his defence. The King of England, indeed, had long ago strictly prohibited his officers from serving with Henry of Trastamara against the King of Castile, with whom he had always been allied; but so little were these orders obeyed, that we find several of the most celebrated men of that class,—Sir Hugh Calverley, Walter Huet, Matthew Gournay, and numerous others,—wholly regardless of the justice of the cause for which they fought, and looking to the sword only as a purveyor of gain, passing after a few months' interval from the ranks of one army into those of another most directly opposed to it, and not considering this fickle change of trading partizanship as any stain upon their honour.

Upon the events of the War in Castile, unless so far as they affected France, it is unnecessary that we should enter. By the A. D. 1367. Victory of Najara, which, although gained by the Black Prince for an evil cause, rivalled in military splendour his former great achievements at Crécy and Poitiers, the Tyrant Pedro was for a short season restored to his Crown, and Du Guesclin once more became a prisoner. But that field was the last scene of glory in which the English Hero was permitted to share. Deceived by the false promises of the King whom he had re-enthroned, he lingered in an unhealthy station, till disease and discontent had enfeebled his troops, and the seeds of a malady were imbedded in his own constitution, which slowly but surely conducted him to the grave. He returned to Aquitaine, which Henry of Trastamara had attacked after his defeat at Najara, without the means of defraying his expenses, and he disgusted his vassals in that Principality by the imposts which his encumbrances obliged him to exact. The King of France craftily watched the progress of rebellion, and attached to himself each great *Seigneur* who fell away from the part of the English. Olivier de Clisson, the Sire d'Albret, and the Count d'Armagnac, were already in his confidence, when a general assembly of the Gascon Barons appealed to him as their Sovereign against the exactions of the Duke of Aquitaine. Charles, who knew that the growing infirmities of the Black Prince would prevent him from taking the field in person, entertained the plea, A. D. 1369. and addressed a summons to him as his vassal, to answer Jan. 25. before the Chamber of Peers in Paris. This gross violation of the Peace of Bretigny was received by the English Prince with astonishment and scorn. He paused a few seconds after the summons had been read to him, and then shaking his head sternly, he bade

the messengers inform their Master, the King of France, that his commands should be obeyed. "Let him, however, know," he added, "that when we attend his pleasure in Paris, it shall be with our helmet on our head, and with 60,000 men in our train*."

But Charles, to use the language of the Chronicler, "was too wise and artful" to provoke an enemy from whom any hazard of resistance was to be apprehended. By the report of Physicians upon whom he could depend, he was already advised that Edward's increasing dropsy must prevent the fulfilment of this menace, and having fully resolved upon a War in which the chances of success were infinitely in his favour, he next conveyed to the King of England a defiance, which was insultingly borne by one of his household-servants. The indignation with which the Court at Westminster received this announcement was heightened by the unworthiness of the messenger; and the Nobles justly observed that "War between two so great Lords ought to have been declared by some Prelate, or some valiant Baron or Knight, not by a common servant†."

That Aquitaine was well prepared to reject the English yoke was not to be doubted; and the departure of the Black Prince from Castile had led to the revival of French influence in that Country also. Pedro, deprived of the support of those Allies to whom he owed his restoration, had increased the former National hatred by a League with the Moorish Powers. The contest therefore raged with aggravated fury, when Henry was again able to enter Andalusia. Du Guesclin was ransomed a second time, in order to hold command; and after a sanguinary battle at Montiel, in which the Tyrant was defeated and taken prisoner, the Constable of France (as Du Guesclin became in the following year‡) appears to have shared in the tragic scene, in which, by A. D. 1369. drawing the heart's blood of his brother, Henry terminated March 23. the unnatural strife, and seated himself upon an undisputed Throne§.

The defiance to Edward III. had not been confined to words only; it was accompanied by an almost simultaneous movement upon Ponthieu and Quercy, territories little prepared for defence, because attack had been little anticipated. Edward strongly represented to his Parliament this unexpected breach of existing Treaties, and by their advice he resumed the title of King of France, which he had renounced at the conclusion of the Peace of Bretigny||. But neither himself nor his son retained the bodily vigour which in former years had enabled them to lead their armies to victory, and several of his best Generals also had

* Froissart, iii. 246.

† Id. iii. c. 250.

‡ Id. iv. c. 22.

§ Id. iii. c. 243. M. de Sismondi, xi. 105, and the authorities there cited.

|| In the *Fœdera*, iii. 870, are two Proclamations, dated June 11, 1369, "in the thirteenth year of our reign in France," issued by Edward as *Rex Angliæ et Franciæ*.

disappeared from the scene at this most important crisis. The veteran Chandos was mortally wounded in a skirmish in Poitou, at a season which more than ever demanded the benefit of his valour and experience*; and although the timidity of Charles restrained the ardour evinced by his troops, and forbade them from engaging in regular battle, it was plain that their strength hourly increased.

In the Spring of 1370, three armies, each, under the command of a brother of the King, were assembled for the invasion of Aquitaine; and Limoges was treacherously surrendered to the Duke of Berri by its

Bishop, in whom the Black Prince reposed a misplaced confidence. Edward, bent upon vengeance, promptly invested the town. It was in vain that Du Gûesclin manœuvred for its relief; the walls were mined, the besiegers entered

through the breach†, and the miserable inhabitants were ruthlessly put to the sword. Three thousand unarmed and innocent persons fell in this indiscriminate and unsparing slaughter. "God have pity on their souls!" exclaims Froissart, "for in truth they were Martyrs‡." The Bishop, to whose perfidy the carnage is to be imputed, and upon whose head the conquerors had set an especial price, was taken prisoner; and, strange as it may appear, was among the very few individuals

who succeeded in obtaining mercy§. A few months after this bloody exploit, which we would most willingly

erase from the chivalrous story of the Black Prince, and which may receive some, although an inadequate palliation from the irritability consequent on declining health and the daily view of faithless aggression, he withdrew altogether from France. Broken by sickness and domestic sorrow, having witnessed at Bordeaux the death of his eldest and most promising son, the Hero whose name still awakens remembrances inseparably connected with our National glory, retired to England, where, during five years of infirmity, his sufferings were enhanced by the gradual diminution and ultimate loss of the fruits of his early valour.

Meantime, some detached English bands had ravaged Picardy; and had even insulted Charles in his Capital, from which he did not venture to issue, content with the assurance of July — Clisson, that, "although cottages might blaze, he could not

* Froissart, iv. c. 9. The Chronicler's eulogy on this gallant Knight is very simple and touching. "God have mercy on his soul! for never since a hundred years did there exist among the English one more courteous, nor fuller of every virtue and good quality than him." Sir Walter Manny also died soon afterwards, and was buried in his own foundation of the Charter-House at London. *Id.* iv. 33.

† It has been said that the Black Prince was too infirm to conduct this siege otherwise than from a litter; but Froissart makes him *rush into the breach*.

‡ Froissart, iv. c. 21.

§ He was delivered by the Black Prince to John of Gaunt, who spared him at the intercession of the Pope. *Id.*, *ibid.*

easily be smoked out of his heritage*." Sir Robert Knolles, a soldier of fortune, by whom this enterprise was conducted, was unpopular among some of his more high-born followers; and Du Guesclin, who hung upon his march, seizing a moment during which insubordination had weakened the English discipline, attacked him at Pont Valin, and obtained an advantage, which the King loudly Oct. —. boasted was far more than equivalent to the losses sustained by his Peasantry.

The King of Navarre, with his usual ambiguous and dishonest policy, was in treaty with each belligerent at the same moment; but the growing superiority of Charles compelled him to an A.D. 1371. open performance of homage for all his Fiefs in France; March 3. during an interview at Vernon, in which he exchanged the towns of Mantes and Meulan for the Lordship of Montpellier. The Flemings continued firm in their alliance with England, notwithstanding the opposite inclination of their Count, strongly supported by Philip *le Hardi*, who had now become his son-in-law; and the Duke of Brittany, grateful for that assistance which had fixed him in his sovereignty, signed a new Treaty, which pledged himself and his posterity to indissoluble alliance with the English Crown†.

The mediation of Gregory XI. was tendered in vain. Edward would have treated fairly and on equitable terms, but Charles perceived that inactive War had hitherto proved a successful game, and he accordingly demanded concessions which he well knew would never be granted by his adversary. At the same moment, an impolitic double marriage, which the English Monarch had contracted for two of his sons with the fallen House of Castile, aroused in that Country a powerful Naval ally for France. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, wedded Constance; Edward, Earl of Cambridge, Isabella, daughters of the late Pedro; and the Duke of Lancaster, passing over the undoubted claim of an imprisoned son of the murdered Tyrant, quartered the arms and assumed the title of King of Castile, in right of his wife.

The pretension, however, was dearly purchased. John of Gaunt conducted his Bride to England, and the Earl of Pembroke, on his passage to succeed him in the Government of Aquitaine, A. D. 1372. was encountered off La Rochelle by a squadron of forty June. 23. large vessels and thirteen barks, "well provided with towers and ramparts, as the Spanish men-of-war usually are." The ships of Castile far out-numbered those of England; they were of larger size, and of heavier burden; and they were manned with a greater number of soldiers. The combat, nevertheless, was maintained during the first day with at least equal success; but the Rochellois, who were French at heart, refused all assistance to the English, and on the following morn-

* Froissart, iv. c. 20.

† *Fœdera*, iii. 953, dated July 19, 1372.

ing, the Castilians renewing the fight, obtained a complete victory. Pembroke himself was compelled to surrender; the galley which contained his military chest with 20,000 marks was sunk, and all the Knights and vessels under his command became prizes to the Enemy*.

The Duke of Anjou, under the guidance of the Constable Du Guesclin, was eminently successful in Poitou, and La Rochelle itself was won by a stratagem practised on the honest dulness of its Commandant. Philip Mansel, the English Governor, a brave soldier, but wholly unskilled in letters, was dining with the Mayor of the City, when that *Bourgeois*, a secret partizan of the French, received a Despatch from the King of England. Having ostentatiously exhibited the seal which Mansel at once recognised, the wily Knave read aloud contents which he had forged at the moment, pretending to convey an order for the muster both of the garrison of the Castle and of the Town-Militia on the following morning. Mansel, deceived by this invention, left the Castle unguarded, while he arrayed his battalion; and an Aug. 15. ambushed party of the Citizens secured its walls and overpowered the garrison. The Mayor then, after stipulating for independence, which the Rochellois had always greatly coveted, admitted the troops of the Constable †.

Thouars was now the chief fortress in Poitou which remained subdued, and the garrison of that Town engaged to a conditional surrender, provided they were not released by the King of England, or by one of his sons, before the ensuing Michaelmas. The devotion of these gallant men to his cause was met by Edward with proportionate activity. Renouncing an expedition which he had intended to direct against the North, he concentrated a large force at Sandwich and Southampton, and embarking with his three sons (for a short freedom from disease enabled the Black Prince to be a sharer in this enterprise), he manned a fleet of 400 ships with the intention of gaining Poitou. Contrary winds, however, detained him off the coast of Bretany beyond the appointed time; and after having been driven about by foul weather during nine weeks, he was compelled to disembark in the port from which he had originally sailed. It was then that he remarked with some pardonable chagrin, "that, although there never had been a King of France who appeared so little in arms as Charles, there never had been one who occasioned him so much trouble ‡."

Thouars surrendered according to its capitulation; and the last defeat of the English in Poitou occurred during the following Spring,

* Froissart, iv. c. 34, 35, 36.

† Id. iv. 42. Philip Mansel, as the Mayor justly observed, *n'étoit pas trop militaireux*.

‡ Il n'y eut oncques Roi qui moins se armât, et si n'y eut oncques Roi qui tant me donnât à faire. Froissart, iv. c. 43.

in an attempt made by Sir John Devereux and the Earl of Angus, with very unequal numbers, to relieve the town of Chizai*. The triumphant Constable next turned his arms on Brittany, A. D. 1373. and the Duke, perceiving that he was betrayed on all sides, March 21. took refuge in England. The march of Clisson, who commanded under Du Guesclin, was every where stained with April 28. blood. So ferocious was his hatred of the English, that he invariably refused quarter, and even slew many prisoners with his own hand, till he acquired the sobriquet "*Le Boucher*†." This invasion of Brittany was sullied by breaches of good faith not less than by acts of cruelty. Among the places besieged were the Castle of Derval and the important naval station of Brest; and hostages were given for the surrender of both, provided within a fixed time they did not receive assistance from a force strong enough to offer battle. Du Guesclin, satisfied with this promise, withdrew with his hostages into the interior; and he was not a little surprised and perplexed on receiving an unexpected summons to meet the Earl of Salisbury, who had landed at Brest, with 1000 men-at-arms, and twice that number of archers. The Constable at first replied, that he would fight only at the spot upon which the conditions had been signed; and when Salisbury objected that he was unprovided with means of conveyance, that his men, being chiefly mariners, were unaccustomed to march on foot, but that he would repair to the desired field if his enemy would furnish horses for the advance, Du Guesclin insultingly asked what security would be afforded for their return; and declined both further conference and the restoration of the hostages‡. Sir Robert Knolles, irritated at this treachery, refused to open the gates of Derval in which he commanded; and when the wretched hostages had been beheaded at the expiration of the assigned term, he retaliated upon an equal number of French prisoners, "for whom he might have had a great ransom," and threw their mangled remains into the Castle ditch§.

The defenceless parts of France were invaded during the ensuing Summer by a very powerful army. Upwards of 3000 men-at-arms and 10,000 archers commenced their march from Calais under John of Gaunt, accompanied by the Duke of Brittany, and by a brilliant train of English Nobles. The movement was at first conducted with admirable order and discipline; and the three battalions into which the host was divided advanced by easy marches, not exceeding ten miles a day, and afforded each other mutual support. Charles, pursuing his

* Froissart, iv. c. 44.

† Id. iv. c. 45. The cause assigned for Clisson's rancour against the English was the gift of the lordship of Gavre, for which he was desirous, by the Duke of Brittany to Sir John Chandos. Daru, ii. 149.

‡ Froissart, iv. c. 47.

§ Id. iv. c. 49.

former policy, enclosed his troops in the walled towns, and rigidly prohibited them from accepting an engagement; so that "the English," we are told, "knew not where to seek the French." While crossing the fertile Provinces of the North, supplies were readily obtained by their foragers; but when they entered the barren defiles of Auvergne and Limousin, famine and disease were more certain agents of destruction than any which they could have encountered on the field of battle. Superior numbers, continually increasing, hovered in their rear, and declining all equal combat, took advantage of every impediment which obstructed the march, to cut them off in detail. The Duke of Lancaster arrived at Bordeaux about Christmas, having traversed the heart of France in a course exceeding 200 leagues. So great was his destitution, that the best-born officers under him begged from house to house for food which they could not obtain; so shorn was he of the military pomp and circumstance with which he had quitted Calais, that out of 30,000 horses which accompanied his outset, not more than forty remained alive when he reached his winter-quarters*. Charles, meantime, continued a motionless and inglorious spectator of the miseries suffered by his Peasantry, leaving their defence to time and the hour. The advice of Clisson was repeated by Court flatterers, while the English proceeded without resistance. "Let them go! they cannot smoke you from your Kingdom; they will be tired soon, and their force will dissolve away. For as storms and tempests, after much threatening, are often dissipated of themselves without injury, even so will it happen with these English†." The prognostication was true; and Charles increased in strength if not in reputation.

The ill success of this expedition greatly diminished the ardour with which the English had engaged in War; and the Duke of Lancaster is accused by the French writers of having twice failed to keep an appointment (*tenir la journée*, as it is expressed in the military language of the times) which he had fixed for battle.

A. D. 1374. He returned indeed to England, in the course of the Summer which followed his unfortunate enterprise; and Edward, hopeless of obtaining redress by arms, concluded at Bourges a Truce

A. D. 1375. for one year (a term afterwards prolonged), during which

June 27. negotiations were to proceed for a definitive Peace. The chief avowed obstacle to final arrangement seems to have been the possession of Calais; the value of which port, as a key to invasion, was well appreciated by both parties, and the retention of it was therefore as pertinaciously insisted upon by the English as it was contested by the French.

The attention of Charles, while freed from the immediate apprehen-

* The misery of John of Gaunt's army, described by Froissart, iv. c. 48, is fully supported by Walsingham. *Ypodeigma Neustriæ*, 529.

† Froissart, iv. c. 48.

sion of hostilities, and even during the latter part of the Duke of Lancaster's expedition, was chiefly engrossed by some Ordinances calculated to secure a quiet succession to the throne, and to regulate the hitherto unmethodized establishments of the junior branches of the Royal Family. The Dauphin, Charles, was but six years of age, when an Edict, promulgated by his Father, declared A. D. 1374. as a perpetual law of the French Monarchy, that the Heir- Aug. —. apparent, on attaining his fourteenth year*, should enter on his majority; should be deemed capable of administering his own government; and accordingly should then celebrate his Coronation, and receive the oaths and homage of his Prelates and Barons. In case of his own demise during the minority of his son, Charles nominated his brother of Anjou Regent†; and assigned the guardianship of the Royal Infants to the Queen Mother and the Dukes of Burgundy and of Bourbon, in both instances passing over the Duke of Berri‡. To every son born, or to be born to the King, was assigned, as an *apanage*, a capital of 40,000 livres, a further pension arising from land of 10,000 livres, and the title of Count. The marriage-portion of the eldest daughter of France was fixed at 100,000 livrès, that of each of her younger sisters at 60,000, exclusively in both cases of a suitable *trousseau*.

But events soon occurred in England which materially weakened her power; and Charles, not less prompted by ambitious hope while pent in the seclusion of his Palace than if he had headed his own armies in person, again perceived advantage in a renewal of War. The death of the Black Prince was followed in little more than A. D. 1376. twelve months by that of his father also; and the govern- June 8. ment, which passed to a child§, was about to be very fiercely disputed by contending Factions. Even if the demise of Ed- A. D. 1377. ward III. had not taken place, Charles had determined upon June 23. War at the expiration of the Truce. That term occurred three days after the death of the King of England; and on the fifth morning ||, before the intelligence had reached France, Rye was burned by a combined fleet of six-score French and Castilian vessels, and the ravagers "put to death the inhabitants without sparing man or woman." Hence they proceeded to the Isle of Wight¶, to Portsmouth, Dartmouth, Ply-

* *Donec decimum quartum annum attigerint*; words which afterwards, in the case of Charles IX., were interpreted by the Chancellor De l'Hôpital to mean the *commencement*, not the *completion*, of the fourteenth year. *Annus ineptus pro perfecto habetur*. Villaret, v. 470. †

† *Ordonnances de France*, vi. 26, 32.

‡ *Id. ibid.* 45, 49.

§ Richard II. was only eleven years of age at the time of his accession.

|| If Froissart could be relied upon for dates, he is very particular in this instance (iv. c. 59), "Five days after the decease of King Edward, the Vigil of St. Peter;" i. e. June 28; but Edward's death is fixed by Walsingham (192) on June 21.

¶ The stratagem by which the French obtained possession of the Isle of Wight is assigned by Walsingham (200) to August 21.

mouth, and other towns on the Western coast. On their return, they found Southampton too strongly defended to permit a *coup de main*, but they routed a body of English whom they encountered on disembarkation at Rottingdean, where they took the Abbot of Lewes prisoner; and having insulted the harbours of Dover and Calais, they anchored in triumph and with a large booty at their original station.

These outrages, joined to a successful campaign conducted by the Duke of Anjou in Guyenne, increased the wish for accommodation felt by the English Regency. But Charles was not ignorant of the distraction of their Councils, and resolving to profit by it to the utmost, when he consented to a renewal of negociation at Bruges, he by no means assumed a peaceful attitude. The moment also appeared favourable for the vengeance which, under seeming amity, he had never ceased to meditate against the King of Navarre; and a pretext was readily afforded by the popular rumour which accused that odious Prince of having procured the death both of his own Consort and of her sister, the Queen of France, by poison*.

A plot also against the life of the King himself was either invented or detected, for which Du Tertre the June 21. Secretary, and Du Roe the Chamberlain, of Charles *le Mauvais*, underwent capital punishment. A rapid invasion of Normandy stripped him of all his hereditary possessions in that Province, with the exception of Cherbourg; the promise of which important Port to the English, by securing their alliance at a critical moment, preserved him from entire ruin. Montpellier had been occupied by a French garrison, and Henry of Castile was easily persuaded to menace Navarre itself. But the seasonable appearance of an English force at Bordeaux, notwithstanding its inferiority, struck terror into the Castilians; who, having hastily retraced their steps, not only consented to a Peace, but afforded a loan of 20,000 doubloons, for the payment of those very auxiliaries before whom they had fled ingloriously†. Cherbourg was successfully defended by the English, who, however, were compelled to abandon an attempt upon St. Malo, which had been urged with great toil and expense, in consequence of the destruction of a mine almost at the moment at which it was ready to be sprung‡.

The oppression of the Duke of Anjou in the Government of Languedoc

* The report was never proved, and Charles *le Mauvais* has far too much guilt established against him to permit the reception of an uncertain accusation. The date of the Queen of Navarre's death is unsettled. M. de Sismondi (xi. 231) says that some authorities assign it to April 3, 1373, others to 1378; 3 is very easily confounded with 8 in transcription. That of Jane of France is known to have occurred on Feb. 6, in the last-named year; and Froissart (by whom the reported poisoning is not mentioned) says the Queen of Navarre died soon afterwards.

† Froissart (v. c. 11) says this money was borrowed from the King of Aragon, not without the security of certain good towns. Mariana (Stevens's Translation), book xviii. c. 1. says it was lent by Castile.

‡ Froissart, v. c. 5, where the account of the expedition is, perhaps, greatly exaggerated.

provoked serious resistance in that aggrieved Province. Nismes was the first City which murmured at his rapacity ; but as it stood alone, it was compelled to submit. The sedition, however, A. D. 1378. burst forth far more violently at Montpellier, where the May — populace, rising in arms, massacred the Commissioners sent to levy a most exorbitant impost, and the Magistrates by A. D. 1379. whom they had been admitted. A thousand lances accom- Oct. —. panied the enraged Prince when he entered the town which had thus ventured to withstand his despotism, and he was A. D. 1380. met by the inhabitants no longer wearing looks of defiance, Jan. 27. but oppressed by the deepest contrition. The entire population deprecated the anger of its oppressor ; the Secular Clergy, the Religious Orders of both sexes, the Students and Professors of the University, fell prostrate at his knees ; while the Municipal authorities, stripped of their robes of office, bareheaded, ungirt, and with halters round their necks, humbly offered the keys of their town, and the alarm-bell which had lately given the signal for revolt. The multitudes listened passively while an *arrêt* was read, depriving their City of all its long-prized immunities, of its Consulate, of its University, of its Archives, of its Seal, and of its Corporate jurisdiction ; to these penalties were annexed confiscation of half their property, the payment of an enormous fine of 120,000 livres, and the destruction of their gates and fortifications. Hitherto the mournful silence had been unbroken, and the general calamity pressed too heavily upon all to permit any demonstration of individual grief ; but loud sobs accompanied the continuation of the cruel sentence which adjudged 200 of the chief citizens to the stake, 200 more to the block, and an equal number to the gibbet ; and stigmatized the posterity of these martyrs with a brand of perpetual infamy. For the honour of human nature it is to be hoped that this most barbarous Decree was intended only to strike terror, and that the Duke of Anjou never really designed its full execution ; yet during three whole days he remained inexorable ; and even after the partial remission obtained by the mediation of the Church, much blood was shed on the scaffold, and ruinous sums were extorted to feed his avarice. The cry of his suffering Provinces aroused the fears rather than the compassion of the King, and in order to prevent the growth of a spirit which might prove dangerous, he removed the Duke of Anjou from his Government.

This dismissal could not fail to be popular ; and Charles, no doubt, was in great measure induced to adopt it from a dread lest the excitement at that time very generally awakened throughout Europe might render his own dominions insecure. The Flemings were in open rebellion, and the revival of their ancient White-hood Confederation had armed the Burgesses of Ghent, Bruges, Yprés, and Courtrai against the Nobles*. Furthermore, an ill-judged attempt to annex Bretany to the

* The insurrection conducted by Jean Hyons in Flanders is related in detail by

Crown had weaned that Province from the obedience which it had hitherto shown to the Royal authority, and had rekindled the attachment of its population to their expatriated Duke. Although the Bretons preferred the ascendancy of France to that of England, they were little prepared to surrender their independence to either Power; and when Charles summoned De Montfort before his Parliament, and, without offering him a safe-conduct, declared him on his non-appearance to be a Traitor, whose dominions were therefore forfeited and incorporated with France, the opposition became general and undissembled. De Montfort was invited to return; after four years of exile he was received with lively demonstrations of enthusiasm*, and many of the chief Lords, who had hitherto followed Charles, now forsook his banners. Although a delicate sense of honour restrained Du Guesclin from active service against a Prince whose confidence he had once enjoyed, he threw back with scorn some mistrust of his fidelity expressed by Charles, and resigned the Sword of Constable. A fatal disorder terminated A. D. 1380. the life of that great warrior, while he was endeavouring to gratify the Duke of Bourbon by rescuing a Castle in Languedoc† from a band of English and Gascon adventurers; and it is doubtful whether he had become reconciled to the Court before his decease.

The Duke of Brittany was slenderly accompanied when he hastened to obtain re-possession of his Duchy, but he had previously received a promise of powerful support from the Regency of England. The Earl of Buckingham, youngest uncle of Richard II., was instructed to lead 4000 men-at-arms and 3000 archers to his assistance; and it was judged that they would be exposed to less hazard in traversing France from Calais than if they ran the double risk of interception by a hostile fleet or by a storm in endeavouring to gain the coast of Brittany A. D. 1380. directly. The passage of the Channel was made deliberately, July —. and occupied fifteen days, during which period no opposition was attempted by the French. Even when the overland

Froissart and by Meyer; from whose joint accounts it is abridged by M. de Sismondi, xi. c. 13, with his usual skill and perspicuity.

* Daru, ii. 160. The night of De Montfort's embarkation at Southampton was distinguished by a prodigy. The tide flowed in the Port of Hennebon thirty-three times between sunset and sunrise. Villaret admits this marvel into his pages, *plutôt comme un monument de la crédulité superstitieuse de ce siècle que comme un fait attesté*, vi. 17. The words may imply that the writer did not altogether reject the belief.

† Chateaufort de Randan, about three leagues from Puy de Velay, in Auvergne. Froissart, v. 32, where Du Guesclin is named as still Constable; but see M. de Sismondi, xi. 287, and Daru, ii. 163. Du Guesclin died in his sixty-sixth year, and Henault reports the following parting advice as given by him to his comrades in arms: "That in whatever Country they made war, they should remember that the Clergy, women, children, and the poor, were not to be reckoned among their enemies." i. 380. How miserable must have been the times in which the abstinence here recommended was deemed uncommon!

march commenced, the invaders advanced unresisted; and anxiously as the Duke of Burgundy, to whom Charles had entrusted an army of observation, more than once solicited permission to lead his superior forces to engagement, on advantageous ground, all battle was peremptorily forbidden. The Sarthe was at length the only barrier which separated the English army from the territory of their allies; but its bed was deep, it had been fortified with a strong palisade, and Sept. 16. its current was swollen by rain. Here then an enemy was to be expected, and the Earl of Buckingham prepared for a vigorous attack. But not a man was seen on the opposite bank, and he entered Brittany through Vitré without more than a few skirmishes.

An event indeed had occurred at Beauté-sur-Marne, near Vincennes, which had summoned the Duke of Burgundy from his Camp. Charles V. had languished rather than lived through forty-three years of valetudinarianism. His ill health was attributed to a potion administered in his early days by the King of Navarre; a belief in which foul attempt has been employed to account for the unextinguishable virulence with which, after the cessation of their early intimacy, Charles pursued his brother-in-law. That he survived at all was owing to the skill of a German Physician, who opened an issue in his arm, cautioning him that its disappearance at any time would be attended by death after the lapse of about fifteen days. The issue healed spontaneously; the surgeons were unable to renew it; and the King, conscious of approaching dissolution, called the Princes of the Blood to his sick couch. The Duke of Anjou was purposely excluded from the number, for he had been a stranger to the Court circle since his disgrace in Languedoc. But his agents conveyed private intelligence of the crisis which was near; and scarcely had the King breathed his last, when Louis, Sept. 16. stepping from an adjoining apartment in which he had been secreted, claimed delivery of the Crown jewels and treasure to his custody, by virtue of his primogeniture and, probably, of the unretracted Ordinances which had appointed him to the Regency. The demand was not opposed; and before his brother's remains had been conveyed to their resting-place in St. Denis, the Duke of Anjou was enriched by the spoliation of the Palace.

CHAPTER XI.

From A.D. 1380, to A.D. 1393.

Accession of Charles VI.—Projects of the Duke of Anjou upon Naples—Miserable state of France—Insurrection of the Maillotins—Punishment of Rouen—The King enters Paris—The Duke of Anjou quits France for Italy—Troubles in Flanders—Philip von Artevelde—His embassy to England—Passage of the Lys—Defeat and Death of Artevelde at Rosebecque—Pillage and burning of Courtrai—Severities inflicted in Paris—Execution of De Maréts—Crusade of the Bishop of Norwich—Gallant defence of Bourbourg—Truce of Lelincghen—Death of the Count of Flanders—Marriage of Charles VI. with Isabella of Bavaria—Expedition into Scotland—Capture of Damme—Peace of Tournai—Great preparations for the invasion of England—Abandonment of the enterprise—Death of Charles of Durazzo and of Charles *le Mauvais*—Fresh projects for the invasion of England—Frustrated by the imprisonment of Clisson—War with the Duke of Gueldres—Charles assumes the government and dismisses his uncles—Luxury of the Court—Crusade against Tunis—Charles projects an invasion of Italy—Peace of Tours—Negociation with England—First notice of the King's malady—Attempted assassination of Clisson—Charles arms against the Duke of Brittany—His madness.

CHARLES VI., on the decease of his father, wanted fifteen months of the term which the recent Edict had fixed for a King's A.D. 1380. majority; and the dispute among his uncles for the custody of his person and the administration of his power might have increased into a Civil War, if they had not very unexpectedly consented to arbitration. By a discreet evasion, the umpires removed the contested object. Without requiring the Duke of Anjou to account for the valuables which he had purloined, and without impugning his claim to the title of Regent, they determined that by his special Nov 4. authority he should pronounce his nephew of sufficiently ripe age to assume the Crown. The Coronation of the new King was accordingly performed, and his Government was regulated by a Council.

It is not likely that the Duke of Anjou would have quietly yielded to an arrangement thus manifestly disadvantageous unless his mind had been occupied by a more ambitious hope than that of possessing a few months delegated rule in France. We need but slightly touch upon facts which belong more properly to the History of Italy than to that of France; but our narrative would be unintelligible if we were wholly silent respecting them. Joanna of Naples, although four times married, was childless and without hope of children, when Urban VI., irritated at the favour which she had manifested towards his rival, Clement VII. (the Antipope, as he is called, who disputed the Tiara during the Great Schism which divided the Western Church on the decease of Gre-

gory XI.), deposed the Queen as a Heretic, a Blasphemer, and an excommunicated Traitor, and interdicted those of her subjects who persisted in allegiance. Still further to ensure his object, he invited her nephew, Charles of Durazzo, with whom she had openly renounced connexion, to take possession of her forfeited Crown as its nearest heir. Joanna, at the suggestion of Clement, applied to the Duke of Anjou for protection. He was supposed to wield all the power of France, and the price offered for his assistance was adoption as Joanna's son, and succession to the Neapolitan Throne. This bright vision was first offered to the eyes of Louis very shortly before his brother's death; and his thoughts were concentrated upon the accumulation of wealth which might assist his projected enterprise in Italy.

Not content therefore with the illegal appropriation which he had already made of the Crown jewels, the Duke of Anjou extorted, by threats of instant death, a secret which the Treasurer of the late King had been bound by oath not to reveal to any one but to his successor, and to him only after the attainment of his majority. A deposit of the precious metals in bars, which Charles V. had built into the walls of his Palace at Melun, thus fell into the grasp of Louis; who, unmoved by the poverty of the State, reserved the booty for his own aggrandizement.

By the just and general discontent which this rapacity excited in France, and which, as we shall perceive, increased to open Rebellion, England was unable to profit, on account of her own intestine troubles. The Earl of Buckingham, after his hazardous march, was left to prosecute the siege of Nantes without reinforcements from home, and advantageous terms offered by the Court of Paris to De Montfort deprived the English Prince of the ally in whose behalf he had encountered so great peril. Clisson and the other chief Breton Lords declared that they would abandon the Duke, if ever he should appear in arms together with the English; and the King, at the same time, offered to recognise his title on the simple condition of homage. The Treaty was accepted, and Buckingham, after some A. D. 1381. natural indignation, re-embarked for England with the re- April 11. mains of his army.

Meantime, the soldiery which the Princes of the Blood had assembled near the Capital for the support of their respective claims, were left without pay; the public coffers had been stripped by the Duke of Anjou, and the adventurers, whom long habits of military licence had unfitted for more peaceful life, were dispersed among the peasantry, to support themselves in free quarters.

The impatience caused by the frequent outrages of these plunderers was aggravated by fresh imposts which the Parisians indeed successfully resisted; and by the tyranny of the Duke of Berri, as Governor of Lan-

guedoc, which equalled, if not exceeded, that which the same luckless Province had formerly suffered under Louis of Anjou. The oppressed inhabitants had recourse to the Count of Foix, who armed in their defence; and during the Summer of 1381, a Civil War, attended with the mutual cruelties which have usually disgraced those unnatural contests, raged throughout the Southern districts. Even when the Prince, by overwhelming force and the severity of his punishments, had terminated open insurrection, the villagers, reduced to desperation, took refuge in the woods; and there, banding together in secret confederacies, under the name of *Tuchins*, they waged against their superiors an unrelenting warfare, which had not been surpassed in atrocity even by their predecessors the *Jacquerie*.

Nearer the Capital, tumults had been excited, and some blood had been shed at Rouen, in consequence of an attempt to establish a market-toll upon all articles supplied for the consumption of the inhabitants. Anjou, however, undeterred by opposition, resolved to extend this grievous exaction even to Paris itself; and when the minor officers of Government, alarmed at the prospect of commotion, declined to issue the requisite Proclamation, he adopted a remarkable and an almost ludicrous expedient to disseminate his Ordinance. A Trumpeter collected a crowd round him by offering a reward for a portion of the Royal plate which he averred to have been stolen; and when the attention of his listeners was at its height, he rapidly added that, on the following morning, the twelfth penny would be demanded on all eatable commodities exposed for sale; and then galloped away at full speed amid yells and execrations.

When the Clerks of the *Halles* attempted to levy this duty*, the fury of the populace burst forth without control. The wretched March 1. *Commissaires* were massacred on the spot; and the rabble, having forced the gates of the Arsenal, seized a quantity of clubs armed with lead, the only weapons which had not been removed from it. With these formidable instruments, the *Mailloins* (as on that account they are termed) broke open the gaols and released the prisoners. Among those whom they freed from confinement was a former Provost of the Merchants, Hugues Aubryot, an opulent Magistrate, whose wealth had been expended in many eminently useful public works, and whose influence therefore was deservedly considerable. Whether justly or otherwise, he had fallen under the censure of the Inquisition, and had been condemned, after undergoing a public penance, to finish his life in a dungeon. Aubryot might have proved a dangerous leader; but suffering had taught him how little was to be gained, how much was to be risked by the hazardous pre-eminence which he was urged

* The first recusant was an old woman selling water-cresses, whose name has descended to us, Peroette la Morelle. Villaret, vi. 142.

to accept; and during the first night of his unwilling Captainship, he prudently withdrew to his family connexions in Burgundy*.

The Duke of Anjou resolved upon severe and immediate vengeance, and he commenced with Rouen. The retainers of the Court furnished a military array sufficiently large to remove apprehension of peril, and Louis, having ordered a portion of the curtain to be thrown down, indulged the Boy-King by the pomp of War with which his entrance into the second City of his Kingdom† was conducted through the breach. The gibbet having then received its victims, the Princes moved onward to Paris, with the intention of inflicting similar punishments there also. Prompt submission on the part of the leading Burgesses obtained their pardon, and in order to suppress the lowest multitude, the odious practice of secret *noyades* was unscrupulously employed. The Sack and the Rope‡ were delivered to the executioners till the Seine was encumbered by the burdens nightly committed to its waters.

With this precursory death, and after the imposition of a mulct which placed an additional 100,000 livres at the disposal of Anjou, the youthful King returned to his Capital, not as a Father, but as a Conqueror, of his subjects. The presence of Louis in Italy had meantime become indispensable, for his competitor had received investiture as Charles III. from the Pope, and had mastered Naples without a battle. While the Duke of Anjou still lingered on his route at Avignon, Charles of Durazzo sought to strengthen his Throne, by the unrelenting murder of his aunt Joanna; a Princess, who, if even the crimes attributed to her were undisputed, deserved punishment from other hands than those by which it was administered§. The Duke of Anjou, therefore, "having amassed so great a quantity of money, that it was marvellous to behold," commenced that expedition which was to terminate so disastrously, but in which it is not requisite that we should follow his progress.

Our attention is engrossed by transactions much nearer to France itself. The Rebellion by which Flanders had continued to be agitated since 1379 had shaken Count Louis from his power; and the great Commercial Cities, leagued together, under the command of Philip von Artevelde (a son of that James whom we have seen formerly distinguished among them), had obtained a signal victory in a battle fought near Bruges, from which it was not without difficulty that the Count

* Froissart, vi. c. 3.

† The privileges enjoyed by Rouen during the XIVth century seem to have amply entitled it to this appellation. M. de Sismondi, xi. 375.

‡ Villaret, vi. 145.

§ Giannone, *Storia di Napoli*, l. xxiii. c. 3, where may be found a defence of Joanna, who is called by Angelo of Perugia, "a famous and excellent contemporary Doctor," *santissima, onore del monde, ed unica luce d'Italia*, most holy, an honour to the world, and the especial light of Italy.

escaped alive. The Duke of Burgundy was not likely to be an unconcerned spectator of these reverses of his father-in-law, and on receiving an application for assistance, he replied in characteristic words, "My Lord, you shall be re-possessed, for it is not to be supposed that such scoundrels* as are now in Flanders should govern that Country, as in that case all Knighthood and Gentility may be destroyed and pulled down, and consequently all Christianity†." Having discreetly secured the coadjutorship of the Duke of Berri,* with whom, since Anjou's departure into Italy, he shared the control of his nephew, he so contrived that Charles himself should suggest an alliance with the Count of Flanders, and he thus dexterously avoided the chance of popular odium which might have attended the War if it had proved unsuccessful‡.

Philip von Artevelde, after his victory at Bruges, laid siege to Oudenarde. He appears in many respects to have been but a vulgar Patriot, intoxicated by success, and not slow to clothe himself with the authority which he had stripped from the Count. He assumed the title of *Regard* or Regent; and during his residence at Bruges, he maintained the state of a Prince; employing for his own use the spoils of the Palace, the costly furniture, the rich plate, and the glittering jewels which had been pillaged during its sack, and heightening the magnificence of his banquets by rare minstrelsy§. His stud of horses was sumptuously established, and in his dress he affected robes of scarlet trimmed with precious fur, similar to those worn by the Duke of Brabant and by the Count of Hainault. Of Revenue he was a careful purveyor||, and the sums lavished on his pleasures were not less than those which had been spent by the expelled Count¶. Pride and presumption appear to have marked his unexpected elevation; and those who approached him in his borrowed dignity, far from discovering talents which qualified him either for the Camp or the Cabinet, were forcibly reminded that the narrowness of his education had restricted him when young to "fishing with a rod in the Rivers Scheldt or Lys**."

In the single attempt which Artevelde made at diplomacy he was eminently unsuccessful. The alliance of England was obviously most important to his interests, and the ancient family connexion between Edward III. and his father, exclusively of the existing political circumstances of Flanders, afforded facilities for negotiation. Nevertheless, when the Deputies of Ghent received audience from the Council of Regency at Westminster, they preluded their request for aid by a demand little likely to secure attention. Two hundred thousand old crowns†† had

* *Telle ribaudaille comme ils sont.*

† Froissart, vi. c. 22.

‡ The thoughts of Charles were vividly engrossed by this his first martial enterprise. We have little doubt that the account given of a dream which induced him to chuse a Flying Hart as his device is true in the main. Id. ibid. c. 24.

§ Id. ibid. c. 19, 20.

|| Id. ibid. c. 21.

¶ Id. ibid. c. 20.

** Id. ibid. c. 25.

†† The old crown, 7s. 2d.

been advanced by James von Artevelde to forward the sieges of Tournai and of Calais. Much expectation could never have been entertained that this money, nominally a loan, virtually a gift, would be repaid; and the lapse of forty years, during which it had been unreclaimed, seemed to have cancelled the obligation. No period could be more inopportune for settlement than a minority; no debtors less inclined to discharge an obsolete bond, than were the uncles of Richard II. We are little therefore surprised to be told that the Lords of the Council, after "they had heard this speech, began to smile." As soon as the Envoys had withdrawn, their smile increased to a downright laugh; and the Embassy was dismissed with fair words, but without the payment of money, and without the promise of troops.

The army which Charles assembled for the invasion of Flanders was most completely appointed, but the season was very far advanced before it arrived on the frontier opposite Comines. The River Lys, which was not any where fordable, formed the boundary; and although the Boors had not destroyed the piers of the Bridge, they had effectually prevented all transit over it by removing the planking; while Pierre Dubois occupied the town with a corps of 7000 Flemings. The Constable was perplexed, but the Lord of St. Py and some other native Knights, better acquainted with the Country, having procured ropes, and two or three boats, each not admitting above ten armed men, employed their time so well, that before nightfall they had transported to the Flemish bank about 400 gentlemen. They were the flower of the Camp*, for "not one varlet was suffered to pass." The Flemings, who had not perceived this movement, were astonished when this gallant band emerged from some alder trees, under cover of which they had formed; but they forbore from attack till the morning, confident in their own superiority of numbers and of position. Clisson, meanwhile, who was in great anguish of heart on account of the imminent hazard to which the bravest warriors in his army had thus unadvisedly exposed themselves, cursed the madness of the enterprise, and endeavoured, but in vain, to relieve them, by repairing the Bridge. He gave full leave of passage to all who were able to effect it, and some of his Knights and Squires were so eager to join their comrades in the advanced post of honour, that they tried to form a road on their targets; and although they failed in their main attempt, they distracted the attention of the Flemings. The night was long, cold, and rainy; yet the Gentlemen of France who, during its many dreary hours, had stood ankle deep in a marsh, under heavy armour, and without any refreshment, were on the alert at day-break, when "the Barons of new

* Froissart puts a lamentation into the mouth of De Clisson, from which we learn the names of the principal leaders of this most adventurous enterprise. "Ah! Sir Louis de Sancerre, I thought you more temperate and better taught than I now see you are. . . . Ah! Rohan; ah! Laval; ah! Rieux; ah! Beaumanoir; ah! Longueville; ah! Rochfort; ah! Manny; ah! Malestroit; ah! Conversant." Ibid. c. 35.

date," as in derision they termed their enemies, marched down to the attack. The Flemings, terrified by the chivalrous war-cries, the firm attitude, and the sharp lances of their opponents, speedily took to flight, and firing Comines in their retreat, attempted to rally in the open plain behind it. By that time, however, the Constable had effected his passage, and falling upon the remainder of the already-defeated Boors, he put about 6000 of them to the sword.

This bold action which, as Froissart justly observes, must be held "by all men of understanding, as a deed of superior valour and enterprise," was followed by the immediate submission of Yprés and of almost all Maritime Flanders. Artevelde, leaving only a corps of observation before Oudenarde, took post with 50,000 men between Mont d'Or and Rosebecque, and there awaited the advance of the French. One of his flanks was protected by a dyke, the other by a grove, "and in front was so good a hedge, that he could not easily be at-

Nov. 27. tacked." The ground chosen speaks more favourably for his military talents than does the report of the Chronicler, who, throughout, blames the conduct of the campaign. But the disaster at Rosebecque seems less justly attributable to Artevelde's presumption, than to the impatience of his followers. The Flemings stood to arms an hour before dawn, under a thick and frosty mist, till chilled by inaction they clamorously demanded to be led to the charge, or at least to be allowed to occupy the rising ground of Mont d'Or. When Clisson was informed that they had spontaneously quitted a post from which they could not have been easily dislodged, he anticipated the fortune of the day, and lifting his beaver, and bowing low from his horse to the King, he gave signal for battle, adding at the same time, "Sire, rejoice, these people are our own." Artevelde, untrained to the theory of War, and therefore unable to vary his tactics with the variation of circumstances, empirically relied upon a manœuvre which had given him victory at Bruges; and ordered its repetition. Placing himself at the head of nine thousand Ghenters (the troops in whom he had most confidence) closely linked together in one compact mass, he ordered his whole army to march straight forward upon the hostile line. The assailants were covered in their advance by a discharge from bombards and cross-bows, and as they "came on with vigour, and pushed with shoulders and breasts like enraged wild boars, they were so strongly interlaced one with the other, that they could not be broken, nor their ranks forced." All quarter, unless to the King himself, had been forbidden, and it was hoped that the entire Aristocracy of France might thus be destroyed at a single swoop*. The standard was entrusted to an Amazon of evil reputation, a

* *Je veux qu'on tue tout, disoit Artevelt, si ce n'est Roi de France, je le veux supporter par ce que ce n'est qu'un enfant; on lui doit pardonner; il ne scait ce qu'il fait; il va ainsi qu'on le mène; nous le menerons à Gand apprendre à parler Flamand.* Villaret, vi. 157, from a MS. Chronicle in the Bibliothèque du Roi, n. 10297.

common follower of the camp, named Marie Jetrud, who pretended that she had received supernatural assurance of complete victory, provided she could draw the first French blood*. To withstand this dense phalanx was impossible, and the French centre was driven in with some loss; but the wings closed at the moment, and surrounded the unwieldy column, which presented only a single front and moved but in one direction. Its flanks were utterly defenceless, and the outermost files pressing towards the centre, in order to escape the strokes which they were unable to ward, threw their comrades into irretrievable confusion; so that far more perished by being trampled under foot, than were slain by the lance or the battle-axe. "There was a large and high mound of Flemish corpses, yet never was there seen so little bloodshed while so great numbers were killed †."

The fate of the whole army was decided by this one failure; for the rear, upon perceiving the discomfiture of the van, endeavoured to save itself by flight. The rout was general and complete, not more than half an hour ‡ elapsed from the commencement to the close of the battle, in which the Heralds announced that, exclusively of the slaughter in pursuit, 25,000 Flemings were counted dead on the field. The Ghenters perished to a man; and the body of Artevelde himself was found, in a ditch in which he had been smothered, without a wound. The King, who had offered 100 livres for its discovery, looked at it for some time; and it is said that afterwards it was hanged contumeliously on a tree §.

Fifteen days were spent in Courtrai, which the conquerors entered without resistance on the morning after their victory. Charles from the first appears to have devoted that miserable town to destruction; and since he forbade the plunder of Bruges and spared Tournai which were

* Villaret, iv. 157.

† We have passed over in silence the *Armorum sonitus* "as if there had been a great Tournament," which disturbed Artevelde's slumbers on the night preceding the battle. "The damsel from Ghent, whom Philippe carried with him on this expedition as his sweetheart," attributed it to the French; but there were others, more knowing in those matters, "who said it was the Devils in Hell running and dancing about the place where the battle was to be, for the abundance of prey they expected." Froissart, vi. c. 41. The same writer informs us that the sun shone forth brightly at the moment at which the Oriflamme was unfurled, and that a white Dove, after flying many times round the King's battalions, at last perched upon one of his banners. C. 44.

‡ Froissart, vi. 45.

§ It is probably by an error of the Press that *ten francs* are mentioned by M. de Sismondi as the sum offered for the discovery of Artevelde's body. But if ever the body was found and any indignities were in truth inflicted upon it, it by no means appears that so unworthy a revenge was authorised by a command from Charles. Froissart certainly does not imply this. Meyer leaves it in doubt whether the body was found; *Cadaver ejus alii furcæ datum, alii nunquam inventum fuisse memorant. Annal. Fland. xliii. p. 190.* Oudegherst is altogether silent. Juvenal des Ursins (p. 30) gives a very particular account of the discovery of the body by the aid of a Fleming *bien navré et blessé qui estoit un des principaux Capitaines*, and who having refused any attention to his wounds, notwithstanding the urgent wish of the King that they should be bound up, died soon afterwards. Yet Juvenal, amid these details, no where speaks of the indignity.

equally at his mercy, there probably were good reasons for this exercise of severity, although the avowed pretext may be thought somewhat fanciful. It was said that 500 French Knights had perished in a battle lost under its walls by Robert d'Artois fourscore years before; and that their golden spurs were still suspended as trophies in one of the Churches of the City. A more probable cause seems to be the discovery of a seditious Correspondence between the Burgesses in Courtrai, and the insurgents at Paris*. Be this as it may, the town was committed to the flames on the King's departure, and the pillage was universal. The Count of Flanders in vain supplicated for grace; the King sternly refused, and Louis was fain to keep silence. Whole waggon-loads of valuables were transported to France; and, even in our own days, the well-known clock conveyed by the Duke of Burgundy to Dijon, and at that time considered a miracle of Art, remains there as a memorial of the devastation to which he contributed.

Ghent was the first City which recovered from panic. The moment for its reduction was irrecoverably lost while Charles lingered at Courtrai; and, whatever might have been his own wish, the rains and the arrival of winter warned his more experienced Generals that the season for military operations was closed. Disbanding therefore all but his Normans, his Bretons, and his Picards, the troops most distinguished for their ferocity, he retraced his steps in order to chastise his Capital.

The irritation excited in the King by former seditions and by intelligence of continued secret disaffection which reached him

A. D. 1383. daily in the course of his Flemish expedition†, was materially heightened by an indiscreet act of the Parisians on his

Feb. 8. return. Pretending to show how large a force they could muster for the Royal disposal, but meaning, no doubt, in reality to strike intimidation by the display, they armed upwards of 20,000 men, who were arranged "in a handsome battalion, prepared as for instant combat," on the side of Montmartre. "See," said the Lords whom the King had sent in advance, "the insolence of this mob. If they had gathered thus to serve in Flanders, they would have done well." Others expressed just surprise that they should be encountered by an army, at a moment in which they had expected a congratulatory procession. After some parley with the Constable, who was not backward in expressing disapprobation, this militia withdrew.

Not a moment was lost in manifesting the Royal displeasure. Charles with a sufficient body-guard repaired to his Palace, but his

Feb. 11. main army was so disposed as to surround the walls of the City. The gates were taken from their hinges, in order to

* It is plain from Froissart (vi. c. 39) that the malecontents at Paris were anxiously looking for the success of the Flemings.

† It had been reported that the insurgents designed to pull down the Castles of the Louvre, of La Beauté at Vincennes, and all other fortified houses in the neighbourhood of Paris. *Id. ibid.*

afford ready ingress for cavalry; the chains and beams which had been prepared to barricade the streets were carefully removed, and a general surrender of arms was required. In these precautions there is nothing worthy of blame; they were prompted by self-defence, and regard for the peace of a great Capital sufficiently justifies them.

But the abuse of power followed closely upon its attainment; and according to the report even of Froissart himself (a writer never favourable to the popular cause), boundless extortion and tyranny succeeded the triumph of the Aristocracy. So panic-stricken were the Citizens that "during three days none dared to venture out of doors, nor to open a window*." The wealthy were heavily fined, so that there was exacted "to the profit of the King, his uncles, and Ministers, the sum of 400,000 francs; in addition were levied subsidies, aides, gabelles, fougages, the twelfth and thirteenth penny, and many other vexations†." The odious names of these imposts condemn them without any need of comment. But the thirst for vengeance demanded blood as well as plunder. "The King and his Council arrested and threw into prison whatever persons they pleased; many were drowned, many others were beheaded‡. The fate of Jean de Marêts, the King's Advocate-General, appears to have excited peculiar surprise and compassion; and it is said that he was sacrificed to the personal enmity of the Royal Dukes. At more than seventy years of age, after a long and an unblamed life, spent in the public service and in the practice of the Courts, he was adjudged to the scaffold; and received the ambiguous distinction of a higher seat than those allotted to the twelve companions in suffering who shared the same fatal cart. When the executioner, having performed his office on the other victims, approached De Marêts and ordered him, in the customary form, to implore pardon for his crimes from the King, the dying veteran answered in the following touching words: "I have served his great-grandfather King Philip, King John his grandfather, and King Charles his father, faithfully and loyally; and never did those three Kings find fault with me; nor would this King have done so, if he had arrived at the wisdom and age of Manhood. I firmly believe that in my condemnation he is not any ways culpable. I have not therefore any cause to beg his mercy; but from God alone shall I beg it, and that He would forgive all my sins§." Protestations of innocence uttered on the scaffold do not often merit belief, but there is a calmness and absence of bravado in this short speech which forcibly persuades us that the sentence of De Marêts was undeserved and iniquitous.

At Rouen, at Châlons, at Marnes, at Rheims, at Sens and at Orleans, similar scenes were exhibited; nor does vengeance appear to have been

* Froissart, vi. § 48.

† Id. *ibid.*

‡ Id. c. 49. An odious mutilation is mentioned by Walsingham. "He cut off the right arms of those who had opposed him by force, and as a badge of perpetual infamy, ordered the amputated limbs to be hung round the necks of the offenders."

§ Froissart, vi, c. 49.

glutted till Flanders again assumed a posture of defiance. The Ghenters had nominated François Ackermann successor to Artevelde; and they had found him an active and a successful leader, under whose guidance the capture of Ardenbourg, and the ravage of the districts of Alost, of Dendermond and of Oudenarde in some measure diminished the bitter remembrance of the defeat at Rosebecque. England still hesitated in forming a National alliance; but the zeal of superstition furnished aid from that Country which Political discretion might have continued to refuse. The Schism in the Church still raged with undiminished virulence, and France and England espoused opposite Pretenders to the Tiara. Urban, whom his opponents called in matters of Faith a dog*, retorted the foul title upon Clement; and he saw no surer means of crushing his adversary, than by preaching a Crusade against him among the English. He began by bribing the avarice of the Nobles through the impost of a Tenth upon the Clergy, and he then appealed to the credulity of the People at large by a lavish promise of Indulgences. So brisk was the market for Pardons that in the single Diocese of London "a large Gascony tun full of money was collected;" and "no persons of either sex thought they should end the year happily, nor have any chance of entering Paradise if they did not give handsomely to the expedition as pure alms." The sum in which the English thus cheerfully taxed themselves, during the Winter and the ensuing Lent, is estimated at the enormous amount of two millions and a half of francs.

The single condition which Urban stipulated in return for the Absolution which he unsparingly dispensed was that he might nominate a Churchman to command the expedition; and he knew that England contained a Clerical Paladin well adapted to the purpose. Not long before, Henry le Spencer, Bishop of Norwich, at the head of only eight lances and of a very small body of archers, had seized the ringleaders in a popular insurrection at Newmarket; and afterwards armed to the very teeth, wearing a steel skull-cap, brandishing a double-edged sword, and spurring his charger over a palisaded intrenchment, he completely routed the followers of Jack Straw, who, not content with spreading sedition through his Diocese, had ventured to offer him battle at North Walsham†. To this martial Prelate, still in the flower of youth and gifted with no ordinary courage, Urban intrusted the guidance of the Crusade.

Six hundred men at arms and about fifteen hundred infantry proceeded under the Bishop to Calais, and among these troops April — were numbered some of the adventurers most distinguished in the military annals of the times; Sir Hugh Calverley, Sir Thomas Trivet, and others not inferior in notoriety. The object of Urban was to overthrow the Clementists, that of the English Regency, which had assisted in the outfit, to attack the French in Picardy; but

* Froissart, vi. c. 51.

† Walsingham, 283.

the Bishop had different views; he contended that Picardy was an exhausted field, which offered no promise of booty; that although the Count of Flanders and his followers were Urbanists like themselves, nevertheless that the King of France, who had waged war in the Flemish territory, was a Clementist; and *therefore* that all the purposes of the Crusade would be fulfilled, by at once opening a campaign in that Country. The reasoning, perhaps, was not altogether conclusive; but it was strengthened by the plunder of Gravelines upon which the Crusaders directed their march, and which they took by assault. Stores and provisions were found abundantly in that town which had never contemplated an attack; and so richly provided were its stables (which the French had stocked with a fleet and generous breed), that a horse was to be purchased for a shilling*.

Dunkirk was the next conquest; and under its walls the Crusaders obtained a success which, on account of the disparity of numbers, was confidently attributed to Divine aid†. Thirty May 25. thousand Maritime Flemings, who adhered to their Count, gave battle to the English host which in all did not exceed five thousand men; and among them, if we trust Walsingham's report, many must have been quite new to arms. "There," says the Monk, evidently delighted with the opportunity afforded him of exercising his lash upon the Seculars, "there Rectors and Vicars, who had been tempted by the promise of Absolution, learned to estimate the sweets of a snug home-stand; there Canons acknowledged the value of obedience; there many begging Friars discovered that there are tasks more difficult than to solicit alms in one's own native Country‡." Twelve thousand of the enemy, only *seven* of the Crusaders were slain in this engagement. Who, if he believes this report, can doubt therefore that "all Ages must attribute the victory to the manifest interposition of Heaven?" and that "everything concurred to prove how pleasing in its sight was the holy enterprise of the Bishop of Norwich §!"

The Ghenters readily accepted the overture of a General who had been thus successful, and joined the Bishop's army. Throngs of fresh Pilgrims also from England crowded his ranks when he undertook the siege of Yprés; but the new comers proved for the most part an encumbrance rather than an aid. They were a motley band, formed of untrained peasants, idle servants, and runaway apprentices from London, who allured by the exaggerated reports of booty to be gained in the Flemish War, exported nothing besides the red crosses on their caps, and the red scabbards to their swords, and hoped to return home in possession of uncounted treasure. When the Bishop perceived that his substance was likely to be wasted by this useless train (60,000 of whom had already applied for arms and keep), he forbade his agents in England from

* Walsingham, 299.

† Id. 300.

‡ Id. *ibid.*

§ Id. 301.

"affording transport to any but the able-bodied and the well-accounted; all others were to be asked why they presented themselves without equipments; to be reprimanded for wishing to consume supplies which scarcely sufficed for those who could contribute military service; and to be advised for the future to sit at ease over their flesh-pots at home*. This counsel was angrily received by those who had been prompted to emigrate by dread of starvation; and the Bishop was greatly blamed, although from terror of his power the murmurings were secret.

The representations of the Duke of Burgundy and of the Count of Flanders easily persuaded Charles VI. that he was pledged
 Aug. —. in honour to complete the great work which he had commenced at Rosebecque; and the siege of Yprés was hastily broken up as soon as the allies learned that sixteen thousand horse and sixty thousand foot had arrived at Arras. The Ghenters retired to their own City, the Bishop of Norwich fell back upon Gravelines†, and another part of the English force attempted the defence first of Bergues, afterwards of Bourbourg. The latter Town was most gallantly maintained, and the Bretons who first attempted to storm it were repulsed with considerable loss. The reader of Walsingham might suppose himself employed on the pages of Vegetius or of Polybius, when he is informed of engines shod with iron and terminating in hooks, which either hoisted the astonished besiegers over the ramparts to be slaughtered like cattle, or precipitated them with grievous falls into the miry ditch below. The French, who made a second effort after the defeat of the Bretons, were met by different weapons; heated spits were thrust down from the walls, and the hands which grasped them unwittingly were at once disabled. The killed in this encounter amounted to 500, among whom was a Maréchal, and Clisson himself was badly wounded. The King declared that they were Devils and not men who had employed such inventions against a Christian army; and yielding to the arguments of the Duke of Brittany, who was well acquainted with the dogged bravery of the English, he agreed to a capitulation, by which the town (a third of it having been burned in the assault) was surrendered, and the garrison permitted to withdraw with arms, horses and baggage, and as much property as they were able to convey.

* Walsingham, 302.

† There is a variation here between Walsingham and Froissart. The latter ascribes the defence of Bergues to Sir Hugh Calverley, into whose mouth he puts expressions condemnatory of the Bishop, vi. c. 61. Walsingham, on the other hand, after noticing a dispute between the Bishop and Sir Thomas Trivet and the other leaders, adds, "the Bishop retreated, and with all haste began his march to his own town of Graveling, together with Sir Hugh Calverley, who was an inseparable comrade and faithful partner in all his straits." 303. And again, after the capitulation of Bourbourg, he says that the French army marched to the town of Graveling, in which were stationed the Bishop and Sir Hugh de Calverley, 304. Walsingham is likely to have been better informed than Froissart of the movements of the English. The *Rel. de St. Denis* never mentions the Bishop of Norwich, and attributes the command of the expedition to the Duke of Gloucester, who at that time, however, did not bear a higher title than Earl of Buckingham.

Experience thus dearly purchased at Bourbourg forbade a similar attempt upon Gravelines; and the Bishop replied to a summons that he held the town as much for the Pope as for the King of England, and that he had expended large sums in repairing its fortifications. The French offered 15,000 marks as an indemnity; and the Bishop, having ascertained that it was idle to hope for relief from England*, negotiated for the undisturbed re-embarkation of his troops, razed the walls as the terms of the Treaty required, but declined the proffered money from a knowledge that the acceptance of it would displease the Council of Regency. The French army, no longer confronted by an enemy, evacuated Flanders; and Conferences in which a Truce was arranged Sept. 22. were not long afterwards opened at Lelingshen. John of Gaunt or Ghent, who represented England, refused any terms from which the Burghers of his native City were to be excluded; and some writers have affirmed that a dispute upon this point arose between the Duke of Berri and the Count of Flanders, the latter of whom vehemently refused to accord any grace to his rebellious subjects. It has been added that heated words occasioned a personal conflict, in which the Duke of Berri plunged his dagger to the Count's heart. That the death of the Count occurred at this time is certain; although the manner of it may be doubtful†: it removed the sole obstacle which prevented the signature of the Truce; which with full A. D. 1384. benefit of its conditions to the Ghenters was immediately Jan. 26. concluded.

* The King received the Bishop's application for assistance while he was at supper at Daventry, and pushing aside the table, he rose with all manner of haste and fury; he rode post all night, as if he intended to kill the King of France; knocked up the Abbot of St. Alban's, in order to borrow a horse, which he never returned; and having gone to bed on his arrival at Westminster—slept off all his valorous intentions. Walsingham, 305. The Temporals of the Bishop of Norwich were afterwards confiscated, under a pretext that he had disobeyed a Royal mandate recalling him from Flanders. *Il.* 307.

† M. de Sismondi (xi. 432) believes the story of this assassination, and draws an argument in favour of its truth from the mysterious silence of contemporaries, and from the prodigies which they record. Juvenal des Ursins (40) and the *Rel. de St. Denis*, l. iii. c. 6, p. 84, certainly give an account of a violent whirlwind which occurred at the moment of the Count's death, and the former adds, *dont plusieurs gens disoient ce que bon leur sembloit*. The similar tempest which accompanied the death of Cromwell in like manner occasioned much idle talk, but it never created a suspicion that he was murdered. Villaret (vi. 173) draws an exactly opposite conclusion from the silence of contemporaries. Froissart gives a minute account of the funeral ceremony, but merely says that the Count was taken ill and died, Jan. 20, 1384.

The two authorities upon which belief appears to be chiefly founded are Mezeray and Meyer. The former in his *Grande Histoire*, ii. 518, has the following passage. *Le genre de la mort de ce Comte mérite d'avoir part en cette Histoire. Pierre Colinet dans son Livre des Seigneurs d'Enguieu dit que Jean Duc de Berri à l'âge de 60 ans épousa la fille du Comte de Bretagne qui n'avoit que douze ans; et que ce Duc étant à Saint Omer avec son frere le Duc de Bourgogne, entra en dispute avec Louis Comte de Flandres sur la murance de Brulogne, le Comte prétendant qu'elle estoit mouvante de son Comté de Flandres et le Duc niant se mit en telle colere qu'il jetta sa dague contre le Comte, qui mourut trois jours après de sa blessure.*

Mezeray, however, seems to have changed his opinion at a later period. In his *Abrégé Chronologique*, iii. 126, he attributes the Count's death entirely to natural

The King returned to his Capital, and there soon afterwards learned the entire discomfiture and death of his uncle of Anjou in Italy. Charles III. by discreetly abstaining from battle which his competitor was anxious to provoke, had allowed the invading forces to waste away in inaction. So destitute was the Duke of Anjou at the moment of his death, that nothing remained to him of the plunder of Beauté-sur-Marne but a single silver-cup; even his wardrobe had been sacrificed in order to provide for the necessities of his followers; and that Prince, who had ever been distinguished for the richness of his attire, pos-

Oct. 10. sessed only one embroidered surcoat*, when his days were terminated by a fever at Biseglio near Bari. His two sons Louis and Charles were infants at the time of his decease; and were little likely to obtain aid from either of their uncles in France.

The Duke of Berri was employed in filling his own coffers by completing the exhaustion of Languedoc; the Duke of Burgundy in securing the territories to which he had become heir by the death of the Count of Flanders, his father-in-law. A double nuptial alliance which he contracted with the reigning Family of Bavaria† in order to strengthen himself in the Netherlands, led to the marriage of the King also with a Princess of that House; and through an intrigue of the Duchess of Brabant‡ (a Matron eminently skilful in matrimonial diplomacy), it was contrived that Charles should become deeply enamoured of Isabella, a daughter of Duke Stephen II. to whom, in the division of territory which had been made with his two brothers, the share of Ingolstadt had fallen. Some preliminaries, most repugnant to female delicacy, which had hitherto been considered indispensable to the marriage of a

causes; to une maladie increased by chagrin at the devastation of his Country. He adds—*peut-être étoit-il blessé au cœur de ce que le Duc de Berry luy avoit reproché avec des paroles fort injurieuses que sa vengeance opiniâtre étoit la cause de tous ses malheurs.*

Meyer writes as follows:—*Ed discordia controversia processit, ut pugionem suum Bituria Ludovico in pectus projiceret; accidit id die festo Epiphania Domini, eoque ex vulnere tertio post die Ludovicus obiit. Addam verba Gallica ex Chronico quodam manuscripto. "Le Conte Loys morut à Saint Bertin labaye, car le Duc de Berry luy iecta sa dague en son cœur, pource quil ne le vouloit laisser posséder la Comté de Boulogne, dont il avoit espouse la Dame, et le Conte vouloit qu'il luy en faisist hommage comme appartenoit, et cela ne vouloit point faire." Multi rectè habent defunctum die ix. Januarii, sed et multi malè die xxix. ejusdem mensis. Annal. Fland. L. xiii. 200.* Upon the above narrative the Benedictines remark in *L'Art de vérifier les dates*, iii. 21. *C'est ainsi que Meir raconte la mort du Conte Louis, d'après quelques Chroniques du XV^{me} Siècle: mais Froissart, auteur contemporain, nous donne cet événement comme l'effet d'une maladie naturelle.* And they add in a Note: *D'autres disent avec aussi peu de vraisemblance que ce fut Jean II. Comte d'Auvergne et de Boulogne, beau-père du Duc de Berri, qui ayant pris querelle avec le Comte de Flandres au sujet de l'hommage de Boulogne, le poussa contre la muraille avec tant de violence, qu'il lui froissa le corps, ce que fut cause de sa mort.*

* Juvenal des Ursins, 43, and to the same purpose the *Rel. de St. Denis*, liv. iv. c. 6, p. 93.

† His eldest son John the Fearless (*Sans Peur*) Count of Nèvers, married Margaret of Bavaria, daughter of Albert Count of Hainault; and William Count of Ostrevant, eldest son of Albert, at the same time married Margaret of Burgundy.

‡ Aunt of Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy.

King of France, were dexterously evaded by the management of the Duchess of Brabant. Isabella was in her fourteenth year, and greatly distinguished for beauty, so that Charles, after once seeing her, "amused the ladies" by the ardour of his passion; and on the fourth day after their first interview the marriage was consummated between a Bride and Bridegroom each of whom was entirely unacquainted with the language spoken by the other*.

Before the marriage of the King, hostilities had been renewed with England, and a considerable force under Jean de Vienne, the former brave defender of Calais, now Admiral of France, had been employed to assist the Scots in an irruption upon their neighbours. The Knights engaged on this service appear to have been impressed with a deep sense of the poverty and the barbarism of their Northern allies, from whom indeed they experienced somewhat churlish and inhospitable treatment. Edinburgh, although the residence of the King, is described as being inferior to Tournai or Valenciennes. The whole town did not contain 4000 houses †, if huts constructed in a few days with half a dozen poles covered with boughs deserve that name; and the French Barons were obliged in consequence to seek "hard beds and poor lodgings" in the neighbouring villages. Manufactures were unknown, neither iron for horse-shoes nor leather for harness was to be obtained unless imported from Flanders; the natives, who in truth had not anything to lose, nevertheless exhibited constant suspicion, and inquired "what Devil had brought these visiters to their shores." Like Savages, they shunned acquaintance unless induced to it by a prospect of gain; in their bargains they asked sixty or a hundred florins for articles not worth ten; and the King of Scotland himself, in whose service the French were engaged, refused to visit them in his Capital, until he had received payment of a large subsidy. After a short predatory invasion of Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmoreland, during which Richard II. in return sacked Edinburgh which had been left unprotected, Jean de Vienne and his troops, nearly starved by want of provisions and of forage, returned, "cursing Scotland and the hour they had set their foot in it, for never had they seen a people so wicked, so hypocritical, so traitorous, and so ignorant ‡."

The Ghenters under the command of Ackermann stormed Damme, on the very day of the King's nuptials, and Charles, irritated by the intelligence, set forward in a week afterwards for the recovery of that town. Its reduction cost much labour and a considerable number of men, but

* The story of this marriage is very amusingly related by Froissart, vii. c. 15.

† *Car Handebourg, non obstant que le Roy descoce y tiengne son siege, et que c'est Paris en Escoce n'est pas telle ville comme seroit Tournay ou Valenciennes car il ny a pas en toute la ville quatre mille maisons.* Four hundred is read instead of four thousand by M. de Sismondi, xi. 459.

‡ Froissart, vii. c. 3—17.

Ackermann, disappointed of relief, in the end evacuated his conquest, and returned unharmed to Ghent. The French revenged themselves by firing the houses and mercilessly ravaging its neighbourhood; till the King, alarmed at the prospect of operations during winter Sept. —. and anxious to rejoin his Bride, disbanded his army after a short but most expensive campaign, which had in no measure contributed to his honour.

The Duke of Burgundy sagaciously perceived that little hope of permanent establishment was afforded by a continuance of War. Even if he were ultimately victorious, he must purchase success by the ruin of his Provinces; and he resolved therefore to gain by negotiation an ascendancy hitherto denied to the sword. It was not difficult to sow dissension among the popular leaders, and a Peace-faction was soon created in Ghent which finally prevailed. Ackermann him-

Dec. 18. self consented to lay down arms*, and a Treaty was signed at Tournai, in which the Burghers in return for general amnesty and for a confirmation of their ancient privileges, swore fidelity to the Duke as their natural and lawful Lord, and to the King of France as their Lord paramount†. The insurgents, instead of maintaining any lofty tone of independence, accepted these Articles as tokens of "pardon, of clemency and of grace."

This Peace disengaged France from a contest, which without any prospect of National advantage pressed most heavily upon her resources; a season of repose might have relieved her from embarrassments, but the Court soon became engrossed by a project which, after boundless expenditure in preparation, proved most futile in result. John of Gaunt was urging his claims upon the throne of Castile by means of an army, the absence of which it was falsely supposed had left England almost defenceless‡; and a conversation with the Admiral de Vienne on his return from the Scottish expedition had excited both in the Duke of Burgundy and in Clisson a strong desire to combat upon English ground. "The Scots," said de Vienne on one occasion at the Royal table at which he was splendidly entertained, "can never muster above 500 Knights and Esquires together, and about 30,000 other men; who would be easily overthrown by the English archers, or by 1000 men at arms." "As God is my help," continued the gallant Knight, smarting no doubt under recollections of recent ill usage, "I would rather be Count of Savoy or of Artois or of some such Country than King of

* Ackermann seems to have been very well satisfied with an offer made by the Duke of Burgundy to appoint him Equerry of his Stables with four horses at his command. Froissart, viii. c. 7. He was assassinated, about eighteen months after the conclusion of this Treaty, by Harselle, a Bastard of the late Count Louis. Pierre Dubois retired to England.

† The Treaty is given at length by Froissart, vii. c. 21.

‡ There were at this time 10,000 men at arms and 100,000 archers in England, although the Duke of Lancaster had led so large a force to Castile. Id. viii. c. 8.

Scotland." When further asked about the English army, he praised it highly, and estimated its whole strength, which he declared he had once seen arrayed on a march, at 60,000 archers and 6000 or 7000 men at arms. "That," remarked some of the company, "is a great force." "Yet, great as it may be," said the Constable, "I would rather fight the whole of them in their own Country, than half on this side the water; for that was the doctrine my Master taught me in my youth*." From this vaunt, which met with unanimous applause, and which pleased the Duke of Burgundy especially, may be dated the proposed invasion of England.

The scale of preparation for this descent was most gigantic. The young King was to command in person, supported by his two uncles and by all the Nobility of his Realm. England was not only to be conquered but to be rendered desert; the men were to be exterminated, the women and children to be transported to France in slavery†. From the East to the West of Europe, from the furthestmost coasts of Prussia to the extremity of Castile, wherever French gold, or power, or persuasion could exert its influence, vessels were pressed or hired, till the numbers moored between the ports of Sluys and Blankenbourg exceeded any that had been collected together "since God created the world." Their decks glittered with most gaudy colouring; in many instances their masts were covered with gold or silver plates, above which were emblazoned armorial bearings; silken hangings adorned their cabins, and richly embroidered banners floated on the breeze from their sterns. Brief and simple but fearfully pregnant with meaning is the concluding paragraph of the description; "The poor people of France paid for all‡." In order that the King himself might be securely and becomingly lodged after disembarkation, the Forests of Bretany were placed at the disposal of the Constable, and he constructed a stupendous wooden frame-work or roofed town as it is called, which formed the burden of 72 transports. A rampart twenty feet in height was strengthened at intervals of every twelve paces with towers ten feet higher, and each capable of holding ten men. The front of this huge bulwark presented 3000 paces; it was calculated that the whole army could find shelter behind it from the English bowmen; and it could be taken to pieces and replaced at pleasure§.

The commissariat was proportionate in extent to the number of troops destined for the service. Heavier taxes than had been known for a century past were imposed throughout the Country. Of the rich, many were compelled to surrender a third part of their property; from the poorer sort their whole estate was required. The whole fore part of the year was employed in grinding flour and making biscuits. Wine, salted meats, oats, hay, onions, verjuice, butter, the yolks of eggs rammed

* Froissart, vii. c. 17. † Id. viii. c. 7. ‡ Id. viii. c. 8. § Walsingham, 323.

into barrels, peas, beans, cheese-bowls, barley, wheat, rye, wax-candles, housings, boots, shoes, helmets, spurs, knives, hatchets, wedges, pick-axes, hooks, wooden-pegs, boxes filled with ointments, tow, bandages, counterpanes, horseshoe-nails, vinegar-bottles, iron, crockery, pewter and wooden-pots and dishes, candlesticks, basins, vases, fat-pigs, kitchen-furniture and buttery utensils, and every article necessary for man and beast are among the exports confusedly enumerated by Froissart; and these were collected in so great profusion, that eye-witnesses are said by him to be the only persons by whom it is likely that his accounts will be credited. The middle of August had arrived before these ostentatious preparations were sufficiently advanced to allow the King's departure from Paris; and so slow were the journeys by which he traversed Picardy and Artois, that a month elapsed before he fixed his quarters at Arras. However rich and smiling might be the districts which he approached, those which he left behind were reduced to a wilderness. The stores were everywhere seized for food, the cottages were burned for fuel; if the peasants objected to the requisitions made in the King's name they were savagely murdered on the spot; if they surrendered their little stock they perished more slowly by famine. No hostile invasion could have spread greater misery over the face of the Country than did this nominally peaceful march of a friendly army*.

At a time at which official Returns were unknown the calculation of numbers must have depended more or less upon conjecture. Walsingham, adopting common report, and therefore no doubt greatly exaggerating, says that sixteen Dukes, twenty-six Counts, three thousand Knights, and six hundred thousand *fighting* men were assembled for embarkation. Froissart is perhaps nearer the truth, when he speaks of 20,000 Knights and Squires, 20,000 cross-bowmen, part of whom were Genoese, and 20,000 "stout varlets." It had been proclaimed, that none but approved soldiers would be permitted to embark, and that no Knight unless of high rank would be allowed more than one horse and one servant†.

Day passed after day and still no orders were issued for sailing. Walsingham assures us that the safety of England was owing to the especial guardianship of Heaven; that for three entire months, from the first of August till the first of November, the wind never proved favourable for many hours together, but that on the eve of All Saints it changed, and the whole armament put to sea. At about twenty miles' distance from the coast the fleet encountered a violent tempest, many of the vessels were shipwrecked in endeavouring to regain the harbour, and the loss was so great that the enterprise was abandoned, England was relieved from fear, and the King of France returned to his own dominions‡.

* Froissart, viii. c. 13.

† Id., *ibid.*

‡ Walsingham, 325. Froissart, viii. c. 15, corroborates this account. He says that when the King pressed Clisson to sail, the Constable answered, "Sire, we can-

Other accounts relate, with a strange and inexplicable contradiction, that during three months the wind every day blew from the desired point*, but that Clisson retarded the expedition by the delay of his wooden fortress. The seventy-two vessels under his command at length sailed from Treguier with a contrary wind by which they were dispersed; some fell into the hands of the English, some were driven to Zealand, and scarcely a moiety arrived at Sluys†. Even then the Duke of Berri was still wanting, the days became shorter Nov. 30. and cold, and the weather was bad. At length, after he had slowly journeyed from Paris, all obstacles were supposed to be at an end; and during the first seven days of his abode at Sluys, it was always confidently rumoured that the fleet would sail on the morrow. But War was little suited to the taste of this cowardly dissembler; and having protracted the enterprise till experienced mariners admitted that it would now be hazardous, he at length ventured openly to advise its postponement till a better season. The King most reluctantly consented to the proposal. "In God's name," he exclaimed, "I am resolved to go, should no one follow me!" But so little sway did Charles at that time exercise in his own Councils, that the Lords, as we are told, only laughed, and said, "The King has a strong inclination to embark‡".

The expedition therefore was abandoned, not less to the mortification of many of the Knights engaged in it than of the King himself. The great Lords, who had expended large sums in equipment, were exposed to enormous loss from the forced sale of their property. The poorer class, who had long indulged the hope of booty, murmured at the unexpected dissipation of their golden dreams. The news was received in England not without thankfulness and joy; nevertheless, as during similar periods in much later years, little fear of the result of invasion had been evinced by the population at large; and although the public burdens necessary for the defence of the Country pressed with unusual weight, they were supported with much cheerfulness and alacrity, and by no class more so than by the lower Orders§.

not sail till the wind be favourable. This south wind, which is completely against us, has blown so long, that the sailors say they have never known it so constant to one point as it has been for these two months."

* M. de Sismondi, xi. 459.

† The capture of two of these vessels is mentioned by Walsingham. They contained a portion of the "wooden wall" which was erected in the neighbourhood of Sandwich, the port into which the prizes were carried. The master-carpenter, as we are inclined to render *magister totius fabricæ*, was among the prisoners; he was an English Exile. The master of the ordnance also, who had served under Sir Hugh Calverley at Calais, was taken. Many engines and guns were among the spoils; and the value of the powder captured exceeded that of everything else, 323. The remainder of the *ville de bois* was given to the Duke of Burgundy, *dont il fit un parc*. M. de Sismondi, xi. 481.

‡ Froissart, viii. c. 16.

§ Froissart, viii. c. 8, 13, 14, 16. One passage is remarkable, and deserves citation

• Two restless enemies of the French Monarchy terminated their lives about this time within a few months of each other. After Charles III. of Durazzo had been firmly established on the throne of Naples by the death of Louis of Anjou, he contested that of Hungary also,

June 6. and he was first stabbed and afterwards poisoned by hired retainers of the Queen whom he had succeeded in dispossessing*. The fate of another Charles, *le Mauvais*, King of Navarre, is variously related. The official announcement to his sister, A. D. 1387. the widow of Philip de Valois, recorded only his long ill-

Jan. 1. ness and Christian departure; but a more fearful story was circulated, attributing his death to the inadvertence or to the malice of a servant who set fire to some night-clothes steeped in spirits of wine which the jaded and voluptuous Prince was accustomed to wear as a fancied aphrodisiac †.

An auxiliary force under the Duke of Bourbon was despatched to resist John of Gaunt in Spain, but it is rather to the effects of climate than of War that the failure of the Duke of Lancaster is to be attributed. He secured an honourable retreat, but of the more than 20,000 men with whom he had entered Galicia not 1200 remained alive when he evacuated Leon. The project for invading England was renewed in the Spring, but with far less pomp of equipment than had been previously displayed. Either the capricious ardour of the King had subsided, or the Duke of Berri had inoculated his brother of Burgundy with some of his own prudential caution. Two armaments were ordered to attempt the descent. Six thousand men-at-arms, an equal number of infantry and about two thousand cross-bowmen, were divided between Harfleur and Treguier; one of those bands was under the command of the Admiral de Vienne, the Comte de St. Pol, and the Sire de Coucy; the other was led by the Constable de Clisson. A remarkable adventure which befel the last-named General broke up this expedition on the very eve of its departure.

The reconciliation between John of Montfort and the King of France had confirmed the former in the Duchy of Bretany, but it had by no means extinguished the inveterate hatred which it obliged Clisson to dissemble. No surer mode of disturbing the tranquillity of the Duke presented itself to the imagination of the Constable, than that which would be afforded by a revival of the claims of the House of Blois. For that purpose, it was necessary to ransom John, the only remaining scion of the

on account of the sound reasoning which it commemorates. "The taxes in England were equally heavy with those in France; but though they were very oppressive, the common people said they ought not to complain; for they were raised for the defence of the Country, and paid to Knights and Squires to guard the land, and they were the labourers and the sheep from whom they took the wool, but if England should be conquered they would be the greatest losers." c. 13.

* M. de Sismondi, *Hist. des Rep. Ital.* vii. 244.

† Froissart, ix. c. 13.

Family, who had been allowed to linger during four and thirty years in an English prison *. In order to connect his own interests more surely with those of John of Blois, Clisson found means to propose a marriage with his daughter as the condition on which he would defray the captive's ransom. The prisoner had already refused one splendid alliance. Much dissatisfaction had naturally been felt by the English Court at the termination of the Earl of Buckingham's expedition, and the Regency, seeking revenge upon De Montfort for his too easy abandonment of alliance, proposed after marrying John of Blois to a daughter of the Duke of Lancaster†, to support him as competitor for the Duchy, which he was to accept as a Fief from England. The high-spirited Breton preferred captivity to the required sacrifice of the independence of his Country; but no similar obstacle impeded the proffer made by De Clisson, and it was at once accepted. The Constable bargained with the worthless favourite de Vere (whom Richard II. had just created Duke of Ireland) who was to obtain the prisoner's liberty as a free gift from the King, and to receive as its price 120,000 livres for himself‡.

Secretly as this negotiation was conducted it by no means escaped the vigilance of De Montfort; and he resolved, by a bold and unscrupulous act, at once to frustrate an attempt which might endanger his Ducal Crown, and at the same time to recover the lost favour of his English allies§. Having summoned an Assembly of his Barons at Vannes, he allured Clisson to the Parliament by especial solicitation. The Constable, unsuspecting of treachery (for he was ignorant that his own plot had been discovered), consented most readily, and partook in the festivities which lightened the despatch of graver business. De Montfort, on retiring from a banquet at which he had been entertained by Clisson, invited the company to inspect a mansion, the Castle of Ermines||, which he was then building. After he had courteously shown the various apartments to Clisson, to the Lord de Laval his brother-in-law, and to the Sire de Beaumanoir his nearest friend, he conducted them to the foot of the keep, and carelessly pointing to its masonry, requested that the Constable would examine its defences closely. "There is no man," said he, "on this side of the sea, whose opinion on these matters I value so highly as yours. If on entering the tower you approve the workmanship, it shall remain; if otherwise, I will rebuild it."

* Charles of Blois had left his two sons in England as hostages in 1353. The younger died in 1386.

† Philippa, John of Gaunt's eldest daughter by his first wife, Blanche of Lancaster. She was afterwards married to John I. of Portugal.

‡ Froissart, viii. c. 36.

§ The Duke of Brittany entertained private as well as political enmity against Clisson, whom, notwithstanding he had attained fifty years of age, he suspected of a successful intrigue with his second Duchess, Jane of Navarre.

|| Three Ermines were the armorial bearings of Brittany. The Duke, on his last reconciliation with France, instituted an Order of Knighthood *de l'Ermine*.

The snare was spread with little astuteness, and probably on that account was successful. De Clisson ascended the tower without apprehension; but on gaining the first story, the doors were closed behind him, he was seized, overpowered, and heavily fettered. Laval, who remained below, alarmed by the tumult, at once accused the Duke of treachery, and was told in reply that *he* was at liberty. A harsher answer awaited Beaumanoir, whom De Montfort bitterly hated. When that faithful adherent repeated his desire to be in all things like the Constable, the Duke unsheathed his dagger, and (alluding to a wound which had partially deprived De Clisson of sight at the Battle of Aurai) menaced him with the loss of one of his eyes, and threw him also into close confinement. Laval, who was still left free, undeterred by personal danger, generously refused to abandon his brother-in-law; and, by fearless and seasonable representations of the eternal dishonour with which the Duke must overwhelm himself if he proceeded to further violence, he saved the Constable from death, which De Montfort had twice ordered to be inflicted*. Convinced at length by the reasoning which Laval pertinaciously urged ("following him for the whole night, and never for one moment quitting his presence"), he consented to release Clisson, on the surrender of four strong holds and the absolute payment of 100,000 livres. Clisson, chained to the floor, and in momentary fear of death, to preparation for which indeed he had been more than once summoned, readily gave assent to these hard terms, and Beaumanoir was allowed to depart on parole, in order to collect the stipulated money. On its payment, Clisson immediately repaired to Paris, and throwing himself at the King's feet, solicited justice for the outrage which he had endured, at the same time tendering resignation of the Sword of Constable. His reception by the Royal Dukes disappointed his hopes; they blamed him, in the first place, for quitting his charge of the expedition against England, which, in consequence, had been finally abandoned; and secondly, for the simplicity with which he had allowed himself to be entrapped. The King promised enquiry, and sent Envoys to the Duke of Brittany, to demand explanation. Clisson, however, upon finding the Court thus backward, had recourse to more prompt and independent measures; and by the aid of his Provincial friends, he recovered the Castles which he had been compelled to surrender, and forced De Montfort to agree, that if a decision of the King's Council should prove unfavourable, he would repay the moneys which he had already extorted. John of Blois, meantime, having been released, fulfilled his matrimonial engagement, and assumed the title of Comte de

* Another account, which cannot be reconciled with that of Froissart, whom we are following, represents the Duke to have believed that Sir John de Bazvalen had really executed these orders by drowning Clisson; and that he was deeply stung by remorse, until he was undeceived.

Penthièvre. In six months afterwards, the Duke of Brittany was persuaded to perform homage in Paris, "where he was so fairly spoken to," that he promised to reimburse De Clisson by five yearly payments. Of the fair words which induced him to disgorge a booty for the attainment of which he had not hesitated to play so foully, no specimen is preserved.

It was not with the powerful State of Brittany only, between which and the Crown of France a rivalry of many centuries had existed, that Charles was entangled in dispute; a petty German Prince ventured to provoke his arms, and even to send a defiance, couched "in language imperious and coarse," which astonished all who read it. An hereditary feud between the Houses of Brabant and of Gueldres had involved William, Duke of the latter Province, in a dispute with the widowed Duchess of the former. The Duke of Burgundy naturally espoused the part of his kinswoman, and ultimately engaged France also in the quarrel. When Charles resolved to march in person upon Gueldres, his obvious route lay through Flanders and Brabant; but the Duke of Burgundy was sufficiently acquainted with the ruin consequent upon the passage of allies through a friendly Country, to find innumerable pretexts for the alteration of this course; and the Brabançons did not scruple to declare that, so far from assisting the proposed enterprise, they would shut themselves up in their fortresses, and harass the strangers at every step of their progress.

In consequence of these obstacles, it was determined that the invading force, after assembling in Champagne, should penetrate the Forest of Ardennes, and traverse Luxemburg and Juliers. This route, through a poor and difficult Country, excited grievous discontent, and occasioned much real suffering. Autumn was far advanced, and its unhealthy rains had commenced, while the French Army was still distant from the frontier to which its march was directed. But the Oct. —. Marquis of Juliers, father of the Duke of Gueldres, although neutral in the contest, was deeply impressed with alarm as Charles approached his territory. He hastened to the King's presence, declared that his son was a madman, and, after doing homage for his own Province, obtained leave to attempt negotiation. The Duke of Gueldres proved less tractable than his father; he argued that the elements would be his allies, and that before January arrived his foes would be so tired and worn down, that the boldest among them would wish to be at home. It cost many vehement remonstrances and more than a single interview before he would abandon this belief, and would admit that England, upon which he relied for succour, was too much engaged at home to afford the promised assistance. At length, having consented to disavow the offensive language of his challenge (and with this qualified submission the King expressed himself to be fully satisfied), he was received in the French Camp with distinction. When he supped at the Royal

able, "he was much looked at for the plague which he had given." Yet even after he had thus placed himself in the full power of his enemy, and was surrounded by thousands who might compel obedience at the price of life, he refused a demand made for surrender of the French prisoners in return for the Germans whom Charles had promised to deliver ransomless. "My Lord," was the bold and honourable reply, "that cannot be done. I am a poor man, and when I heard of your march hither, I strengthened myself as much as possible with Knights from the other side of the Rhine and elsewhere, agreeing with them that every thing they might take should be their own property. It is not possible for me therefore to deprive them of what I have given." Charles was not so situated that he could threaten to break off the Treaty, and "perceiving that he could not obtain any thing more, he bore it as well as he could," finding a whimsical consolation for the loss to be endured by his own subjects by considering the benefit which it afforded to foreigners, "and comforting himself on the greatness of his power which could enrich so many poor persons*."

On the disbandment of the army and the King's return to his Capital, popular discontent commented strongly on this most inglorious expedition. The surviving Counsellors of the late King, who had been deprived of their power by the ascendancy of the Princes of the Blood, took pains that these murmurs should not escape the Royal notice; and Charles, who was now about to enter his one-and-twentieth year, resolved by a vigorous effort to emancipate himself from tutelage. In a Great Council summoned at Rheims, which his uncles attended without suspicion of its purpose, the King, having preconcerted his measures, opened the Session by a short request that his Nobles would tender their advice upon public affairs. The Cardinal of Laon, who had been tutored in his part, after a preamble in which he extolled the personal and intellectual qualities of the King, exhorted him to display them fully for the benefit of his subjects, by the assumption of that unrestricted power which was his heritage. He was followed by other Counsellors in a similar tone; and the Royal Dukes, penetrating the intrigue, and foreseeing that opposition would be useless, discreetly took in good part the King's acknowledgment of their past care, and forebore from any sign of indignation when he added that he would dispense with it for the future. The Council broke up in apparent harmony; but before the Court had quitted Rheims, the Cardinal of Laon exhibited unequivocal symptoms of poison. The traitor who had administered it was discovered; but the Cardinal, in the very agonies of death, solemnly declared that he forgave both the instrument and his employers, and urged, as his last request, that the enquiry might not be pursued. The facility with which this parting wish was fulfilled did not tend to diminish the

* Froissart, ix. c. 15.

suspicion that the perpetrators of the crime were too lofty for punishment. As soon as the Cardinal had closed his eyes, the Royal party dispersed; the King proceeding to Paris, the Duke of Berri to his Government in Languedoc, and the Duke of Burgundy to Dijon.

A Truce for eight and thirty months, embracing England and all her allies, was the first fruit of the wisdom of the new Government, and hopes were strongly excited for a while that such A. D. 1389. an interval of Peace, together with careful domestic economy, June 18. might remove the inordinate pressure of financial burdens. •

But luxurious habits and a passion for expensive parade soon evinced themselves in the Court, and sums equal to those hitherto lavished upon unsuccessful War were now diverted to the barren pageantry of Fêtes and Spectacles. Invention was racked to furnish occasions for the display of idle and costly magnificence, and the Knighthood of the Boy-Princes of Anjou, a Funeral Service in commemoration of Du Guesclin, who had died in the preceding reign, the public Entry of the Queen to her Capital*, the Nuptials of the King's brother, the Duke of Touraine, with Valentina, daughter of Giovanni Galeazzo Visconte of Milan, and a Progress which Charles made through the Southern Provinces, followed each other in rapid succession, each of them demanding the imposition of fresh burdens which might defray its requisite expenditure.

The Duke of Touraine wished to undertake the conduct of an expedition for the conquest of Tunis from the Corsairs of Barbary, in which the hot-blooded youth of France engaged at A. D. 1390. the prompting of Adorno, Doge of Genoa. He was not easily persuaded to relinquish the perilous honour to the Duke of Bourbon; that one of the Royal uncles whose chief merit appears to consist in not having attained equal notoriety with the others†. At fifty-four years of age, Bourbon embarked with a brilliant train June —. of followers to struggle more with the unhealthy climate than with the warriors of Africa; and after losing some Captains in the field, and many more by disease, he returned from an inconclusive enterprise, not to diminish but to increase the ardent wish which Charles had expressed for warfare against the Infidels‡. The Clementists, however, persuaded him, that if he meant to win Tunis, he must begin with Rome; and that the termination of the Schism, by the overthrow of the Antipope, was a requisite preliminary to a Crusade. Charles listened with avidity to this suggestion, and summoned his chief vassals to provide

* Froissart, ix. c. 35, says positively "who had never as yet visited that City." This statement is not admitted by M. de Siamondi, who, after mentioning that Isabella had been married four years before, adds *et dès-lors elle avoit vécu le plus souvent dans la Capitale.* xi. 598.

† The Duke of Bourbon was maternal uncle to the King

‡ The expedition against Tunis is related by Froissart, x. c. 12.

their contingents in the ensuing Spring, in order that he might personally lead them into Italy*.

But the excitement of Charles endured only for a short season, and when he had either forgotten or had abandoned his project †, A. D. 1391. Italy was destined to receive other French combatants.

Louis II. of Anjou had now attained a sufficient age to adopt his late father's claims, and to dispute the Crown of Naples; and having received investiture from Clement, he embarked to renew the pretensions of his House in opposition to those of the Family of Durazzo. Another band of French adventurers, chiefly composed of the remnant of the Free Companies, who still ravaged the South, crossed the Alps under the Count d'Armagnac, at the instigation of the Dukes of Burgundy and of Berri, who supplied funds for the purpose ‡. The object was twofold; both to clear their own *apanages* from the outrage of brigands, and yet more to weaken the power of the Duke of Touraine. That young Prince and De Clisson were the heads of the Party (the *Marmousets*) to whom the Royal Dukes attributed their own exclusion; and whose influence, backed by the representations which the King had received from the inhabitants of Languedoc during his late progress through that Country, had occasioned the Duke of Berri's dismissal from his Government. Charles had marked his joy at the

May 26. birth of a son to his brother by creating him Duke of Orleans; and it was against the territory of Visconte, father-in-law to this now most powerful Prince, that Armagnac was preparing to act in conjunction with the Florentines §. The superior military skill of Giacopo del Verme obtained a complete victory

July 25. over the French, who rashly hazarded a separate attack upon Alessandria; Armagnac died from an apoplectic seizure on the evening of the day on which he had been taken prisoner; and those of his followers who escaped from the Battle and attempted to retreat upon France were for the most part waylaid and massacred by the Peasants of Lombardy in retaliation for former cruelties ||.

In Brittany, notwithstanding the late adjustment, hostilities were renewed between the Duke and De Clisson; but the Royal uncles still retained sufficient influence to divert the King's anger from the former, and to prevail upon him to undertake mediation. For that purpose he

* Froissart, x. c. 23.

† The Duke of Brittany, upon receiving a summons from Charles, had sagaciously foretold that the project would "end in words." Id. *ibid*.

‡ The Duke of Burgundy on this occasion acquired the County of Charolois, which he purchased from Armagnac for 60,000 francs.

§ The eldest son of Bernabo Visconte (the uncle whom Giovanni Galeazzo had deprived both of his crown and life) was married to a daughter of the Count d'Armagnac, whose hostility was accordingly excited by the murder and usurpation.

|| Froissart, x. c. 24.

repaired to Tours, and De Montfort, having been persuaded, after much reluctance, to trust himself to the faith of his enemies, assented to a Treaty, which, if it had been observed, appeared A. D. 1392. to promise future Peace. A daughter, born to Charles VI. Jan. 26. in the preceding year, was betrothed to the Duke's eldest son*; certain rights of *Seigneurie* were submitted to enquiry; the Count of Penthievre engaged to strike the arms of Bretany out of his Escutcheon†, and to pay homage to De Montfort. The Duke, in return, promised sincere reconciliation both with the Constable and with his son-in-law; and such portions of the Treaty as could receive immediate accomplishment were executed on the spot‡.

In the month after the Pacification of Tours, the King proceeded to Amiens, to hold a Conference with Envoys from England. The discussions were stormy, and terminated in no further arrangement than the prolongation of the existing Truce during the twelve following months. The English somewhat unreasonably insisted that the Treaty of Bretigny, the restoration of all conquests made by Edward III., and the payment of the arrears of John's ransom, should form the basis of negociation. The French anxiously pressed that Calais should be dismantled, so as to be no longer habitable, and John of Gaunt replied, that he durst not return home if he assented to any such proposition, for that the Commons of England loved Calais better than any town in the World. The Ambassadors were entertained during thirteen days with great magnificence, wholly at the expense of France; and many Ordinances were issued enjoining minute particulars from which it was thought that the strangers might derive honour. The barbarism of native manners may be estimated from one of these Proclamations, which "commanded, under heavy penalties, that no Innkeepers or others steal or put aside through avarice any of the bows or arrows of the English; but if, out of courtesy, the English thought proper to give any to them, they might accept such presents§." A People whom it was necessary to restrain from downright thieving by such a prohibition could be little advanced either in morality or in civilization, (whatever might be the splendour of the Court,) beyond the present inhabitants of the Islands in the Pacific when their cupidity is first excited, above the power of resistance, by the temptation of an iron hoop.

The earliest notice transmitted to us of a terrible malady which afflicted Charles during the remainder of his melancholy reign occurs

* Isabelle, afterwards married to Richard II. of England, was first betrothed to the son of De Montfort; but upon conclusion of the more advantageous match in 1395, the Breton Prince was obliged to content himself with a younger sister, Jane.

† The Duke of Bretany had complained grievously that the Count of Penthievre signed himself Jean de Bretagne, as if he were heir to the Duchy. The Count had greatly weakened his Provincial influence by selling his heritage of Blois to the Duke of Touraine.

‡ Froissart, x. c. 30, 32.

§ Id. x. 34.

at the close of these Conferences; but the account which Froissart gives of the attack is concise and unsatisfactory. "The King," he says, "unfortunately, and through his own imprudence, was seized with a burning fever*, for which he was advised to change the air. He was put into a litter, and carried to Beauvais, where he remained in the Bishop's Palace until cured. His brother the Duke of Touraine, and his uncles of Berri and of Bourbon, attended him constantly, and there kept their Easter."

This language is guarded; and were it not for the subsequent notorious derangement of the King, he might be supposed in this instance to have suffered only under a temporary access of fever. Without too subtle enquiry into the proximate causes of his failure in intellect, or without considering it as the necessary result of uncontrolled despotism, it may, we think, be naturally assigned to some constitutional predisposition, increased by the physical weakness arising from excess. Charles, from a precocious age, indulged in varied licentiousness; he was left without salutary guardianship to check or even to guide his passions; he was permitted to remain uneducated; and amusement became his sole occupation. What soil, it may be asked, was ever more fitted to receive and to foster the seeds of mental disease?

Froissart speaks of the King as "perfectly recovered†" before he again fixed his residence in Paris. The recovery, however, was but partial; and, unhappily, a sufficient cause of excitement soon renewed the malady. Pierre de Craon, a near kinsman of De Montfort, and Lord of extensive possessions both in Brittany and in Anjou, had been much engaged in the service of the Royal Dukes, and always with some tarnish on his reputation. Current report attributed the poverty under which the Duke of Anjou had been overwhelmed in Italy to the embezzlement of large sums with which Craon had been intrusted by the Duchess for the relief of her husband, and which, instead of being delivered to their rightful owner, were spent in debaucheries at Venice‡. This treacherous agent, nevertheless, afterwards ingratiated himself into the confidence of the King and of the Duke of Orleans; and his base pandering and his (if possible) yet more base infidelity to the latter are too minutely related to admit of doubt§. On the discovery of his double-dealing, he was banished from Court hastily and without explanation; and although the key to his disgrace might readily have been furnished by his own conscience, he allowed the Duke of Brittany to persuade him that his fall was owing to the secret influence of De Clisson. De

* Froissart, t. x. 36. The original words are *escheuz par incidence et par lui mal garder en fièvre et en chaude maladie.*

† Ibid.

‡ After the reconciliation between Clisson and the Duke of Brittany in 1395, Craon received pardon for his attempt upon the former, in order that he might appear in Paris to answer the plea of the Duchess of Anjou (Queen of Sicily). The Parliament condemned him to pay 100,000 francs and to be imprisoned in the Louvre till the debt should be discharged. Id. xi. c. 32.

§ Id. x. 25.

Montfort, indeed, always continued to regard his lenity towards the Constable as an egregious political blunder. More than once he expressed to Craon his deep regret that he had not put his enemy to death while he was his prisoner at the Castle of Ermines; and he declared that he would willingly give 100,000 francs, in order to get him once more into his possession.

Craon, brooding over his own fancied wrongs, and keenly excited by these conversations with De Montfort, plotted a deep revenge. He still retained a large mansion in Paris*, in which he secretly collected stores for the maintenance of forty men, bold and resolute Angevins, whom he despatched from time to time to the care of his Steward. A few of these Bravoes were acquainted with the service upon which they were to be employed, the rest were ordered to remain concealed, and were informed that one day they should receive high wages. After having arranged these preliminaries, Craon betook himself privately to the Capital†, and there ascertaining that Clisson was to return June 13. on a particular night from a Court entertainment at a late hour and slenderly attended, he beset him with his whole troop of ruffians, mounted and well armed, at the corner of the Rue de Ste. Catherine. The first act of the assassins was to strike out the torches borne by the Constable's four valets; and Clisson, thinking that this was only a *mauvaise plaisanterie* in which the Duke of Orleans was indulging, calmly remonstrated upon the unseasonable jest. "My Lord," he said, "by my faith this is very ill done; but I excuse it, for you are so young that you make a joke of every thing." He was quickly, however, undeceived, when Craon, riding furiously up, announced his name and bloody purpose. Clisson was soon struck from his horse, but falling against the hatch of a baker's door which happened to be unfastened, he rolled within the shop, so that (on account of the lowness and narrowness of the entrance) the murderers were unable to follow him. Fully believing, however, that their victim must die from the wounds which he had already received, they rode at full speed through the open gates‡ of the City, and, before alarm was given, had secured their retreat.

The King received intelligence of this murderous attempt at the moment at which he was preparing for repose, but hastily throwing on a cloak, he repaired to the baker's shop. The report of the surgeons

* In the street *Les Mauvais Garçons*, which obtained its evil name from this transaction. The house was razed by the King's order, and its site was given as a Burial Ground to the Church of St. Jean. *Sauval, Antiquités de Paris.*

† His first step on arriving in Paris is naïvely told by Froissart. Having ordered his Porter to keep the doors closely fastened, he locked all the women and children in the house into their rooms. "He was in the right to do this; had these women and children gone into the street, his arrival would have been known, for young children and women naturally tell all they see, and what is intended to be concealed." x. c. 37.

‡ It was remarked that the gates had been removed at the suggestion of Clisson himself, when the King punished the insurgent City after the Battle of Rosebecque.

was favourable, and they promised that in a fortnight their patient should be well enough to sit again on horseback. "God be praised!" replied Charles, "no crime shall be more rigorously punished than that of these traitors; they shall pay for it as if it had been done to myself*." He ordered the immediate pursuit of Craon, confiscated all his property, and razed his Hotel to the ground. But the great Criminal had gained too many hours in advance to be overtaken, and hastening to De Montfort at Fusinat, he recounted his story, and claimed protection. "Bungler, who cannot kill a man when he is in your power†!" were the words in which the boon was granted; and Craon persisted that all Hell must be leagued in defence of their common enemy, for that at least three-score stabs and cuts were made at his body.

The Duke of Brittany, when summoned to deliver up the assassin, pretended ignorance of his abode; and Charles, determined upon vengeance, gathered his troops to punish this contumacy. His uncles were ordered to prepare their contingents for this service; and much as they disapproved the expedition, they were compelled to obey. It is not possible to acquit the Duke of Berri of at least a negligent apathy in regard to the attempted murder. On the morning before it was perpetrated, he had been informed by Craon's own Secretary that his master was secreted in Paris, and that he meditated some ill against the Constable; yet, when the Duke was pressed to convey this intelligence without loss of time to the King, he excused himself by pleading that the King's attention was then engrossed by preparations for the night's festivity. So far as vehement suspicion of Craon's design, amounting almost to privity, renders either of them a sharer in his guilt, the Duke of Berri is involved in that guilt jointly with De Montfort.

On one of the hottest days in August, the King took the route from Mans to Angers, at the head of his troops. For some time back, his personal attendants had remarked that his words and gestures were "unbecoming of majesty‡," but no one appears to have demurred in rendering the ordinary submission to his authority. His dress was ill adapted to the season, but we know not whether it is to be attributed to the caprice of fashion or of the individual, that he wore a red hat and a tight vest of black velvet. It is equally doubtful whether an occurrence which happened early in his march was accidental, or, as seems to have been suspected, preconcerted by his uncles, who hoped to terrify him into an abandonment of his enterprise; but, as he passed through a forest, a seeming madman, fantastically dressed, jumping from behind a tree, warned him not to advance farther, for that he was betrayed. The knave or the idiot

* Froissart, x. c. 38.

† Id. ibid. "*Vous êtes un chetif, quand vous n'avez eu occire un homme duquel vous geliez au dessus.*"

‡ Rel. de St. Denys, l. xii. c. 3. p. 219. *Juvenal des Ursins*, 91.

escaped either by his agility or by connivance, and his words appeared deeply to impress the King's imagination. He rode on in gloomy silence till he had emerged from the wood, when, in order to escape each other's dust in crossing a wide champaign, the attendant Nobles split into detached parties. One of two Pages who immediately followed the King accidentally let the point of his lance fall against the helmet of his comrade; and Charles, as if awakened from a reverie by the sudden clash, and connecting it with the warning which he had just received, clapped spurs to his horse, galloped upon the attendants nearest him with his sword drawn, and loudly shouted "Forward, Forward! on these traitors." Not till four lives had been sacrificed to his fury*, and he was in full pursuit of his brother of Orleans, did the truth flash across the Duke of Burgundy. "Haro! what a calamity," he exclaimed, "Monseigneur has lost his reason!" After having been permitted to exhaust both himself and his horse, the King was secured, and conveyed back to Mans in a state bordering upon insensibility.

CHAPTER XII.

From A. D. 1392, to A. D. 1412.

The Duke of Burgundy seizes the Government—Accident at the Masquerade—Reconciliation of Clisson and De Montfort—Marriage of Richard II. of England with Isabelle of France—The King's Physicians—Battle of Nicopolis—Genoa places itself under the protection of France—Deposition of Richard II. and Accession of Henry IV. in England—Death of Philip of Burgundy—Rivalry between Louis Duke of Orleans and Jean *Sans Peur* of Burgundy—Assassination of the Duke of Orleans—The Duke of Burgundy occupies Paris—The Council resume their ascendancy in his absence—Battle of Hasbain—Peace of Chartres—Expulsion of the French from Genoa—Burgundy again in power—Fall of Jean de Montaigu—Treaty of Gien—of the Bicêtre—Renewal of Civil War—St. Pôl embodies the Butchers of Paris—Burgundy marches on Paris—Retreat of the Flemings—Negotiation with England—Armagnac enters Paris—Retreat of the Duke of Orleans—Peace of Bourges.

WITH the forms under which the usurpation of power was veiled when the King's disorder manifested chronic symptoms, we are not acquainted; but it may be readily perceived that many A. D. 1392. reasons conspired to vest the chief authority in the hands of

* Froissart does not mention any loss of life. Monstrelet, who wrote the first Chapter of his Chronicle from hearsay, reports two killed and two wounded. The number adopted in the text rests on the authority of the *Religieuses de St. Denys* and of Juvenal des Ursins, to neither of which do we by any means attach implicit credit. Among the moderns, Villaret is most anxious to remove all suspicion of homicide from the King, and he contends that the agility with which the attendants threw themselves on the ground when struck at "prevented the monarch from staining his sacred hands with the blood of his subjects." vi. 290.

the Duke of Burgundy. Of all the members of the Royal House, he was, perhaps, however the last who had a *rightful* claim to superiority. The Duke of Orleans, the King's brother, was nearer in blood, yet he was pronounced too young for the support of State burdens, although he had completed his one and twentieth year, and the Majority of a King was fixed at thirteen. The Duke of Bourbon had been named Regent by the Will of the late King, but his temper was unambitious, and he was little inclined to involve himself in a dispute for power. Avarice and sensuality, a narrow capacity and a dislike of business rendered the Duke of Berri, who might have asserted primogeniture, as unwilling as he was unfit for administration; and the Queen Isabelle, to whom the custody of her husband's person would be naturally consigned, was too indolent and too careless to resist the order which, upon the plea of regard for the succession, placed her during her pregnancy under the care of the Duchess of Burgundy*. Philip therefore, although not expressly declared Regent, was virtually recognized as Head of the Provisional Government.

The fall of the *Marmousets*, the "bad advisers" by whom it was affirmed that the King "was poisoned and bewitched," was, as may be expected, the first produce of this change. The Duke of Burgundy chased Clisson from the Palace, with opprobrious reproaches for his great wealth; and with a threat that if it were not inconsistent with his honour, he would deprive him of his remaining eye. The Parliament lent itself to the Duke's vengeance; and when the Constable had withdrawn to his estates in Brittany, it pronounced an Edict declaring him guilty of extortion, degrading him from his office, sentencing him to banishment as a false and wicked traitor, and imposing on him a fine of 100,000 marks of silver†. His sword, refused by the Lord de Coucy, was given to Philip of Artois, Count of Eu, who in consequence became of sufficient dignity to obtain the hand of a daughter of the Duke of Berri‡.

Even when a return of consciousness in the unhappy Charles afforded some hope to his ancient servants that he might restore them to power, the Duke of Burgundy had sufficient address to persuade him that abstinence from all serious occupation was essential if he wished to avoid a relapse. The Hôtel de St. Pôl, in which he resided, became therefore more than ever devoted to pleasure; and no sounds were heard within its walls but those of music and revelry. At

Jan. 29. a Fête given in honour of the re-marriage of a Widow (one of the Queen's attendants), the unbecoming license which the gross taste of the times permitted on these occasions was largely

* Froissart, xi. c. 4—7.

† Id., *ibid.* c. 10.

‡ Id., *ibid.* c. 15. He married Mary, Widow of Louis of Blois.

indulged ; and the King himself formed one of a groupe of six Satyrs, or " Salvage men," who entered the Ball-room in a not very decorous masquerade*. They were disguised in linen vests closely sewn round the body from head to foot, on which tow had been artfully fastened by pitch in order to represent hair. These mummers were linked together by a chain ; but the King, fortunately for himself, soon quitted his companions, and was conversing with the Duchess of Berri † (one of the youngest and most beautiful women of his Court) at the moment when the Duke of Orleans entered the Gallery. The young Prince, in a silly frolic, " in order to frighten the Ladies ‡," set fire to one of the masqueraders' dresses, although care had been taken beforehand to prevent the torch-bearers from approaching too closely. The miserable revellers, unable to separate themselves from their chain, were immediately in a blaze ; two were burned to death upon the spot ; two died soon afterwards in consequence of the injury which they had received ; and one only, by at last breaking loose, and throwing himself into a water-butt which he happened to observe in an ante-chamber, escaped with life. The King, on the first alarm, named himself to the Duchess of Berri, who wrapping the train of her robe round his dress, preserved him from danger till he could be removed ; but the terror consequent upon the shock which he had received greatly tended to renew and to confirm his mental alienation.

There was not indeed any season at which Charles felt equal to attempt a struggle for the re-establishment of his ejected ministers. He expressed surprise at their absence, and he insisted upon their relief from legal penalties ; but Clisson was the only one whom he endeavoured to recall. The Ex-Constable, however, was far too wise to compromise his safety by accepting the summons of a King manifestly powerless to afford him defence, and he evaded the Royal messengers by perpetually shifting his abode. Brittany meanwhile presented a frightful scene of bloodshed wherever his partizans encountered those of De Montfort § ; till the latter, in his 65th year and in declining health, feeling a natural wish to leave his infant children unembarrassed by War, at length pro-

* The Masquers, according to Froissart, whose account is very particular, and who, in such a matter, is likely to be correct, besides the King, were the Count de Jouy (Joigny), Sir Charles of Poitiers (son of the Count de Valentinois), Sir Evan de Foix (a favourite Bastard of Gaston), Jean de Nantouillet, who alone was saved, and a sixth whose name is supplied by Villaret, Sir Hugues de Guissai.

† Jane Countess of Boulogne. The Duke, at the time of his marriage in 1387, was fifty years of age, the bride but twelve. A *bon mot* of Charles VI. on this disproportionate union is preserved by Villaret (vi. 231), but we forbear from transcribing it. The Duke had been previously jilted by one of John of Gaunt's daughters.

‡ This is clearly admitted by Sérisy, in his Reply to Jean Petit. Monstrelet, i. c. 44, p. 308.

§ Froissart, xi. c. 15, 16.

posed to his antagonist a personal interview. Notwithstanding the warnings given by previous treachery, Clisson generously
 A. D. 1395. embraced the invitation. Their conference was long and
 Oct. 19. secret, but it terminated amicably, and a Treaty ratified at Aucfer near Rédon, to which the Count of Penthièvre also became a party, brought their protracted differences to a close*.

Before this pacification was concluded in Brittany, the Truce with England had been prolonged, at first for twelve months,
 A. D. 1394. afterwards for four years. The death of Anne of Bohemia †, May 27. the first Queen of Richard II., soon enabled him to convert this abstinence from War into a relation of closer amity; and eager to cement an alliance by which he hoped to obtain the means of repressing the unruliness of his People and to fix himself in despotism, he solicited the hand of Charles's eldest daughter. The suitor had attained his thirtieth year, the child Isabelle, already betrothed to the Count de Montfort, was only in her seventh; nevertheless so determined was Richard upon the marriage, that his Ambassadors were instructed gradually to reduce their original demand for portion from two million francs to eight hundred thousand; which sum Richard would be content to accept, provided the King of France and his uncles would at the same time engage to aid and sustain him with all their power against any of his subjects whatsoever ‡.

The Ambassadors, with a train of 600 horse, were magnificently entertained at Paris, during a residence of three months; in which period, although they succeeded in their mission, either so ill was diplomacy understood, or so obstinately were mere words contested, that, notwithstanding the family link by which the Monarchies were to be united, the Truce was not converted into a Peace. The distinction indeed appears to have been merely nominal; for History records few instances in which a Peace between two Countries so frequently exposed to collision as were England and France, has attained the term of eight and twenty years, which was that named for the prolongation of the Truce.

The marriage was celebrated with great pomp, during a personal interview of the two Kings, on their respective frontiers,
 A. D. 1396. between Ardres and Calais. "It was pleasant to see," as
 Oct. 27. Froissart tells us, "that the Princess Isabelle, young as she was, knew how to act the Queen §." On the Vigil of St. Simon and St. Jude, Charles and Richard left their quarters at the same moment, and advanced between 400 French and an equal number of English Knights, brilliantly armed, with swords in their hands, who,

* Froissart, xi. c. 28.

† Anne of Bohemia, daughter of the Emperor Charles IV. and sister of Wenceslaus, died June 7, 1394.

‡ Rymer, vii. p. 811.

§ Froissart, xi. c. 33.

when the Kings were on the point of meeting, fell on their knees and wept for joy. Both Princes were bareheaded, and after they had saluted, and taken each other by the hand, Charles led his son-in-law to a richly adorned tent. Each of them was there served with wine and spices by the Royal Dukes his uncles; and having freely conversed awhile, they separated with tokens of mutual good will. On the morrow, Richard was banqueted by the King of France, and was greatly amused by the "drollery" of the Duke of Bourbon. The general coarseness of the jests permitted on similar occasions diminishes our regret that Froissart has not dilated on this portion of his subject; and that the only words of the Duke of Bourbon which he has recorded are not distinguished by any especial pungency*. When the dinner, which lasted not long, was over, the Bride was delivered to her future husband, who immediately took his leave. Twelve litters conveyed the Queen and her Ladies to Calais†, where the nuptials were solemnized by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the Church of St. Nicolas, on the following first of November. Some estimate may be formed of the sumptuousness of the entertainment from the narrative of Walsingham; besides 100,000 marks which Richard distributed in presents, more than 300,000 were required to defray his expenditure. On the homeward passage his tents and the greater part of his baggage were lost in a storm.

Charles, as we thus perceive, was still qualified at particular seasons to support the outward show of Royalty. There were more gloomy periods, however, during which it was necessary to preclude him altogether from public view. He appears to have been fortunate in the skill and the honesty of his Physicians; and both "Master William de Harseley" and Renaud Freron receive loud commendations for their modes of treatment, which, although widely different, were equally successful. The former pronounced as an aphorism that "the disorder of the King proceeded from the alarm in the forest, and from inheriting too much of his mother's weak nerves‡;" he prescribed change of air and amusement, and having restored his patient from the first severe attack, he wisely claimed his fee and retired § from Court. The latter appears to have advised a stricter discipline and more serious occupation than suited the tastes of the King; and although he procured for him an

* Froissart, xi. c. 40.

† Walsingham, p. 353, says, that all the dinners were given by Richard. Isabelle was intrusted to the care of the Duchesses of Lancaster and of Gloucester, the Countesses of Huntingdon and of Stafford.

‡ If this be the correct rendering of *il tenoit trop de la moisteur de sa mère*.

§ 1000 crowns of gold and an order for four horses whenever he should please to come to Court. Froissart, xi. c. 11. The Chronicler by no means disparages his skill, but he characterizes him as being the most niggardly man of his time. *Et fut en son temps le plus eschars entre autres que on sceust: et estoit toute sa plaisance tant qu'il vesquit que d'amasser grant foison de florins. Et en sa maison il ne despendoit tous les jours que deux solz parisis; mais alloit boire et manger à l'avantage où il pouoit. De telz verges sont batus tous Medecins.*

unusually long cessation from disease, he was in the end compelled to relinquish his charge ; and was considered to be greatly indebted to the magnanimity of those in power, because they allowed him to withdraw without confiscation of his painfully earned wealth*.

The disastrous enterprise in which the chief warriors of France leagued with those of Hungary belongs more strictly to German or to Oriental History than to that of France ; nevertheless the episode is too important to be passed over in silence. The conquests of Amurath I. had already established the Ottoman ascendancy among the Slavonians of the Danube ; and his son and successor, Bajazet, having assumed the title of Sultan, and meditating yet further triumphs, turned his arms against Sigismund King of Hungary, with the menace that, after having traversed Germany, he would penetrate to Rome. The Eternal City, according to this vaunt, was to become the seat of his Government ; the Emperor of Constantinople and the principal Barons of Greece were to attend him as vassals ; and the Altar of St. Peter was to be desecrated by conversion into a manger from which the horse of the barbarian conqueror was to eat his oats. The defence of the King of Hungary appeared to involve the general cause of Christendom ; Philip of Artois the Constable had already made one campaign in his service, and the noblest youth in France lent a willing ear to the urgent prayer which invited further succours. But it was by illustrious rank, not by force of numbers, that the Infidel Power was in this instance to be combated ; and when the Constable for a second time, Philippe de Vienne the Admiral of France, the Lord de Coucy, Jean de Meingre (or, as he is more commonly known, Boucicaut) afterwards created Maréchal, and many others of the loftiest station, undertook to serve under the command of John Count of Nêvers, eldest son of the Duke of Burgundy, they were most fastidious in their choice of followers. Few indeed were per-

mitted to accompany them who were not sufficiently wealthy
 A.D. 1396. to perform the distant journey "with credit to themselves,"
 March 2.— and at their own costs and charges. Never therefore did a more resplendent band issue from France than that which, composed of about 1000 Knights and as many Esquires †, repaired to Buda in the Spring of 1396. The resources of Burgundy were exhausted by the pride of its Duke, to provide a fitting outfit for his son ; and in plate, horses, armour, dresses and emblazonments which were to overwhelm their German allies with envy and astonishment, sums were lavished which might have been far more usefully expended in the equipment of a considerable army.

With the Enemy whom they were preparing to encounter the rash youths of whom this host was principally composed were wholly unac-

* *Rel. de St. Denys*, l. xv. c. 14, p. 324.

† Villaret, vi. 347, adds to these 10,000 men at arms ; but he does not give any authority, and he certainly is not countenanced by Froissart.

quainted; and as they advanced they made but light of the Turkish power. After the first victory over Bajazet (a contingency which seems never to have been doubted) Syria and the Holy Land were to be subdued, Jerusalem was to be delivered, and with the succours which they would *then* receive from the Kings of France and of England the conquest of the whole East was pronounced to be a task unaccompanied with difficulty. Sigismund received his allies with cordiality and joy; and having been strengthened beyond his hope, and perhaps being inoculated by their presumption, he resolved to anticipate the design of Bajazet. At the head of 60,000 horse, therefore, he crossed the Danube; and, after some previous successful operations, laid siege to Nicopolis, a strongly fortified Town on the banks of that river, which there separates Wallachia from Servia.

Bajazet, who was engaged at Cairo when he received intelligence of the invasion, collected his troops leisurely, and moved down upon Bulgaria. Many Saracen Kings accompanied him from Persia, Media, and Tartary, and from the Kingdom of Lecto (wherever that undiscovered region may be) in the North beyond the frontiers of Prussia. Froissart would persuade us that the Sultan had received advice beforehand from the Duke of Milan; and that he had permitted this inroad of Christians in order to enrich himself by their ransom*. But the hatred with which the French regarded Giovanni Galeazzo Visconte made them forward to accuse him of perfidy on evidence which is far from being conclusive; and unhappily the record of his undisputed crimes is far too fully blazoned to need the addition of any charge which may be considered ambiguous. So ably were the Sultan's movements conducted, that the Christians were ignorant not only of his numbers but even of his approach; he was close to Nicopolis before they knew that he had commenced his march; and the French Nobles were Sept. 28. engaged at dinner when a scout warned them to beware of surprise. The Knights hastily buckled on their armour, and took their station in the field, "although somewhat heated with wine." Banners and pennons were displayed, under which every one ranged himself in his proper place, and the Standard of the Virgin, we are told, was especially intrusted to the valiant Admiral.

Sigismund, far better acquainted than his allies with the system of Ottoman tactics, observed with some apprehension the forward position occupied by the French Barons; and he despatched a Knight who, halting before the Banner of our Lady, recommended caution until the actual numbers of the Turkish army could be ascertained. He suspected (and his suspicion was correct) that Bajazet had advanced only his van, with the hope that the Christians mistaking it for his whole force, would unadvisedly give battle. Enguerrand de Coucy, a veteran soldier,

* Froissart, xi. c. 34, 35.

approved this counsel; but an unhappy jealousy with which he was regarded by the Constable prevented its adoption. "The King of Hungary," said that impetuous Knight, "wishes to gain all the honour of the day;" and in spite of the remonstrances of de Vienne who united with de Coucy, he persisted in maintaining the ground already taken, till further discussion was useless. The Infidel van was repulsed or designedly gave way before the French; but the little band of pursuers, flushed with this early success, was soon hemmed in between the wings of Bajazet's main army. The conflict between 700 men and 120,000 was not of long continuance; and, in spite of feats of valour the most undaunted, all the Christians were slain or made prisoners. So great, adds Froissart, was their loss, that since the defeat at Roncesvalles, in which the Twelve Peers fell together, France had never endured an equally grievous blow.

The overthrow of the French involved that of the Hungarians also, who fled panic-stricken and in confusion from the field. Sigismund himself, perceiving the day to be irrecoverably lost, through the presumption of his confederates, galloped to the Danube, where, gaining a boat, he fortunately eluded the murderous purquit which overwhelmed the greater part of his army. "Happy was he who could escape from such danger by any means." The richness of their armour (for they were arrayed like Kings) preserved the lives of many French Knights on the field; and the Turks, believing them from their appearance to be greater Lords than they really were, accepted their surrender in the hope of inordinate ransom.

The Sultan on inspecting the field of battle was infuriated by his loss, for if we believe the Chronicler it exceeded that of the Christians thirty fold*. He vowed to avenge this slaughter upon his prisoners, and to reserve only a few of the noblest Lords from whom he might expect large payment of ransom†. Having ascertained these on the morrow, through the agency of Sir Jacques de Helly (who was recognized by the Turks as speaking their language, and as having once served under Amurath), he led out the remainder, upwards of three hundred gentlemen of different nations, one by one, and pitilessly cut them to pieces, in

* This is Froissart's calculation. Villaret, vi. 329, is far more moderate; he reduces the disproportion to *dix fois plus*. Another more justifiable reason for Bajazet's anger, although omitted by Froissart, is furnished by Juvenal des Ursins, and by the *Rel. de St. Denys*, l. xvi. c. 11, p. 352; namely, that the French themselves had previously massacred their Turkish prisoners.

† There is a great confusion regarding the number of prisoners who were set aside. Froissart, xi. c. 42, limits them to eight; the Count of Nèvers, the Constable, the Count de la Marche, the Lord de Coucy, Lord Henri de Bar, Sir Guy de Trémouille and two others. Mezeray, *Abrégé Chronologique*, iii. 151, says there was fifteen saved. M. de Sismondi, xii. 89, makes them amount to twenty-eight: his references, besides to Froissart, are to Juvenal des Ursins and the *Rel. de St. Denys*; but it does not appear to us that either of those writers distinctly mentions the number, and they certainly differ from each other. Froissart, c. 49, speaks of twenty-five who were carried to Bursa, and at that time the Constable and the Lord de Coucy were dead. Henri de Bar also died in the Levant (M. de Sismondi, xii. 96), and those three Knights make up the twenty-eight. |

the presence of their comrades in arms. The Admiral had perished in defence of his banner; the Count of Nêvers* and the Constable were among those selected for preservation; but, by some accident, Bouçicaud had been overlooked, and was included in the mass devoted to slaughter. When he appeared, stripped and prepared for death, the others were motionless with surprise; but Nêvers, generously throwing himself at the Sultan's feet, intimated by signs, as paying from one hand to the other, that a large ransom would be forthcoming for his friend, whose life he thus obtained. When the massacre was ended †, Bajazet released Sir Jacques de Helly on parole, to notify in France the great disasters of which he had been an eye-witness, and to solicit deliverance for the prisoners.

Rumours of the defeat at Nicopolis had been conveyed to France, before Helly's arrival, by some stragglers engaged in a foraging party on the morning of the Battle. The Parisians obstinately refused belief; the King was indignant at an announcement so contrary to his expectations and to his wishes; and the wretched fugitives, who in traversing the inhospitable districts of Wallachia and of Hungary had already suffered great misery, were arrested, thrown into the Châtelet, and threatened with drowning, as malicious circulators of false intelligence. It was impossible however to deny credence to the melancholy tale of Helly, who supported his narrative by the indisputable evidence of Bajazet's safe-conduct and of letters from the Count of Nêvers. There was scarcely a family of name in France which did not mourn some one of its members among the prisoners or the slain; and the loss of a husband, a brother, a father, or a child was confirmed, by almost every answer which Helly returned to enquiry. He was commissioned to bear back to the Sultan such presents as he thought most adapted to the Barbarian's taste; and he selected Flemish tapestry representing the conquests of Alexander, fine linen from Rheims, scarlet cloths, and some casts of high-bred Gerfalcons. When he presented himself at Bursa he was highly complimented by Bajazet for fidelity, and was declared free, as his reward. He found the prisoners for the most part in good health ‡; and the complaints made to him sufficiently evince that their treatment had not by any means been severe. The catalogue of grievances enumerated lack of wine; the absence of their own Cooks, in consequence of which they were fed on coarse meat badly and not thoroughly dressed; and it was added, that although they had plenty of spices they were reduced to eat millet bread, "which is dis-

* Juvenal des Ursins says, that a Negromancer foretold to Bajazet of the Count of Nêvers that, if he were allowed to survive, he would *faire mourir plus de Chrétiens que le Barsac ny tous ceux de leur loy ne scauroient faire*, Pontus Hentzeus, *Rer. Burgund.*, lib. iii. p. 72, cited by Bayle, i. 627, ad v. *Bourgogne*.

† There is a great variation between Juvenal des Ursins and the *Rel. de St. Denys* as to the number of prisoners massacred. The former says 300, the latter 3000.

‡ The Constable and De Coucy, however, were dead.

agreeable to a French palate*." Bajazet had visited them more than once, had conversed with them graciously, and had expressed anxiety that they should be furnished with amusements. The sum A.D. 1397. which he demanded for ransom was adjusted at 200,000 ducats, out of which he deducted 20,000 as a present to two of the negotiators; and after the remainder had been guaranteed by a wealthy merchant of Scio, the Count of Nêvers, and his companions were permitted to depart. Some demonstrations were previously exhibited to them of the splendour of the Sultan's establishments and the summariness of his authority: On one occasion a hawk displeased him in its flight at an eagle, and he was on the point of beheading nearly a third of his 7000 falconers, "scolding them exceedingly for their want of diligence." At another time he ripped up one of his attendants accused of having drunk some goat's milk belonging to a poor woman, in order to obtain conclusive evidence of the charge, being utterly careless of his inability to offer reparation if the culprit had proved innocent, and of the manifest disproportion of the punishment to the offence even if he were guilty. His parting words to the Count of Nêvers were marked with boldness and dignity. "I know you," he said, "to be a great Prince in your own Country, to be young also and high spirited. If you are taunted with want of success in this your first enterprise in arms, you may be anxious to redeem your honour. If I feared you, I might exact an oath that you would never again enter this Country in warlike guise. But come when you will, you will always find me prepared and ready to meet you in battle†."

The health of the King, meantime, was subject to much fluctuation; and, during his periods of insanity, recourse was often had to modes of healing unsanctioned by regular Art. Not only was he led on successive pilgrimages to all the shrines most venerated in his dominions, whenever his bodily strength permitted the fatigue of travelling; but when the mediation of the Saints proved unavailing, that of darker Powers was invoked; and we hear of two Augustin Hermits summoned from Languedoc, who undertook to work his cure by spells and magic‡. In order to depress their great political antagonist, the Royal uncles had encouraged a popular belief that Charles was under the influence of witchcraft, and that Valentina, Duchess of Orleans, had enchanted him by some diabolical charm or by some pernicious herb. In his first access of insanity, while resisting all other authority, he had listened obediently to every suggestion made by Valentina, whom he recognised with affection; and the reputed skill of the Italians in secret poisoning and in Judicial Astrology tended to increase this senseless clamour against her. It was

* Froissart, xi. c. 44.

† Id. xii. c. 1.

‡ On a relapse under which the King suffered in 1398, they were beheaded and quartered in Paris.

at length asserted that the King neither would nor could recover his health while the Sorceress remained in his neighbourhood; and the Duke of Orleans, deeply grieved at the false and foolish accusation, was compelled to assent to her removal from Court.

With a similar view of depressing the Duke of Orleans, the Duke of Burgundy accepted an offer by which the Republic of Genoa threw itself on the protection of France. The Sovereignty of Milan had been conferred on Giovanni Galeazzo*Visconte, the father of Valentina, by a Patent from Wenceslaus*; and the new Lombard Prince anxiously watched and covertly fomented the Civil dissensions by which Genoa had been long distracted, in the hope of one day subjecting that opulent but factious and most unstable Republic to his own Government. The Doge, Adorno, thought to counter-
A. D. 1396.
Oct. 25.
balance these intrigues by resorting to France, and a Treaty was signed by which he surrendered his authority to a Vicar Royal to be appointed by Charles, who engaged to respect all the ancient privileges of his Transalpine subjects. At the same time Charles openly declared his intention of invading Milan, and received a promise of support from England.

This enterprise was interrupted by the defeat at Nicopolis, which demanded for the redemption of the prisoners all the treasure which the Duke of Burgundy might otherwise have been inclined to expend on an Italian War. The King's lunacy, which in-
A. D. 1399.
creased in virulence and occurred with scantier intervals of health, gives a character of monotonous gloom to the internal History of France at this period, which is relieved by few events of material interest; and we may pass rapidly over many petty struggles for superiority between the Dukes of Orleans and of Burgundy, which occupied the attention and filled the pages of contemporary Writers. The domestic calamities inflicted upon France by the avarice or the profusion, the carelessness or the imbecility of her Rulers, by famine, by inundations, and by pestilence, afford a frightful aggregate of moral and of natural evil. Yet her People, as if benumbed by misery and palsied by suffering, remained motionless amid the numerous political convulsions which agitated other parts of Europe.

We shall have occasion hereafter to touch upon the continuance of the disgraceful Schism which still distracted the Pontificate, and upon the measures to which the French in consequence resorted. In Germany, the sottishness of the reigning Emperor, and the necessity of providing some barrier against the formidable advance of the Ottomans and of Timur-beg (at that time supposed to be in union with the Sultan whom he afterwards overthrew), had aroused
A. D. 1400.
Aug. 20.
the Diets to the bold step of deposing Wenceslaus. Frederic of Brunswick, whom they named as his successor, was

* May 1, 1395.

snatched by assassination from his scarcely-tasted dignity after only two days enjoyment of it; but Rupert, the Elector Palatine, obtained more permanent establishment; and, in spite of the reclamations of Wenceslaus, in whose behalf the Duke of Orleans took arms, the influence of the House of Bavaria prevailed, and the Government of France declared in favour of the new King of the Romans.

England also had witnessed a deposition. Richard II., taking advantage of the feud between the Dukes of Hereford and of
A. D. 1398. Norfolk, had banished both those powerful Nobles, and the
Jan — former was received at Paris with distinguished consideration.

The King assigned him 500 crowns of gold as a
Oct. — weekly pension*; the Dukes of Burgundy and of Berri welcomed him with pompous entertainments; and the Duke of Orleans associated him in his pleasures, and even signed a personal engagement, by which the contracting parties mutually pledged themselves against each other's enemies†. This union of opposite factions in behalf of the exiled Prince was perhaps occasioned by a false belief in his speedy restoration to the honours of which he had been deprived, and an impression (confirmed by the reduction of the term of his banishment from ten years to six) that the sentence was compulsory, and had been passed only to shield the sufferer from the dangers of a mortal combat. No sooner, however, had Richard undeceived the French Princes, than a marked change took place. The Duke of Burgundy ventured to stigmatize his "cousin of Derby" as a traitor, in the presence of the Council, where he was checked by a dignified reproach and defiance; the Duke of Berri refused the hand of a daughter‡ to a suitor whom he had hitherto encouraged; and even Charles, who was as much attached to him as the weakness of his intellect permitted, represented that before he thought of marriage, it would be advisable to recover the possessions of Lancaster as a dower for his Bride§.

So variable, however, is political friendship, according as sunshine or cloud predominates, that before Henry of Lancaster embarked on that expedition which placed the Crown of England on his brows, the Duke of Burgundy had sufficient sagacity to foresee his rising
A. D. 1399. fortunes, and to procure a reconciliation. When he landed
July 4. at Ravenspur he was accompanied by Pierre de Craon, the bitterest enemy of the Duke of Orleans (the only one of the Royal Family by whom he had not been neglected), and that Prince in his turn, irritated no doubt by the accommodation which had been too easily made with his Rivals, became Henry's foe. Whatever may be thought of the unadvisedness of a Cartel which Louis of Orleans sent to the King of England, and however it might be really founded on private

* Froissart, xii. c. 12.

† Monstrelet, i. c. 9.

‡ Mary, a second time widowed, at twenty-three years of age, by the death of the Constable, Philip of Artois.

§ Froissart, xii. c. 15.

pique, there was some generosity in reserving his defiance of one whom
 he had befriended in adversity until a successful usurpation
 had raised him to a Throne. In order to preserve both A. D. 1402.
 Henry and himself from "idleness, the bane of Lords of Aug. 7.
 high birth," the Duke proposed a combat at some appointed
 place to which they should repair, accompanied on either side "by one
 hundred Knights and Esquires of name and arms, without
 reproach." Henry excused himself from this meeting on Dec. 5.
 reasons which he was well entitled to plead. First. On the
 existing Treaty between the two Kingdoms. Secondly. On the private
 alliance to which the Duke had sworn, an alliance which the King in
 consequence of the challenge threw aside and annulled. Thirdly. On
 the disproportion of their rank. To the taunt which insinuated that he
 was idle, the King of England replied, that, although perhaps he was
 less employed in arms than some of his predecessors, he had never been
 so idle as not to know how to defend his honour; and finally, that,
 although he declined the limit of 100 Knights and Esquires as unsuit-
 able to Kingly dignity, whenever he thought the time convenient, he
 would visit his own possessions beyond the Sea, with such number of
 men as he deemed fitting, and that the Duke might then have full oppor-
 tunity of gratifying his desire of personal combat. "Should you wish,"
 were the concluding words of this answer, which has always appeared
 to us a masterpiece, "that those of your party be without reproach, be
 more cautious in future of your letters, your promises, and your seal,
 than you hitherto have been." Both a retort from the Duke of Orleans,
 and a final rejoinder from Henry which conclude this remarkable corre-
 spondence, are couched in much less temperate language than the pre-
 ceding documents, and they evince a failure in power of composition
 proportionate to the increased irritability of the writers*.

It may here be mentioned that the little Isabelle, on the dethronement
 of her nominal husband, was transferred from Leeds Castle to Havering
 at Bower. The Lady de Coucy, who had hitherto superintended her
 establishment, was removed and hurried back to France, and a new
 household was formed "of ladies, damsels, officers, and varlets, who
 were strictly enjoined never to mention the name of Richard in their
 conversation." On the arrival of a special embassy from France to
 enquire into her situation, Henry entertained the envoys courteously and
 liberally, expressing a grateful remembrance of the kindness which he
 had received in their Country during his exile. They obtained per-
 mission to converse with the young Queen, under a promise (and they
 were threatened with peril of life if they should transgress it) that they
 would not speak to her "of what had lately passed in England, nor
 about Richard of Bordeaux;" and they were dismissed with an assur-
 ance that she should never suffer the smallest harm, but should keep up

* Monstrelet, i. c. 9.

a state and dignity becoming her birth and rank, "for young as she is, she ought not as yet to be made acquainted with the changes in the world." She was at length reconducted to France with fitting pomp, but without the payment of dower, which the necessities or the avarice of Henry prompted him to retain. The Duke of Orleans, in his second Letter, alludes to this "spoliation." He is referred by Henry, in his answer, to the Articles of marriage*; and he is further told that, in regard to jewels and money, Isabelle carried with her out of the Kingdom a far greater sum than she brought thither†. She remarried in 1408 with her cousin Charles d'Angoulême, afterwards Duke of Orleans, and died in childbirth‡.

The Duke of Burgundy profited by his reconciliation to advance a marriage between Henry IV. and the Duchess of Bretany\$, A. D. 1402. recently widowed by the death of Jean de Montfort. On April 3. the departure of that Princess to England, the guardianship of the minor Duke, her son, and the administration of his dominions, devolved on Philip as his nearest relative. But the final ascendancy over the Duke of Orleans was obtained in consequence of an attempt which that Prince made to raise a general impost, by means which, if even mildly characterised, must be deemed illegal. In the absence of his uncles, Louis affixed their signatures, jointly with his own, to an Edict with which they were wholly unacquainted. The Duke of Berri unhesitatingly pronounced the act to be a forgery; the Duke of Burgundy declared that he had refused 200,000 crowns offered to bribe him into compliance. The Burgesses of Paris extolled Philip as their deliverer from extortion; and Charles was persuaded June 24. to appoint him President of the Council of Finance and supreme head of the Government during his own periods of incapacity.

The prodigality, however, which Philip of Burgundy displayed in all his actions was ill calculated to render him a popular Governor during a season of National distress; and his triumph accordingly was brief. An odious inquisition into transfers of private property, which he established with the hope of increasing his revenue by fines upon informal contracts, produced a general outcry; and Charles, who in moments of sanity always mistook the bustle of petty change for weighty administration, was easily persuaded to divest his uncle of A. D. 1403. the power which he had recently bestowed. Orleans had April 26. also engaged a new ally in his behalf, and through the Queen||, who had hitherto declined all interference in State

* These Articles, which may be found in Rymer, plainly enjoin restitution.

† Froissart, xii., c. 24, 29. Monstrelet, i. c. 4. ‡ Id. ii. c. 11.

§ Jeanne de Navarre, daughter of Charles le Mauvais. Jean IV. de Montfort died November 1, 1399.

|| M. de Sismondi (xii. 218) clears Isabelle of Bavaria from much of the evil re-

affairs, he procured an Ordonnance, appointing a Council of Regency, whenever the King should be absent, or *otherwise occupied*, the veil under which Court-language delicately shrouded his infirmity. The Princes of the Blood and some of the great Officers of State were named perpetual Members of this Council, of which the Queen was President; and they had the power of adding to their number without limit and at pleasure. It is evident that, in a body so constituted, the ascendant faction must always command a majority of voices.

But the Duke of Burgundy approached that term which was to end all contentions for power. In the Spring of 1404 he undertook a short journey to the Netherlands, in order to establish his second son, Anthoine, in the Duchy of Brabant. Fêtes and spectacles marked his progress; and in his distribution of largesses to the brilliant train which swelled his pomp, he was unsparing and indiscriminating. An epidemic, heightened by the unhealthy climate, attacked him at Brussels. He was conveyed in a litter to his Castle at A. D. 1404. Halle in Brabant, where, after a few days' illness, he expired in the sixty-third year of his age. So profuse had been his extravagance, that it became necessary to raise money for his burial by pawning the Ducal plate; and his Relict, Margaret, Countess of Flanders, underwent a humiliating legal form, in order to escape the payment of her deceased husband's debts*.

While Jean Sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy (formerly Count of Nêvers), was occupied in the manifold cares of securing his inheritance, the Duke of Orleans, freed from the check of his late powerful Rival, seized undisputed power. Pillage seems to have been his chief object; and he not only increased the revenues of his own *apanage* by curtailments from the domain of the Crown, but he also obtained possession of a treasure, amounting to 1,700,000 francs, deposited in the Royal coffers†. His foreign policy was not less destructive to the interests of the Kingdom than were these acts of domestic brigandage; and if the convulsed state of England had permitted Henry IV. to adopt vigorous measures abroad, War must have inevitably resulted from the aggressions which the Duke of Orleans authorised. Even before the chief sway had passed into his single hands, the Truce had been violated by many acts of ferocious piratical hostility. Some Bretons, stimulated by Clisson, who, in old age, retained his former hatred of the English

pute by which modern writers have deformed her memory. He shows that contemporaries do not accuse her of illicit commerce with the Duke of Orleans, and that she is represented by them chiefly as an indolent, unambitious woman, much addicted to her National tastes for good cheer and the rigid preservation of Court ceremony.

* A similar renunciation of the deceased husband's movables was made by the Countess de St. Pôl, after the death of her husband Waleran in 1415. Monstrelet, iv. c. 22. The Ceremonial enjoined the widow to place her girdle, keys, and purse on the coffin, and to demand a registry of this act by a Public Notary.

† Monstrelet, i. c. 12.

name*, had attacked a Fleet equipped for the protection of the Channel, and, after an obstinate engagement, had taken forty vessels. A. D. 1403. Of the 2000 prisoners whom they captured, the greater July — number were savagely thrown overboard†. The conquerors then made a descent upon Plymouth, which they burned; but in a subsequent attempt upon the Isle of Wight, they were compelled to abandon their booty, and to retreat to their ships after considerable loss.

The Duke of Orleans, wishing to convert these buccaneering enterprises into a National War, negotiated with Castile for a Fleet which might assist in the reduction of Calais; signed an alliance A. D. 1404. with Owen Glendower‡, by whom an insurrection had been July — organized in Wales; and attacked and carried several English Castles in Limousin. Henry, although assailed by these numerous provocations, and by frequent petty insults and ravages on his own coast, contented himself with reprisals whenever opportunity allowed, and abstained from any open declaration of War; until, vehement as was the aversion with which the Duke of Orleans regarded England, his love of pleasure proved still stronger, and the sums which he had extorted under the pretext of military equipment were dissipated in luxurious frivolity.

With the single exception of the Duke of Burgundy, no member of the Council was at all likely to oppose the will of Orleans. Advancing years had increased the avarice of the Duke of Berri and the timidity of the Duke of Bourbon. Louis of Anjou, the titular King of Sicily, had shown little activity since the failure of his attempt in Italy. Charles the Noble, King of Navarre, was occupied with pleasures not to be enjoyed in his own semi-barbarous mountains; and with the care of enriching himself during his short residence in France. The rest were of inferior note and importance; and the sole advocate of the popular cause was Jean Sans Peur; not indeed from any more sincere love of Freedom than was entertained by his opponent, but because he found his main support among the People, who accepted him as his father's representative, and acknowledged him as their hereditary protector.

The sudden death of his mother, the Countess of Flanders, summoned Burgundy to the Netherlands soon after he had taken his A. D. 1405. seat in the Council; and in his absence the rapacity of the March 16. Queen and of the Duke of Orleans exceeded its former licence. The coinage was adulterated, fraudulent changes were made in the weights; the abuse of *prise* (the title under which provisions were taken up for the Royal household), although abolished by frequent Edicts, was revived to an extent previously unknown; and not only articles of consumption, but plate, linen, and furniture, were

* De Clisson died April 23, 1407.

† Walsingham, 369.

‡ Yvain Graindos, according to his amusing misnomer by Monstrelet.

seized without payment. In spite of these extortions, the Duke of Orleans was overwhelmed with debts; and when on one occasion, in a fit of superstitious terror, he had vowed to discharge these claims, and had invited his creditors to account, more than 800 persons presented themselves for settlement. The love of money predominated over the fear of judgment, and the thronging expectants were hastily dismissed with threats of personal violence if they should persist in their demands*.

Among the most active enemies of England was Waleran of Luxembourg, Count of Ligny and St. Pôl†. He had made known to Henry IV. by a Cartel his intention "to annoy him by every possible means;" and although the King of England "held his menaces cheap," St. Pôl had never omitted any opportunity of fulfilling them. In an attempt of partizan warfare, which he made from his Government of Picardy upon the Castle of Mercy, about a league from Calais, he was signally discomfited‡; but the inroad provoked retaliation; and as Flanders promised more spoil than the neighbouring Provinces, the English directed their revenge upon Sluys. The Duke of Burgundy, indignant at this outrage upon an unoffending Town in his own dominions, made preparations for an active campaign, and demanded from his kinsman in Paris succours of both men and money, which he undertook to devote to the reduction of Calais. Orleans, glad of an opportunity to mortify his Rival, peremptorily refused co-operation; and Burgundy, finding himself at the head of about 800 men-at-arms, and expecting further support from his brother-in-law, the Bishop Elect of Liege§, marched not upon Calais, but to Paris. The Queen and Aug. 14. the Duke of Orleans, apprised of this movement, and fearing the insurrectionary temper of the Capital, retired to Melun; but in their haste they had been unable to remove either the King, at that time suffering under his disorder, or Louis, Duke of Guyenne, the Dauphin (a title which now began to be very generally received), a child of only nine years of age. These important prizes were secured at once by Burgundy; who, with the Citizens in his favour, and the persons of the King and of the Heir-apparent at his disposal, supported moreover by the arrival of 6000 fighting men under John of Liege, presented a very formidable aspect.

The Duke of Orleans, for a time, declined all mediation, and stigmatised as treason the detention of the King's person. Both parties continued to strengthen themselves by gathering their adherents; and

* *Rel. de St. Denys*, l. xxv. c. 7, 518.

† The Count of St. Pôl was appointed Constable during the predominance of the Burgundians in 1411, and his death is briefly noticed by Monstrelet, iv. c. 22. "On the 9th of April (1415) died Waleran de St. Pôl, calling himself Constable of France."

‡ Monstrelet, i. c. 24.

§ John the Pitiless (*Sans Pitié*), second son of Albert Count of Hainault; his sister was married to John the Fearless (*Sans Peur*).

it appeared as if a Civil War was inevitable. But a conviction of inferiority at length prevailed over the wounded pride of Orleans; he admitted overtures from the Council, and he agreed to a

Oct. 12. Conference proposed at Vincennes. On the details of the hollow reconciliation which ensued, it is quite unnecessary that we should expend a single paragraph; and we shall content ourselves by employing the words of Monstrelet: "The Dukes made up their quarrel, and apparently showed in public that they were good friends. But He who knows the inward secrets of the heart, saw what little dependence was to be placed on such outward appearances *."

Amid these dissensions in the Council, the state of the unhappy maniac King was most deplorable. He was utterly neglected by the domestics placed around him, and either from reluctance or from inability to perform for himself the common offices of personal cleanliness, he had become disgustingly filthy, and was beginning to suffer in health. Some management, however, was necessary in affording him relief; for, during intervals of sanity, he always remembered, and bitterly resented, even by the infliction of capital punishment, any violence which had been used by his keepers. A number of masqued persons, therefore, were employed by night to convey him to the bath, and to make those changes in his dress which, with a perverseness not uncommon to the deranged, he had obstinately neglected.

In spite of the pacific wishes which Henry IV. continued to express, the Council, on the re-union of the Dukes, were more than
A. D. 1406. ever bent on War; and in the Autumn of 1406, both the Northern and Southern Provinces, witnessed active military preparations. The Duke of Burgundy, as Captain General of Picardy and of West Flanders, concentrated a large force in the
Sept. —. neighbourhood of St. Omer, with the intention of besieging Calais. Huge engines and a train of artillery far exceeding ordinary dimensions, two movable forts (*bastilles*) constructed in the Forest of Beaulot, 6000 men-at-arms, 3000 archers, and 1500 cross-bows, all of them picked men, were already assembled under his command, at a lavish cost, and with the full approbation of the King, when peremptory orders arrived from Court forbidding the departure of the expedition. The Duke and his chief officers were most indignant at this sudden change; they pronounced the disbanding of so noble an army to be dishonourable; and they returned to Paris inflamed with resentment against Orleans and his Faction, by whose jealous interference they not untruly suspected that their enterprise had been frustrated.

Orleans, indeed, had diverted to his own single use in Guyenne all the funds with which it had been originally intended that the expense

of two armaments should be defrayed. He had delayed his own advance to so late a season, that the siege of Bourg on the Gironde was not opened till Midsummer, that of Blaye on the same river, at the confluence of the Garonne with the Dordogne, not till October. The necessities of a force engaged in so arduous a service demanded the whole resources which France was able to provide; and the wants of the Southern Army could not be otherwise supplied than by abandoning the projects which had been contemplated in other districts. Yet the result was most inglorious. After the Duke of Orleans had disconcerted the enterprise against Calais, and had produced grievous murmurs by the oppressive taxes demanded for his own support, he was convinced, by the vigorous defence of the besieged English, and by the mortality which raged among his own troops, that further efforts must be unsuccessful; and having displayed great military incapacity, increased his former general unpopularity, and swelled the opposition of Burgundy to rancour the most deadly, this frivolous and A. D. 1407. unadvised Prince commenced a retreat, and hurried to a Jan. —. renewal of his amusements in the Capital.

Several months elapsed before the vengeance which Burgundy meditated received full opportunity for completion; and the good offices of the Duke of Berri had in the meantime produced an apparent cordiality of intercourse between the rival Princes. After the recovery of Orleans from an illness, Jean *Sans Peur* visited him in congratulation, heard Mass in his company, and communicated at the same Altar. At a Banquet, which the Duke of Berri gave in honour of this reconciliation, the former enemies embraced, and exchanged mutual promises of friendship; and the Duke of Burgundy accepted an invitation proposed by Orleans for the day se'nnight following. Will it be believed that, at the very moment in which he gave this perfidious assent, his plans were so arranged that, in the course of four-and-twenty hours, the host to whom he thus pledged himself had ceased to exist!

Few transactions, equally dark in their nature and remote in their date, have received so copious an illustration as the murder of the Duke of Orleans. The original depositions taken before the Council are preserved, and among them are statements by two accidental eye-witnesses of the assassination, who possessed neither motives nor ingenuity to invent facts which they had not positively seen. We retain also the whole criminatory evidence, embodied in a regular narrative by the zeal of the Family of the murdered Prince, desirous to avenge his death; and we have also that same narrative rigidly examined, more than three centuries afterwards, by the piercing judgment of an able and impartial antiquary*.

It appears that the Duke of Orleans had spent the whole afternoon

* M. de Bonamy in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, xxi., which Paper fully illustrates the assassination.

of the 23d of November at the Hôtel Montaigu, in company with the Queen, who was recovering from a confinement*; and that

Nov. 23. he had supped there at six o'clock, an hour well adapted to the habits of those for whom dinner was served so early as eleven. At about eight in the evening, he received a pretended summons, as from the King, commanding his immediate presence at the Hôtel de St. Pôl, on business of deep import to both of them. The faithless message was conveyed by a Member of the Royal Household, who had been gained as an accomplice to the conspiracy, and it was obeyed instantly and unsuspectingly. A mule was in waiting for the Duke at the gate; and his retinue consisted only of two Esquires mounted on the same horse, who preceded him, and four or five Pages on foot, some of whom carried torches, as the night was dark†. He had not advanced above 200 yards from the Queen's Palace, in a gay and careless mood, playing with his glove and singing‡, when he was beset by a band of ambushed ruffians from each side of the street, shouting, "*à mort, à mort,*" and surrounding their victim. The horse with the two Esquires took fright and galloped off; the Duke having asked what the tumult meant, and having declared his name and quality, was answered that *he* was the person sought for, and was instantly felled upon the pavement. One of his attendants, who attempted resistance, was killed upon the spot; another was severely wounded, but took refuge in a neighbouring shop. The rest fled and gave an alarm; but the assassins had dispersed before they could be intercepted, having first, in order that they might escape during the confusion, set fire to the adjoining house, which they had occupied for some days before§, and thrown caltrops behind them to hinder pursuit. On the arrival of the Provost, the body of the Duke was found lifeless, bleeding, and horribly mangled; two gashes on the forehead penetrated to the brain, the left hand was severed at the wrist, and the right arm was broken. The Magistrate, having noted these appearances in a *Procès verbal*, hastened to make his report to

* She had been delivered, November 10, of a son, Philip, who died soon after his birth.

† This is Monstrelet's account of the attendants. The Registers of the Parliament say that he was accompanied by three horsemen, two footmen, and one or two torchbearers. One of the eye-witnesses deposes that there were five or six horsemen, three or four footmen, and two or three torchbearers; but M. Bonamy justly remarks that so large a train, even if not able to make effectual defence, would at least have raised an earlier alarm.

‡ *S'ébattoit d'un gand ou d'une mouste, et chantoit.*

§ The house in which the Bravoes, eighteen in number, lodged was known as *La Maison de l'Image Notre Dame*, near the Porte Barbette. It had been hired only six days before the assassination, but inquiries had been made for some house in the neighbourhood so far back as the preceding Midsummer. When M. Bonamy wrote, in 1747, the Image of the Virgin and Bambino, from which the house derived its name, still existed in a niche above the door of a Baker's shop in the *Vieille Rue du Temple*. The assassins were headed by Raoul d'Auquetonville, a Norman whom the Duke of Orleans had dismissed from the Commission of Taxes, for malversation.

the Council, and received orders to close the City gates, to patrol the streets, and to make diligent search for the authors of the crime.

On the following morning, the Princes visited the corpse, which had been carried to the Church of the *Blancs-manteaux*. To our surprise, it is not any where recorded, in agreement with a prevailing superstition, that it bled afresh on the appearance of the Duke of Burgundy, who protested with seeming indignation that so foul and traitorous a murder had never before been perpetrated in the Kingdom. He attended the Funeral, at which he officiated as one of the Pall-bearers, "uttering groans and shedding tears." Conjecture, at first, unjustly implicated Albert de Flamenc of Cani, and there were rational grounds for believing that he regarded the late Duke with enmity. His wife Marie d'Enghien had fallen a prey to the licentiousness of Orleans, while Albert was his Chamberlain, and the issue of that intrigue afterwards attained great and merited celebrity as the Bastard Count of Dunois. But it was soon ascertained that more than a year had elapsed since Albert had visited Paris; and the Provost was not long without receiving informations which appear to have directed his suspicions into the right channel. When asked by the Council whether he had yet traced the assassins, he replied in the negative, at the same time expressing confidence of success if he were permitted to examine the Hôtels of the Great Lords. No demur was made; and the Duke of Burgundy, then alarmed at the probability of detection, took aside the Duke of Berri and the King of Sicily, and acknowledged that, "at the instigation of the Devil, he had commissioned the murderers." Great as was the sorrow and astonishment which they expressed, Burgundy still remained unawakened to either the atrocity or the danger of his guilt; and it was not until he found the doors of the Council-chamber closed against him on the following morning, and was warned by his uncle of Berri "that his presence would be displeasing to all the Members," that he thought it necessary to secure himself by a hasty flight; when, springing on horseback, he hurried first to his strong Castle of Bapaume, and afterwards Nov. 26. to a more distant asylum in Lille.

We are assured by contemporaries that Louis of Orleans possessed many qualities which are frequently passports to the favour of the multitude. He was distinguished by a handsome person, and by skill in Knightly exercises; his manners were courteous, his speech fluent, and he was not untinctured with such knowledge as his times afforded, and as might be acquired by quick parts without much labour of study. Yet withal he was especially unpopular. The disordered state of the finances was principally attributed to his extravagance, his hand had been in every man's pocket, and he was regarded as the leader of a tyrannical Aristocracy, whose main object was to depress the People. Notwithstanding, therefore, the many circumstances of perfidy which heightened

the guilt of his assassination, the Parisians considered his death, and the being freed from his Government, as a peculiar mark of God's Grace*; and referring to the devices (a knotted stick and a plane) which the two Princes had respectively borne in some late public Festivity, they observed, with that readiness of allusion which has always been one of their distinguishing characteristics, that "the ragged staff was at length planed †."

But the Duchess Valéntina, who was tenderly attached to her late husband in spite of his open infidelities ‡, throwing herself

Dec. 10. at the King's feet in a mourning garb and with abundance of tears implored justice upon the murderer of his brother.

Her second son, and Isabelle the Queen Dowager of England, now married to her eldest (whom she had not ventured to bring to Paris), knelt together with her in supplication, till Charles raised them up and, kissing them, promised strict enquiry, and named a day for its enforcement.

Burgundy, meantime, by artful representations of his quarrel, had obtained assurances of support from all his States; and after A. D. 1408. complying with an invitation from the Princes to confer with them at Amiens, he announced his intention of returning to the Capital, not to plead for acquittal from a foul murder, but to claim merit for an act of Patriotism. When at the head of his troops he entered Paris, he was received with acclamations by the populace; "and even the little children sang, carols in all the Squares §." He went about well armed; he slept in a strong tower of masonry constructed in his Hôtel, and his chamber was watchfully sentinelled. Jean Petit, one of the most learned Divines of the Sorbonne ||, was em-

* Monstrelet, i. c. 38.

† *Le Bâton nouveau est enfin raboté.* Id. ibid. c. 36.

‡ M. Bonamy declares that History has not recorded any mistress of Louis Duke of Orleans, excepting Marie d'Enghien; and he struggles hard in defence of the Prince's moral character, chiefly on the testimony of his Will. But it is very easy for a confirmed libertine to appear devout in a posthumous document. Without attaching much credit to the anecdote which Brantôme has recorded as the groundwork of the Duke of Burgundy's personal jealousy, and which is cited, perhaps with too much reliance, by Bayle (i. 627, *Rem. B ad v. Bourgogne*), enough is authentically recorded of the Duke of Orleans to justify a belief that his life was most dissolute. Villaret, a writer by no means deficient in respect for Royalty, says that Orleans was regarded "as a Prince without morals, and who was never stopped by any scruple when he had a desire or a fancy to be gratified." On a well-known anecdote respecting Marie d'Enghien, which we need not recount, but which the classical reader will perceive exceeds in depravity even the story of Gyges, the same Historian breaks out into the following deserved apostrophe. *Scène odieuse et bizarre, qui caractérise moins les transports aveugles d'une passion excessive, que le caprice monstrueux d'un cœur insolent, cruel, et corrompu.* VI. 406.

§ The *try* was *Noël*, originally a Christmas Carol; but a word, as Monstrelet says, heretofore employed only in hailing the King. Its use to the Duke of Burgundy therefore occasioned great offence, i. c. 39. Pasquier in his *Recherches sur la France*, liv. iv. c. 16, p. 383, treats *D'une coutume ancienne qui étoit en France de crier Noël pour signification de joie publique.*

|| Petit is usually termed a Cordelier; but Bayle, referring to Spondanus (*ad ann. 1408*, num. i. p. 763) denies the assertion, and adds that he was a Secular Priest.

ployed to *preach a Sermon* before the Court, in which he argued, at interminable length and according to the scholastic mode of division, in favour of Tyrannicide, a duty which he sought to establish upon the precepts of Philosophy, of the Church, of the Canon Law, and of the Holy Scriptures. Tyrants, as he explained his meaning, were not only those who usurped sovereign power, but those whose rank or influence placed them beyond the reach of ordinary punishments, and to put such persons to death, even by treachery, was eminently meritorious*. The application involved numerous charges against the murdered Duke, and openly taxed him with Sorcery, poisoning, compassing the King's death at the Masquerade, and traitorous communication with England. Those, whose patience and curiosity may so far triumph over fatigue as to lead them to encounter the length and dullness of the whole of this Discourse, will find it given verbatim by Monstrelet†; those who are contented with a summary may turn to the masterly compression and review contained in the pages of M. de Sismondi‡.

It is not probable that the Oration of Petit produced much conviction among its auditors; each Faction, as we are told, persisted in its former opinions. But the power which Burgundy displayed was far too great to permit resistance. The Queen, "apprehensive of consequences," and taking with her the Dauphin and her other children, withdrew to Melun, whither she was soon followed by the Princes of the Blood. In their absence, the Duke of Burgundy obtained not only reconciliation, but Letters sealed with the King's seal and signed with his own hand, by which he was pardoned for "*what had lately happened* to the Duke of Orleans, to the astonishment of many Great Lords and Wise Men; but at this moment," adds the Chronicler significantly, "it could not be otherwise §."

The ascendancy which the Duke of Burgundy had thus extorted might have been long preserved, if he could have continued to reside in Paris, and to hold the custody of the King's person. But a War provoked by the cruelties and the perjury of his brother-in-law John, Bishop Elect of Liege, hastily summoned him to the protection of his own dominions in the Netherlands. John had accepted the title of Epis-

* This "enormous doctrine," attributed very justly by Bayle to "a spirit altogether venal and sold to iniquity," was solemnly condemned by the Bishop of Paris in 1414, who ordered Petit's Sermon to be publicly burned before Notre Dame. *Rel. de St. Denys*, l. xxxiii. c. 28. Monstrelet adds that it was proposed to disinter and burn the Preacher's bones, iv. c. 1. This Decree of the Sorbonne was reversed when the Burgundian Faction regained power in 1418.

† i. c. 39.

‡ xii. 287.

§ Monstrelet, i. c. 39, à fin. M. de Sismondi (xii. 291) states that the Letters of Pardon were granted three days before the delivery of Petit's Sermon, and he cites their strong expressions, in which Charles is made to declare that he is resolved *ne conserver aucune déplaisance contre lui pour avoir fait mettre hors du monde son frère pour le bien et utilité du Royaume*. The reference given is *Notes à Monstrelet*, tom. i. p. 325.

copacy without renouncing any of the secular habits of the Camp; and when his Citizens, deprived of spiritual superintendence, urged him to proceed to consecration, he manifested by his delays that he was content with Sovereignty. A new Bishop was accordingly elected by the Liegeois, and confirmed by Benedict XIII. and by Wenceslaus; a Pope to whom the Church had refused obedience, an Emperor whom the Diets of Germany had deposed. But the Liegeois were rich and warlike; and the general spirit of insurgency which they aroused, and July —. the ferocious ravages to which much of Flanders in consequence became exposed, appeared to endanger all Princely authority.

No sooner had the Duke of Burgundy quitted France, than the Queen and the Princes, taking advantage of his absence, collected Aug. 26. troops at Melun, and found themselves sufficiently strong to re-enter Paris. At the head of 3000 men at arms, accompanied by the Dauphin, a child delighted by his first essay on horseback, Isabelle took possession of the Louvre, occupied the Sept. 3. gates and fortresses of the Capital, and was re-invested with the Presidency of the Council. The Duchess of Orleans renewed her demand for an inquisition into the murder of her Lord; and the Court listened to another Sermon, in rejoinder to Sept. 11. that of Petit, in which his opponent, Sérissey, the Abbé of St. Fiacre, undertook to remove the aspersions cast upon the Prince's memory, and required the infliction of a severe, although not of a capital punishment upon his assassins. The Reply is by no means unworthy of the accusation against which it is directed, and it is reported and estimated by the same authorities to which we have already referred*. At its conclusion, the Chancellor declared, that the Dauphin, as the King's Lieutenant and Representative, and the assembled Princes of the Blood held the late Duke of Orleans to be perfectly exculpated; and that "in regard to the request of the Duchess, speedy and good justice should be done her, so that she should be reasonably contented therewith†."

Even if the Council, under any circumstances, would have been bold enough to follow up this vague declaration by more decisive Sept. 23. actions, their intention was frustrated by the great victory which the Duke of Burgundy obtained over the Liegeois at Hasbain. On that bloody field it is said that 26,000 Flemings were killed by the merciless vengeance of their pursuers; and the Bishop, by the unsparing punishments which he afterwards exacted, acquired the detestable appendage to his name by which he is known, *Sans Pitié*. The Duke, no longer apprehensive of peril in Flanders, led back Nov. 24. his triumphant army to Paris, where he was again received with enthusiasm. The Queen and the Princes, however,

* Monstrelet, i, c. 44. M. de Sismondi, xii. 300. † Monstrelet, ii. c. 1, à fin.

advised of his approach, had sufficient time for the arrangement of their plans, and having full means of access to the King, they carried him off in secret to Tours, before the Citizens could prevent their retreat.

So strong in France was the feeling of personal loyalty to the Sovereign, that the Party which obtained the guardianship of this unhappy lunatic, always found his name a passport to power. Burgundy, having missed its possession, lost all his former appearance of legitimate authority, and became liable to the penalties of Rebellion*. If this failure, and the dread of a change in public opinion, were strong reasons to induce him to reconciliation, on the other hand his present numerical superiority, and the occupation of the Capital, were not less weighty arguments to awaken a similar desire in his opponents; grief and disappointment had broken the heart of Valentina, who, despairing of success in the prosecution of her suit, after the Victory at Hasbain, terminated her days at Blois; and her sons were at present too young to possess the influence which their rank might otherwise have bestowed. After a display of much ill-humour on each side to the diplomatists employed by the other (a line of conduct which perhaps rather accelerated than retarded the Treaty) the Count of Hainault succeeded in arranging the performance of one of the most remarkable mummeries which History has exhibited.

Dec. 4.

The Duke of Burgundy, as the first act of nominal submission, evacuated Paris, and repaired to his own town of Lille. From that City he proceeded to Chartres, where the Count of Hainault guaranteed the safety of the Congress, and nicely regulated the number of armed retainers by which each of the most distinguished personages who attended it was to be accompanied. On a scaffold erected before the entrance of the Choir of the Cathedral the Duke of Burgundy knelt at the King's feet; and, in conformity with that etiquette which made it degrading in a Prince to speak for himself, addressed Charles by his Advocate, the Sieur de Lohaing, in words which had been pre-arranged. "Sire, behold here my Lord of Burgundy, your subject and cousin, who is thus come before you, because he has heard you are angry with him for the action he has committed against the person of the late Duke of Orleans, your brother, for the sake of yourself and your Kingdom; the truth of which he is ready to declare whenever you shall please. My Lord therefore entreats of you, in the most humble manner possible, that you would be pleased to withdraw from him your anger, and restore him to your good graces." The Duke of Burgundy added from his own lips, "Sire, I intreat this of you."

Charles, hesitating either from lapse of memory in the part which he had been tutored to perform, or having been instructed to pause in order to enhance his apparent majesty, did not immediately reply; and the

* M. de Sismondi, xii. 437.

Duke of Berri requesting the Duke of Burgundy to withdraw a few paces, knelt with the Dauphin and the other Princes of the Blood, in supplication, until they obtained a favourable answer. "We will that it be so, and we grant it in love to you." The Duke of Burgundy was then summoned to return, and the King said to him, "Fair cousin, we grant your request, and pardon you fully for what you have done."

The most painful and the most insincere part of this disgusting mockery still remained to be completed. The Duke of Burgundy approaching the children of Orleans, "who were behind the King weeping much," addressed them thus through the Lord of Lohaing. "My Lords, behold the Duke of Burgundy, who intreats you to withdraw from your hearts whatever hatred or revenge you may harbour within them for the act perpetrated against the person of my Lord of Orleans, your father, and that henceforward you may remain good friends." The Duke of Burgundy then added, "And I beg this of you." No answer being made (the children of Orleans hesitated only from the promptings of Nature), the King commanded them to accede to the request of his fair cousin the Duke of Burgundy. Upon which they replied, "Sire, since you are pleased to command us, we grant him his request, and shall extinguish all the hatred we bore him; for we should be sorry to disobey you in anything that may give you pleasure."

The orphan children and the murderer of their father then touched an open Bible with their hands, and swore on the Holy Evangelists to preserve a firm mutual peace and friendship. This oath was pledged a second time after a short address from the King, in which he remitted punishment to all but the actual perpetrators of the assassination, who were sentenced to perpetual banishment. The assembly then dispersed, with little guarantee for future harmony. Some indeed "rejoiced that matters had gone off so well;" but the Duke of Orleans and his brother returned to Blois "not well satisfied," and "others were displeased and murmured, saying that henceforward it would be no great offence to murder a Prince of the Blood, since those who had done so were so easily acquitted, without making any reparation, or even begging pardon." The licensed Jester of the Duke of Burgundy described the Treaty in appropriate terms when he called it "*Une Paix fourrée* *."

Towards the close of the following summer, the short-lived power which the French had attained thirteen years before, by the voluntary submission of the Genoese, and which they had most unscrupulously abused by a violation of almost all the conditions

Sept. 6. of the original Treaty, was terminated by an insurrection of the oppressed People. The Maréchal Boucicaut, who held the post of Vicar-Royal, and who owed the Republic by his high military reputation, unadvisedly took part in some of the dissensions which agitated Milan

* Monstrelet, ii. c. 5.

after the death of Giovanni Galeazzo. No greater monster than Giovanni Maria, whose cause the French Government espoused, deforms the annals of mankind ; and Bouçicaut, as he deserved, paid most dearly for his interested and unnecessary interference. In the absence of the force which had held them in control, the Genoese invited to their aid the Marquis of Montferrat and Facino Cane, a partizan Chief, who had been much distinguished in the service of the Visconti. The Citizens, encouraged by this support, rose in arms, and massacred the French residents ; and when Bouçicaut hastened back from Milan at the alarming intelligence, he found the whole Country in rebellion. Facino Cane was so strongly posted on the Ligurian mountains, that the Maréchal hesitated to attack him until he had applied for reinforcements. But the King and Council, "considering the fickleness of the Genoese, determined to proceed cautiously against them ;" and the troubles which speedily ensued in France itself forbade any attempt for the recovery of their lost power in Italy.

The supremacy which Burgundy enjoyed in the Council was soon manifested by heavy visitations upon some of those who had opposed his ambition. The fall of Jean de Montaigu, the Minister of Finance and Grand Master of the Royal Household, excited peculiar attention ; and his sentence appears to have been most unjust and cruel. Of mean birth, the son of a Parisian Notary, Montaigu had attained rapid elevation by talents and qualities which seem to have made him generally popular. After having been ennobled by John, he had enjoyed the confidence of his successor, in whose reign he amassed great wealth without suspicion of malversation ; and he had continued in office under Charles VI., who regarded him with especial favour. The friendship which the other Princes of the Blood had invariably shown to Montaigu, the great influence which he had hitherto maintained, and the vast treasure which must accrue from the confiscation of his property, powerfully stimulated Burgundy to the destruction of one whom he had always treated as an enemy. Montaigu, when deputed to arrange the preliminaries of the late Treaty, had been received by the Duke with marks of personal dislike and suspicion, and had been dismissed with reproaches occasioned by a belief that it was chiefly owing to his advice that the King had been withdrawn from Paris. After an unexpected arrest, he was examined before a packed Commission, the Members of which had been selected by Pierre des Essarts, one of Burgundy's most notorious tools, promoted to the office of Criminal Provost. The question, to the agonies of which the prisoner was frequently subjected, in order to procure an avowal that in conjunction with the late Duke of Orleans he had employed Sorcery in order to occasion the King's disease, was at first firmly resisted ; but Montaigu, in the end, perceiving that denial tended only to increase his torments

Oct. 7.

without hope of acquittal, permitted the Secretaries to register whatever answers they wished to extort. His head was fixed on
 Oct. 17. a pike, and his body ignominiously exposed on the gibbet of Montfauçon. He renewed his declaration of innocence on the scaffold; and we have little hesitation in arriving at the conclusion of the Celestin of Marcoussi when exhibiting the Tomb of his founder, Montaigu, to Francis I. The King expressed regret that so great a man should have been put to death by Justice. ““ With submission, Sire,” was the Monk’s reply, “ not by Justice, but by a Commission *.”

The unravelment of political intrigues is always a task of doubt and difficulty. They are likely to be misrepresented by contemporaries, to be misunderstood by writers of later periods. Without attempting, therefore, to explain the rapid and complicated changes which marked the few ensuing years, or the motives upon which the same persons were so often found, at different seasons, arranged in ranks opposite to those in which they had heretofore banded, we shall confine our-

Nov. 11. selves to a plain narrative of facts. The Queen was first bribed or cajoled to abandon the Princes, and she secretly allied herself with Burgundy; but the advantage which he thus gained was more than counterbalanced by the appearance of two new
 A. D. 1410. and most powerful enemies. By marrying his daughter Isabelle to the Count of Penthievre, Jean *Sans Peur* alienated the Duke of Bretany. Penthievre, one of the richest Nobles of France, was not unreasonably dreaded by De Montfort, as the representative of the two former bitterest enemies of his House, Charles of Blois, and Clisson; and no sooner were the nuptials arranged, than he zealously embraced the opposite interests. The Duke of Orleans himself, widowed of his first wife, Isabelle the Dowager Queen of England, demanded and obtained the hand of Anne, daughter of Bernard Count d’Armagnac, a brave, active, and politic Baron of the South. Anne was grand-daughter to the Duke of Berri, and half-sister to the Count of Savoy †; but the greatest accession of strength which she brought with her arose from her father himself, who swayed Gascony as if he were its Sovereign, and whose importance was so ducly appreciated by the Faction to which he thus became allied, that it soon recognised him

* *Pardonnez-moi, Sire, c’est fut par des Commissaires.* Henault, *Abrégé Chronol.* ii. 583. See also Villaret, vii. 44, who refers to Pasquier, and adds that Francis, in consequence of the remark, expressed his determination never to allow the execution of a capital sentence pronounced by a Commission. Some reparation was made to the Family of Montaigu after the Peace of Bourges. His head and remains were taken down from the spike and gibbet on which they continued to be exposed and received honourable burial; his brother, who had been exiled, was recalled to the Bishopric of Paris, and such of his property as had not been dispersed was restored. Monstrelet, iii. c. 15.

† Bonne, a daughter of the Duke of Berri, and Countess d’Armagnac, had been previously married to Amadeus VII. of Savoy, by whom she was mother of Amadeus VIII.

as its leader, and substituted his name for that of Orleans as its distinguishing title.

On the conclusion of this marriage, the Dukes of Berri, of Orleans, of Bourbon, and of Bretany, the Counts of Alençon, of Clermont *, and of Armagnac, signed a compact at Gien April 15. in which they gave reciprocal pledges that they would exert themselves to support the King in his full prerogative, and to expel all those who should seek to oppose their design. If this language could have been misunderstood, the assembling of 10,000 men plainly advertised Burgundy of the approaching tempest. He, in turn, collected men and stores, under pretext of besieging Calais; but, great as was his influence in Paris, he durst not risk his popularity among the *Bourgeois*, by insisting upon the payment of an impost which they were reluctant to afford. The rival partizans at this moment first assumed badges which long continued to mark the principles, and to embitter the mutual hostility of the wearers. The Armagnacs adopted a white silken scarf passing over the right shoulder, the Burgundians were known by the Cross of St. Andrew charged with a fleur de lys. •

Notwithstanding these menacing appearances, and great suffering to the Country at large from the marauding licence of the armed bands gathered by each Faction †, Winter approached without the commencement of absolute War. The leaders on both sides mistrusted their own strength, perhaps doubted the fidelity of their supporters if put to the test of battle. On the one hand, the Citizens of Paris, trained to habits of indolence and luxury, were averse from the fatigues of a Campaign; on the other, both the incapacity of the Duke of Berri, and the youth of the Duke of Orleans were ill calculated to inspire confidence; and neither of them, at the moment of which we are now writing, was prepared to yield precedence to the Count of Armagnac. The necessity for accommodation became pressing, and it was arranged on a basis of mutual concession, by which neither party was to receive Nov. 2. aggrandisement. By a Treaty signed at the Palace of Bicêtre ‡ all troops were to be withdrawn; each of the Princes was to

* Son and successor of the Duke of Bourbon, who died August 19 of this year, aged 73.

† Monstrelet has a *naïve* passage on these excesses of the Armagnacs. "The King, moved with pity and by the importunity of his Ministers, ordered a Decree to be drawn out which condemned the whole Orleans party to death and confiscation of goods," ii. c. 21. It need not be added that this *most compassionate* Decree could not be executed, and therefore that its proclamation was "put off."

‡ Bicêtre a corruption of Vinchestre, itself *more Gallico* a corruption of Winchester. The Topographers differ concerning its founders. Felibien (i. 461) says it belonged to John Bishop of Winchester in 1204. But the Prelate who filled the See of Winton in that year was Petrus de Rupibus, a Poitevin by birth, of liberal taste and magnificent expenditure, Chief Justice of England under John, and Protector during the minority of Henry III. There can be little doubt that to him is owing the foundation of this Palace. Sauval (ii. liv. 7) attributes its origin to John Bishop of Winchester in 1290, in which year John de Pontys was Bishop, but he is reputed to have been avaricious. It was afterwards magnificently rebuilt by the Duke of

return to his own *apanage*, the Duke of Berri was to name one Commissioner, the Duke of Burgundy another, as guardians of the Dauphin; and the dreaded Burgundian, Pierre des Essarts, was to be dismissed from his Provostship. The People expected that by this second Peace they should enjoy greater tranquillity; "but it happened," says Monstrelet, "just the contrary, as you shall shortly hear*."

The Princes withdrew to their Governments, but the following year had scarcely commenced, before fresh gatherings of troops A. D. 1411. announced that enmity was by no means extinguished.

The Duke of Burgundy employed himself actively in negotiation, and for a while he rendered the Duke of Berri neutral. At length, when the Children of Orleans were sufficiently strong for open demonstration, they renewed their appeal to the Council for judgment upon the Duke of Burgundy as the assassin of their father, and as the perpetrator of innumerable treasons†, and they addressed

July —. by a Herald to the Duke himself a formal declaration of War‡. Burgundy answered most indignantly§, and the whole correspondence is marked by an unbecoming want of courtesy, and a spirit of very rancorous hatred. The Duke of Berri, having affected to mediate for a short season, again espoused his former party; and the Citizens of Paris, who had looked up to him as the probable restorer of Peace, disappointed in their hope by his versatility, deposed him from the Captaincy of their militia, and elected in his stead the Count of St. Pôl, one of the most zealous Burgundians.

Waleran de St. Pôl, more anxious for the ascendancy of his Faction than for the purity of Knightly honour, employed the influence thus attained in forming an unworthy league with the most brutalized of the Parisian rabble. The *abattoirs* of the Metropolis were in the hands of a few rich families, among which the names of Legoix, of Thibert, of St. Yon, and of the Flayer Caboche, are the most notorious. This powerful monopoly furnished a numerous band of slaughterers ferocious, in their habits and accustomed to blood. Five hundred of the most strong and active among these ruffians were armed and embodied by St. Pôl. The guardianship of the City was intrusted to their care, and they commenced their superintendence by demolishing part of a Mansion belong-

Berri. During an insurrection, as we shall by and by perceive, it was destroyed by the Populace, and the Duke then presented its site to the Canons of Notre Dame. Upon this site was erected by Louis XIII. an Hospital for wounded soldiers, which, after the *Invalides* was founded for the same purpose, became a general receptacle for the destitute sick of Paris.

* ii. c. 22.

† Monstrelet, ii. c. 27, dated Gergeau, July 11, 1414. The language is most unmeasured, as a single specimen will prove. The Duke of Burgundy affirmed that he had slain the King's brother fairly and meritoriously; "in answer to which, I, Charles of Orleans, say that he lies, and I at present decline to make a more ample reply; for it is very manifest, as I have before explained, that he is a liar and a false disloyal traitor; and that through the Grace of God, I am, and ever will be, without reproach and a teller of Truth."

‡ Id., *ibid.*, c. 28. Gergeau, July 18. § Id., *ibid.*, c. 29. Donay Aug. 14.

ing to the Duke of Berri, by compelling the King and the Dauphin to take up their abode in the Louvre, (which as more centrally situated than the Hotel St. Pôl was also more easily watched,) by expelling the Provost of the Merchants and 300 Citizens of a higher grade than their own, of whose opposition they were apprehensive, and by raising a cry of "Armagnac" (almost inevitably followed by the horrors of popular massacre) against every individual who happened to incur their displeasure. A Surgeon, Jean de Troyes, who lent himself as mouth-piece to these Savages, appears to have been distinguished by fluent oratory.

While the Burgundians were thus supreme within Paris, the Armagnacs spread terror over the districts which they occupied without the walls. The violation of women, the torture or the murder of such unhappy peasants as endeavoured to protect or to conceal their property, the firing of whole villages, tracked their progress in Artois and Vernois. "Go," said they, after inflicting hateful mutilations on the victims of their ferocity, "go and complain to your idiot King; go show yourselves to that driveller and captive." The Council, alarmed at this treasonable language, proclaimed the Orleans Family to be rebels, and invited the Duke of Burgundy to undertake the Aug. 28. protection of the Monarchy*.

John *sans peur* willingly obeyed the summons. Exclusively of his own immediate retainers, nearly 50,000 Flemings, among whom are not to be reckoned "the varlets and such like which were numberless," mustered under his banner; and no more richly equipped Army ever took the Field than that which assembled by his orders at Douay. Whenever they encamped, their tents, glittering in almost interminable lines which looked like large towns, were encompassed by a triple range of 12,000 cars and waggons, not only conveying the necessary munitions of War, but destined to be laden with the anticipated spoils of France. Ham on the Somme was the first town from which they encountered resistance. But when the little garrison of 500 Sept. —. Armagnacs, having defended themselves for a single day, withdrew by night, the poor people and peasants, who had fled within the walls for safety, fell an easy prey to the besiegers, the houses were fired, and the inhabitants were massacred †.

Equal cruelty was displayed in almost every part of the advance, till the Army halted at Montdidier, in the immediate presence of the main force of the Armagnacs, who had moved up to give battle. But the Flemings by that time had attained the chief object which, in spite of constitutional sluggishness, had allured them from the repose of their hearths; and although ever ready, as they had often shown, to sacrifice even life, in defence of their native soil, they were reluctant to peril themselves farther in a quarrel which they considered foreign from their

* Monstrelet, ii. c. 33.

† Id., ibid., ii. c. 34.

own immediate interests. When the Duke of Burgundy therefore made his preparations for combat, he was astonished and disconcerted by an announcement from the Flemish Chiefs that the term of their Feudal service had expired, and that they were on the eve of return. It was in vain that with head uncovered, and hands uplifted, he earnestly and humbly besought them to grant him an extension of service, if it were only during four days longer; that he called them his trusty friends and well-beloved companions; proffered uncounted gifts; and assured them of perpetual future immunity from taxes. They were deaf to both promises and solicitations, which they answered rudely; they pleaded the approach of Winter; and they even menaced that they would send him his only son, the Count of Charolois, at that time within their power at Ghent, cut into ten thousand pieces, if he should refuse to abide by the agreement into which he had entered. The conditions of that agreement bound him to accompany them with an escort of his own men-at-arms to the gates of Peronne. The trumpets sounded at midnight, and the Flemings having set fire to such of their tents and baggage as they were unable to transport, commenced their retreat. The flames spread to the quarters of the Duke, who, although sorely troubled at heart, found it was his policy to submit to events which he had not foreseen, and which it was no longer in his power to prevent. The haughty Prince accordingly headed the troops which were abandoning his standard, and, on arrival at Peronne, thanked them personally in the most humble manner for the benefit which he had derived from their services.

The probability of forcing the Capital, and of obtaining the custody of the King, seemed to promise greater advantage to the Armagnacs than could be derived from a pursuit of the Flemings; and the Duke of Orleans accordingly, having marched to the Seine, moved along its right bank, and spread his troops among the environs of Paris. The atrocities increased on either side as the enemies approached nearer to each other, and Legoux, at the head of his Butchers, among other outrages fired the Palace of Bicêtre, as a mark of hatred to the Duke of Berri. Not more than 6000 men remained under the immediate command of the Duke of Burgundy; and hopeless of cutting his way to Paris, with numbers so disproportionate to those which he must confront, he halted at Pontoise*, and there opened a Treaty with the King of England. The price which he offered for alliance was one of his daughters, with a rich portion, to be espoused to the Prince of Wales. Henry IV., without formally accepting the proposal, was well inclined to foment Civil War in France, and he dispatched an auxiliary force of 1200 lances, and a band of cross-

* While the Duke of Burgundy remained at Pontoise, "a man of strong make, with a knife concealed in his sleeve, entered his apartment with the intention of assassinating him. The Duke, being unacquainted with his person and always suspicious of such attempts, placed a bench before him, till on the entrance of some attendants the Bravo was seized, and, after a confession of his intended crime, was beheaded. Monstrelet, ii. c. 35.

bowmen, under the Earls of Arundel and of Kyme *, Lord Cobham and Sir John Oldcastle.

These and other reinforcements increased the force under Burgundy to 15,000 horse, with which he crossed the Seine at Melun, marched rapidly upon Paris, and entered the City unopposed. Oct. 23. It is doubtful whether the Armagnacs taken by surprise were unable to concentrate themselves in time to resist this bold movement; or whether they voluntarily permitted the large number of additional mouths to occupy the besieged City, in the hope that its supplies might be the more speedily exhausted †. In the latter case they must soon have discovered that their policy was mistaken; for they were worsted in numerous skirmishes, in which the Bowmen of England were much distinguished; and the Lord de Clifford, a young Knight of that Country, who had just joined the Duke of Orleans with 100 men-at-arms and 200 archers from the Bourdelois, on hearing that the Earl of Arundel had been sent by his King to serve in the opposite ranks, asked and obtained permission to retire ‡. The unnatural collision of Frenchmen with Frenchmen was not so easily prevented, and well may Monstrelet call it an "abominable warfare" in which "brothers engaged against brothers, and sons against fathers §."

A surprise at St. Cloud cost the Armagnacs 900 killed and 500 prisoners, while of the assailants not more than twenty men remained on the field. The Duke of Orleans viewed this Nov. 9. combat from the opposite bank of the Seine, which he was unable to cross, and idly attempted to assist his routed confederates by distant volleys of cross-bolts and arrows ||. Dispirited by this loss, he hastily determined to break up the siege, and to employ the winter in collecting a force which might render him more able to cope with the power he had estimated so falsely. A night-march carried him to Etampes, and he then dispersed his troops in winter-quarters among the fortresses of Orleanois.

Desultory operations in almost every case favourable to the Burgun-

* Gilbert Umfreville, Earl of Kyme and Angus.

† "When an engagement was urged by the young and hasty, the veteran leaders objected, saying that if Burgundy were allowed to enter the Capital they would have but one enemy instead of two. Paris, they added, was impregnable; and as the Duke of Berri was known to be approaching, he would cut off the supplies and gain success which was not attainable by any other means. It was afterwards strongly suspected that there was treachery lurking under this seemingly good advice." *Rel. de St. Denis*, liv. xxxi. c. 18, p. 787. See also Monstrelet, ii. c. 36.

‡ Monstrelet, ii. c. 36.

§ *Id.*, *ibid.*, and see a striking illustrative anecdote, *id.* iii. c. 5. A son of the Lord de Croisy who had engaged with the Armagnacs was taken prisoner by the Constable, and the father, a zealous Burgundian, was so exasperated that he would have killed him had he not been watched.

|| The success at "Seynelo" is attributed by Walsingham (380) to the valour of the English. Many Frenchmen perished by falling between the main beams of a bridge which had been stripped of its planking. The English gave a very national reason for quitting Paris, the high price of Butcher's meat.

dians continued through the Winter; and the Count of St. Pôl was rewarded, for some advantages which he gained in the Valois and in Coucy, by formal investiture with the dignity of Constable, which high office D'Albret was declared to have forfeited*. Great severity was exercised against the prisoners taken at St. Clou; some were delivered to the executioner †, and many more who perished miserably in the Châtelet through cold, famine and neglect, were thrown unburied into the City-ditch as food for dogs and birds of prey.

The Princes meantime opened a negotiation with England; for it was plain that Henry IV. did not entertain any personal
A. D. 1412. interest in the quarrel, but would vary his alliance according
May —. to circumstances, and would sell himself to the best bidder.

Their Envoys, however, were captured during their route, and much display of their intercepted Instructions was made by the Council. The four chief Leaders had placed *cartes blanches* at the disposal of their agents; and the seals and signatures of Berri, of Bourbon, of Orleans and of Alençon avouched that they were ready to accept any terms which the King of England might think fit to propose ‡. A project of their intended Government also was given to the Public at the same time, in which, among other clauses likely to create unpopularity, were to be found provisions for a general land-tax, for gabelles upon salt and grain, and for the removal from Paris of its University §. So odious did the very suspicion of attachment to the Orleans Party become after these announcements, that Duke Louis of Bavaria, brother to the Queen, was compelled to quit the Capital hastily, on account of a mere rumour that he had spoken favourably to the King of the Duke of Berri. Some property which he attempted to convey to his Castle of Marcoussy was seized by the Burgundians, and a young German Nobleman of high rank assisting in its escort was barbarously murdered. The only redress which the Duke obtained, after many weeks delay and bitter complaints to the Council, was a restitution of some of his plundered valuables ¶.

Henry IV., after enjoining neutrality to all his subjects on pain of death and confiscation, at length consented to assist the Armagnacs with 8000 men under the command of his second son the Duke of Clarence. The Princes in return pledged their services for the recovery of Aquitaine, and promised the Prince of Wales the hand of that one among their daughters or nieces whom he might honour by his selection. This

* Monstrelet, ii. c. 38.

† Among this number was Sir Mausalt de Bos, a Knight of Picardy, who, having been taken prisoner by an English soldier, was sold by him to the King's officers. He had been a liege-man of the Duke of Burgundy, who was so indignant at his breach of Feudal obedience, that "in spite of the solicitation of friends, and he had many, with the Duke," he was beheaded and gibbeted at Montfaugon. Monstrelet, ii. c. 40. Sir Pierre de Famechon also, a member of the Duke of Bourbon's household, was similarly executed, very much to the displeasure of that Prince.

‡ Monstrelet, iii. c. 3.

§ Id., *ibid*, c. 4.

|| Id., *ibid*.

foreign aid gave so formidable an appearance to the insurrection, that the Council determined upon an expedition, in which the King should command in person, against the head-quarters of the Rebellious Faction. Bourges, the City in which they were assembled, was strong and well fortified; and when the Duke of Berri received a summons in the King's name, he boldly answered that he was ready to open his gates to the King and to the Dauphin, but that he saw in the Royal Army persons who ought not to be admitted into its ranks, and against whom he would maintain his City in the King's behalf.

During six weeks the ordinary fluctuations occurred which mark the course of almost every well-conducted siege. At the end of that period an epidemic had wasted the Burgundian force, sweeping away 2000 Knights and Squires, exclusively of uncounted multitudes of lower degree. Change of quarters among the enemy heightened the spirits of the besieged, who imagined that the movement arose from intelligence of the near approach of the promised English succours. The mortality, however, still continued its ravages in the camp, notwithstanding its station had been shifted. The Duke of Burgundy obstinately persisted in urging hostilities, but the Dauphin who witnessed with regret the sufferings of so noble a City, the Capital of Auvergne and Berri, and one of the chief ornaments of Provinces to which he was heir, so strongly expressed his determination to treat, that Burgundy, doubtful of retaining a majority in the Council, yielded an unwilling assent. The hostile leaders met for discussion on a platform in which barriers separated them from each other; and although they parted in good humour, the Duke of Berri somewhat pointedly remarked to the Duke of Burgundy, "Fair nephew and fair godson, when your father, my dear brother, was living, there was no need of any barrier between us, for we were always on the most affectionate terms." "My Lord," was the false and unblushing reply, "it has not been *my* fault*."

In a few more Conferences the terms were adjusted. The King was afflicted with his usual disorder; but the Duke of Berri, repairing to the tents of the Dauphin, ratified the July 15. Treaty, after which, "each kissed the other, but when the Duke of Berri kissed his nephew, the tears ran down his cheeks†." The terms varied little from those which had before been signed at Chartres. Pardon was extended to all who had appeared in arms against the King; foreign alliances were renounced, conquests were restored on both sides; and an express clause prohibited the use of opprobrious language, and of the hateful distinction between Burgundian and Armagnac. The Count of Vertus, a younger brother of the Duke of Orleans, was betrothed to a daughter of the Duke of Burgundy, and during some festivities which ensued at Auxerre and Melun, even those two Dukes "rode out together both on the same horse, showing such mutual affection as is

* Monstrelet, iii. c. 10.

† Id., *ibid.*

becoming brothers and near relations." No one who reads the narrative of this hypocritical exhibition can be surprised to hear that "nevertheless some wicked tongues were not sparing of them behind their backs, but loudly spoke their minds *."

CHAPTER XIII.

From A. D. 1413, to A. D. 1422.

Death of Henry IV. of England—Outrages of the *Cabochiens*—Treaty of Pontoise—The Duke of Burgundy retires from Paris—Tyranny of Armagnac—Treaty of Arras—Power seized by the Dauphin—Capture of Harfleur by Henry V.—His march to Calais—Battle of Azincourt—Death of the Dauphin Louis, and of the Duke of Berri—Defeat of Armagnac—Death of the Dauphin John—Armagnac imprisons the Queen at Tours, and re-establishes his despotism—The Duke of Burgundy assists the Queen's escape—Paris betrayed to L'Isle Adam—Massacre at the Prisons—Murder of Armagnac—Burgundy and the Queen in Paris—Renewal of the massacre—Capture of Rouen by Henry V.—Conference between the Dauphin and Burgundy at Pouilly—Assassination of Burgundy at Montreuil—Treacherous seizure of the Duke of Brittany—Peace of Troyes—Marriage of Catherine of France to Henry V.—Courts of the two Kings—Process against the Dauphin—Siege of Meaux—Death of Henry V.—Of Charles VI.—Sketch of the Great Schism.

AFTER the ratification of this third Peace, it remained for the Duke of Orleans to dismiss his English auxiliaries who had already disembarked. The great expenditure which his other preparations had demanded rendered it difficult however to provide funds for this purpose also; and the Duke of Clarence found payment by spreading his troops in free quarters over Normandy, Picardy, and Maine. The English army marched unopposed from Calais to Bourdeaux, for the Government possessed neither money nor soldiers with which it could purchase or offer resistance; and the Duke of Orleans was at length compelled to deliver his brother, the Duke of Angoulême, as a hostage for his debt of 320,000 A. D. 1413. crowns of gold. The death of Henry IV. occurred in the March 20. Winter following the Peace of Bourges; but the necessary domestic cares which occupied his son immediately after accession postponed for a short season the humiliation which France was soon to undergo.

An assembly of the States-General proved wholly ineffectual. During nearly a fortnight the Deputies were occupied in listening
 Jan. 30. to scholastic discourses, in which the several orators, or
 Feb. 9. rather preachers, enforced the necessity of Peace, and of alleviating the public burdens, by texts of Scripture; but

* Monstrelet, iii. c. 11.

omitted to offer any distinct practical scheme by which these desirable fruits might be produced. The Duke of Orleans was not present at these meetings; for, notwithstanding the recent display of friendship at Auxerre, charges of mutual treachery were exchanged with the Duke of Burgundy, and it was rumoured that each meditated the assassination of the other*.

The University of Paris next presented to the throne a Memorial of Grievances, the chief burden of which was financial malversation. In this complaint of "the daughter of the King," Feb. 13. as the University styled itself, Pierre des Essarts was vehemently denounced as a fraudulent Pluralist; and conscious of having betrayed his former Patron, whose suspicions had become awakened, and upon whose protection therefore he durst not any longer rely, he secretly withdrew from the Capital to his Government of Cherbourg. In what manner this wretched, venal tool of Faction had intrigued with the Armagnacs is not clearly known; but when the Duke of Burgundy was preparing to arrest him at Cherbourg, he learned with inconceivable astonishment that the traitor had re-entered Paris, and, by means of an Order bearing the Dauphin's signature, had possessed himself of the Bastile.

No other evidence of the hostility of the Court beyond that which the Dauphin's conduct thus afforded was needed by the Duke of Burgundy, and he recklessly let loose a whirlwind which, when it had once escaped confinement, even himself was unable to direct. The elements of mischief had long been prepared to his hand by the militia of Butchers which St. Pôl had embodied. They were aroused at a word, and, under the guidance of two Gentlemen of the Burgundian household†, 20,000 armed men assembled round the Bastile, and with furious outcries demanded that Des Essarts should be given up. The Duke rode among them as if to appease the tumult; but he well knew that the fortress was strong and numerous guarded, and that the insurgents ran great hazard of repulse if they should venture upon assault. While therefore he secretly directed part of the rabble to file off to the Hôtel of the Dauphin, he so far worked upon the fears of Des Essarts, with whom he obtained an interview, as to induce his voluntary surrender. Marking him on the back with a St. Andrew's Cross, and assuring the populace that he was a "good Burgundian," the Duke carried his prisoner to the Châtelet, where he left him with a pledge that he would watch over his personal safety. Having thus far triumphed, the Duke of Burgundy proceeded next to the Hotel St.

* Juvenal des Ursins, 245, recounts a proposition made by the Duke of Burgundy to Pierre des Essarts, for the massacre of the Armagnac Leaders while at Auxerre. M. de Siamondi, who refers to Juvenal des Ursins for this charge, and to Berri, *Roi d'Armes*, 425, for the counter-accusation, esteems both to be probable, xii. 401.

† Helyon de Jacquenville, of whom more hereafter, was one of these.

PÔl, and placing the terrified Dauphin at a window of the Palace, he compelled him to listen with humble demeanour to an inflammatory harangue from the mob orator, Jean de Troyes. The vices of the degraded Prince furnished the speaker's theme; and after detailing these perhaps without exaggeration, but certainly in strong colours, he demanded the surrender of the chief flatterers by whom he said that the youth of Louis had been misled. "Most redoubted Lord," was the respectful conclusion of this imperious speech, "on behalf of your good town of Paris, and for the welfare of your father and of yourself, we require that you cause to be delivered up to us certain traitors who are now in your Hotel."

The list of those whom Louis was thus required to abandon commenced with the name of the Duke de Bar, a cousin of the King, and it embraced all who shared most intimately in his confidence. But to disobey was impossible; and, after a bitter reproach and menace to his father-in-law, by whom he declared the insurrection to be organized, the Dauphin witnessed the seizure and removal of the leading personages who formed his household. They were conveyed on horseback to the Duke of Burgundy's residence, and the rabble afterwards dispersed, but not until some blood had been shed to slake their fevered appetite.

During three months, the Capital remained under the domination of the Mob. Not a day passed in which the Dauphin was not insulted by some formal lecture upon his irregularities, delivered occasionally in set terms by some Professor of the Sorbonne, who took care to warn him that the lineal succession might be set aside*. The party badge of the *Cabochiens* (the name assumed from one of the Butcher Chiefs) was a white hood, the symbol which thirty years before had been employed by the Citizens of Ghent during one of their insurrections: the Royal Dukes, in common with the lowest populace, wore these emblems of faction, and one was forced even upon the King himself when he at-

May 18. tended at St. Denis to return thanks for a restoration to temporary sanity†.

So vigilantly was the Dauphin watched, that although the Count of Vertus and some other Noblemen succeeded in withdrawing, escape on his part was rendered impossible. Not many days after the King's recovery, the Palace was again beset, and a fresh proscription was demanded, chiefly selected from the Household of the Queen. Her brother, Duke Louis of Bavaria, who had proposed to celebrate his nuptials on the following morning‡, was conveyed with other prisoners of distinguished rank, several of whom were Ladies, to confinement

* Eustache de la Paville, who had composed the Memorial of Grievances, preached a sermon of this nature. *Rel. de St. Denis*, liv. xxxiii., c. 3. p. 685.

† Monstrelet, iii. c. 19.

‡ With the sister of the Count of Alençon, widow of Pedro of Navarre, Count of Mortain.

in the Louvre; and the helplessness of cowardice, the vehemence of female passion, and the indifference of fatuity, are strikingly characterized by the various manner in which this outrage was endured by the three most illustrious personages in the Realm. The Dauphin, we are told, wept bitterly; the Queen was very angry; and the King —went to his dinner*.

Executions closely followed these arrests, for the *Cabochiens* had extorted the appointment of a High Court of Justice, in which twelve Commissioners were named for the especial trial of the denounced. Among the earliest victims who perished on the scaffold was Pierre des Essarts, who no doubt richly merited punishment, although perhaps the sentence by which he was condemned was unjust. In his former office of Provost he had rendered himself unpopular by severity. The Question wrung from him avowals which satisfied the formality of Law; and, unpitied by the spectators, and unprotected by the powerful Masters whom, without regard to consistency, he had at various times served, he was dragged on a hurdle to the same gibbet on which three years before he had assisted in exposing the remains of July 1. Montaigu, his predecessor in the Ministry of Finance.

The love of pleasure which the Dauphin had ever extravagantly manifested was not subdued by the anarchy, danger, and distress by which he was surrounded. Although himself a captive, and although the blood of many with whom he lived familiarly had been drained in his presence, his Palace was still the scene of revelry. On one occasion, a rude and unseasonable interruption of his privacy occasioned a disgraceful broil which nearly ended in murder. Helyon de Jacquerville, one of the two Gentlemen of Burgundy's Household who had directed the attack on the Bastile, in reward for that and similar services, had been appointed Governor of Paris. The sound of music in the Hotel St. Pôl at a late hour of the night was regarded by him as an abomination; and, bursting with an armed Police into the Dauphin's apartment, he taxed him with habits of immeasurable licentiousness, and endeavoured to arrest La Trémouille, one of his favourite companions. Daggers were unsheathed in the affray, and the lives both of the Governor and of his prisoner appear to have been endangered†.

* Monstrelet, iii. c. 19.

† The representations, both of Juvenal des Ursins, 256, and of the Monk of St. Denis, liv. xxxiii. c. 10, p. 379, are unfavourable to Jacquerville in this transaction. He seems indeed to have been animated by a vulgar, meddling, and puritanical spirit. The Dauphin was but twenty years of age; the hour was not very late, between eleven and twelve; the offence was dancing. Juvenal des Ursins terms it *Hardiesse d'un nommé Jacquerville*, who and his subalterns were *orgueilleux et hautains*. On reaching the Dauphin's apartment, *il dit plusieurs paroles trop fières et orgueilleuses contre un Seigneur*. The Monk, in like manner, describes it as *injure faite au Duc de Guenne par Helyon de Jacquerville, qui montait hardiment chez ce Prince comme il avoit souvent accoustumé* (it was not therefore a single insult) *il se soucia si peu de ce qu'il devoit à sa naissance Royale, que le trouvant au bal et dansant, il n'eut point la honte de l'en reprendre publiquement*.

Helyon de Jacquerville was afterwards dragged out of the Church of our Lady at

The Princes of the Blood remote from the Capital viewed the outrages perpetrated within its walls with natural alarm; and the Dauphin found means of communicating to them the grievous thralldom in which he was detained. Midsummer, however, had passed before they felt sufficiently strong to make any attempt even by negotiation. The Con-

July 22. ferences which then opened at Pontoise, to which town they had advanced with a strong force, were impeded for awhile by the arts of the Duke of Burgundy, who was far too well practised in sedition not to know that the violence of his partizans must be followed by a fearful re-action whenever they ceased to enjoy supremacy. But the higher class of Bourgeois, weary of the capricious despotism of the rabble, had resolved upon emancipation. The Duke of Burgundy was irresolute at an important crisis; the good Citizens, as they

Aug. 3. were emphatically called, flew to arms, and throwing open the prison-doors, obtained the Dukes of Bar and of Bavaria as their leaders. The Dauphin also was not wanting; and even the Duke of Burgundy himself was compelled to assist in the destruction of his own work, and to march with the Civic Militia. This Revolution was effected in a single day; and Caboché and his chief adherents, unable to procure support, and destitute of every hope of creating insurrection in their behalf, considered themselves fortunate in being allowed to withdraw from Paris without the pursuit of Justice. A fourth Peace, the Treaty of Pontoise, differing but little from that of Auxerre, was ratified and proclaimed on the 12th of August*.

The Duke of Burgundy soon discovered that his continued abode in Paris would be attended with danger, and using an opportunity afforded by a hunting-party in the Wood of Vincennes, he hastened upon the route to Flanders, crossing the Forest of Bendi with much fear till he was joined by a company of men-at-arms at St. Maixence.

Aug. 31. After this flight, the Armagnacs became altogether triumphant; but the Princes had scarcely established themselves in Paris, before the irregularities of the Dauphin attracted their notice; and the fickle youth, impatient of remonstrance, and deeply irritated by the arrest of some of his debauched companions which had

Dec. —. been authorized by the Queen, secretly applied to the Duke of Burgundy for assistance. The Duke, who had been employed since his retreat in assuring himself of the support of his States, gladly accepted the invitation, and advanced to Paris in the full confidence of being once more hailed its deliverer. But

A. D. 1414. Feb. 11. the state of Parties in the Capital had materially changed; remembrance of the enormities of the *Cabochiens* still

Chartres, and mortally wounded by Hector of Savennes, in revenge for a robbery committed on one of his kinsmen. The Duke of Burgundy at first was greatly affected, and declared that he never would pardon the offenders. "Nevertheless, within a few days, Hector, somehow or other, made up his quarrel with the Duke."

iv. c. 64. * Monstrelet, iv. c. 22.

powerfully influenced the more opulent Citizens; the Dauphin was persuaded or intimidated into a disavowal of the letters upon which Burgundy founded his interference; the Count of Armagnac commanded 11,000 horse, and the force with which Burgundy had encamped between Montmartre and Chaillet did not amount to half that number. Disappointed in his hope of exciting a popular movement, he hastily fell back by Compiègne and Soissons. The Royal Army, headed by Charles in person (who, during his lucid intervals, always loved the excitement of military parade), followed in pursuit; and many of the great Barons, Knights, and loyal Servants of the Crown, remarked with much discontent, that the King and the Dauphin laid aside "the gallant and noble banners of their predecessors," for the plain white Cross of Armagnac. It seemed to them unbecoming of the dignity of their Monarch, that he should bear the arms of a vassal, especially in his own quarrel, and within his own Realm*.

Compiègne and Noyon capitulated, and were treated with lenity; Soissons, which resisted, was taken by assault, and underwent the uttermost horrors of a storm. Even the Churches were pillaged, the garrison was put to the sword, and its commanders atoned with their lives for fidelity to a cause which but a few months before the King himself had espoused†. The Royal Council, encouraged by success, resolved to pursue Burgundy to extremity; and the very existence of the humiliated Prince appeared to depend upon the maintenance of Arras, which was formally invested in July. Nevertheless, he was not without hope. The Army under his command at Douai, although not sufficiently strong to attempt the relief of Arras, was still respectable; little progress had been made in the siege; an epidemic prevailed in the Camp; the Normans, and at length the Dauphin, expressed a strong wish for negociation, which was vainly combated by Armagnac, who, with his Gascon and Breton adventurers, was indulging in the prospect of plunder. Nor was there wanting a powerful mediation; the Duke of Brabant and the Countess of Hainault, the one a brother, the other a sister of Burgundy, were indefatigable in their applications for Peace. They were at length successful; and terms were granted which a vanquished Rebel could have little hoped to obtain, even although his Conquerors were a cousin and a son-in-law. By this fifth Peace, of Arras, founded like its predecessors on the basis of that of Chartres, all conquests were restored, the Duke of Burgundy tendered submission for the offences which he had offered against the Crown, personally surrendered the keys of Arras, and pledged himself not to return to Paris unless summoned by the King and the Dauphin. Some hesitation was expressed by the Dukes of Orleans and of Bourbon, and by the Arch-

* Monstrelet, iv. c. 3.

† M. de Sismondi, xii. 446.

bishop of Sens*, when required to swear to the new Articles. They objected, and with reason, that the former Peace had not been infringed by *them*, but their scruples were overruled by the displeasure which the Dauphin manifested. The Duke of Berri was yet more peremptory than his great-nephew; and his answer to a Remonstrance offered by the Parisians, not unjustly displeased that they had been altogether excluded from the diplomacy, evinces the arrogance of him who delivered it, the servility of those by whom it was quietly accepted. "This matter does not any way touch you to interfere between our Lord the King and us who are of his lineage; for we may quarrel one with another whenever it shall please us so to do, and we may also make peace according to our will†." The Deputies of the Metropolis, who were men of patient habits, returned home without further reply; but the disappointed military adventurers evinced a less enduring spirit. When ordered to strike their tents and to commence retreat, they disencumbered them-

selves from the trouble of baggage by the summary process
 Oct. 1. of firing their Camp. Four hundred sick perished in the flames, which spread to the quarters of the Princes, and consumed the equipage of the Dauphin, who hastened back to Paris almost in a state of destitution.

Little tranquillity resulted from this Treaty, in which neither Party had been sincere. It was plain that submission had been
 A. D. 1415. extorted from Burgundy* solely by his necessities, and that the forbearance shown to him was reluctantly afforded by the Armagnacs. The Court evinced deep animosity against those who espoused his interests, and all executive offices were consigned to persons distinguished for zealous opposition to his principles. But the time was at hand in which the scourge of foreign invasion was to be added to that of Civil War. Henry V. had hitherto temporized; but while France was hourly growing weaker by her intestine divisions, the English Prince was consolidating his power by the reconciliation or the depression of contending Factions. The hand of Catherine, a daughter of the Duke of Burgundy, had been tendered to his acceptance during the lifetime of his father; but he appears to have negotiated more seriously for that of another Catherine, daughter of the King of France, who subsequently indeed became his Queen. Mutual

Embassies despatched by each Court were received and
 Feb. —. entertained with great magnificence by the other. Yet even while the Truce was prolonged from time to time, in order to assist this diplomacy, Henry continued his preparations for War, upon which it is not possible to doubt that he had long before decided. Charles was willing to portion his daughter with 800,000 Crowns and the Duchy of Aquitaine as it had been possessed by the Black Prince. The exorbitant suitor demanded the arrears of John's ransom, amounting

* Brother of Jean de Montaigu.

† Monstrelet, iv. c. 11.

to twice the offered sum, and restitution of all the Provinces which had been ceded to England by the Treaty of Bretigny.

Yet, however manifest was the impending rupture with a Power against which France even when united had struggled always with difficulty, frequently with discomfiture, this most unseasonable moment was chosen by the headstrong and unreflecting Dauphin to alienate from himself all support; and by an idle attempt to establish his own independent authority to increase the distraction which lacerated his miserable Country. Having stolen away from an Assembly of the Princes of the Blood, convened by his own order at Melun, he secretly hastened back to Paris, and there promulgated an Edict enumerating the manifold abuses by which his father's reign had been deformed. It commenced by animadversion upon the plunder of Charles V. when dying by his brother of Anjou; it passed on to the enormous sums lavished by the Duke of Berri and the late Duke of Burgundy; it noticed the death of the late Duke of Orleans; and having touched upon the profusion of John *sans peur*, it announced the intention of the Dauphin, as heir to the Crown, to prevent all similar waste for the future by assumption of the Government in his own person.

In order to secure prompt obedience, the Dauphin commanded the Princes to retire to their several *apanages*; and to provide himself with money, he seized three large sums of treasure accumulated by the Queen Mother, and deposited by her with individuals in the Capital. No demur appears to have been made to this sudden usurpation; for the King, confined to his Palace, was in the power of his son; and the King, as was usual in France, formed the entire State. The Princes obeyed in silence, and the hopes of the Duke of Burgundy were naturally excited by their exclusion. Not imagining that his weak son-in-law entertained any design of ruling by himself, he despatched messengers to solicit an Act of Amnesty for such of his partizans as had not been admitted to benefit by the late Treaty; and he accompanied this request by another of more private import, insisting that his daughter should be restored to her conjugal rights, and that the Dauphin "should put away a female friend who lived with him in place of this said wife*." The second proposal seems to have produced vehement exasperation; and the ambassadors, dissatisfied with their first reception, requested another audience at a more favourable moment. When the Dauphin persisted in his opposition to their demands, they boldly announced that the Duke of Burgundy would never ratify the Treaty of Arras, and that, in case of an English invasion, neither himself nor any of his vassals would bear arms in defence of the Kingdom.

It was not long before this declaration was put to the test. Henry V., having suppressed an insurrection in favour of the Earl of March, which

* Monstrelet, iv. c. 24.

detained him only a few days at Southampton, entered the mouth of the Seine unopposed, and invested Harfleur with an army containing the bravest Knights in England, about 6000 men-at-arms, and 20,000 archers*. The Dauphin, alarmed at this intelligence, summoned the Duke of Berri to the Capital, and, by his advice, made overtures of reconciliation to Burgundy. John *sans peur* accepted the Letters Patent in which he was again recognised as a loyal kinsman and vassal, and an offer which reduced the number of his proscribed followers from 500 to 45; he consented to swear to the terms of the Peace of Arras, with a reservation as to certain clauses which he disapproved; but he was tardy in providing his contingent; and when the Royal Army assembled at Rouen, neither himself, his son the Count of Charalois, nor any of the immediate vassals of Burgundy, appeared in its ranks. In spite of this defection, the gathering was most numerous. The Count of Nevers and the Duke of Brabant† headed their retainers; Boucicaut the Maréchal, and Clignet the Ex-Admiral of France‡, were intrusted with high command; and the whole army was placed under the orders of Charles d'Albret the Constable, who, finding himself supported by fifteen of the greatest Feudatories of the Kingdom, 40,000 men-at-arms, and a proportionate infantry, declined, not without some expression of contempt, an offer made by the Burgesses of Paris to equip 6000 militia for the service.

Harfleur maintained itself bravely during a five weeks' siege, and the loss of the English under its walls both by the sword and by disease was considerable. No movement, however, was made for its relief, and the booty and prisoners which fell into the hands of the conquerors upon its surrender were sent to England without an attempt for their rescue. Henry having mastered the Town, dismounted at Sept. 22. its gates, and walked barefooted to return thanks in the principal Church. Thinking, however, that his honour demanded more than this single conquest, he resolved to continue his march to Calais, with an army now diminished to 2000 men-at-arms and 13,000 archers. The experiment was most hazardous, for, even if his course could be direct, he had to pass over more than a hundred

* This expedition of Henry V. is related by Thomas Elmham, Prior of Lenton; by an Italian who wrote under the name of Titus Livius; and very concisely by Otterbourne. The three accounts have been collected and published together by Hearne. The last named of the above writers relates an incident (p. 275) which is adopted by Shakspeare, and has been accredited by tradition; but which is not to be hastily admitted without further authority, that the Dauphin insultingly sent a present of tennis-balls to Henry, who replied, that he would return him some London balls, which should not be made to rebound even by the gates of Paris. The Monk of Croyland and Caxton repeat this story.

† The Duke of Brabant did not join till the morning of the Battle of Azincourt.

‡ Clignet, Seigneur de Landreville, was appointed Admiral by Louis Duke of Orleans in 1405, and displaced in 1408 by Jacques de Chatillon, Seigneur de Dampierre. Clignet affected to retain his title. Monstrelet, iv. c. 173.

miles of foreign land, in the presence of a force well acquainted with the Country and far superior in numbers.

Every step of this adventurous march excites deep interest in an English reader. After having occupied Harfleur during fifteen days, Henry moved chiefly along the shore till he Oct. 7. reached Eu, designing to cross the Somme either at Pont Rémy or at the ford of Blanche Tache, so memorable for the success of Edward III. But as those obvious passages were strongly guarded, it became necessary to seek for one by advancing higher up the left bank of the river. The French still presented themselves in force at the opposite strongholds of Amiens, of Corbi, and of Peronne, and it was not until the King of England arrived at Bethen- Oct. 19. court, near St. Quentin, that he overcame his difficulty.

The Constable then resolved to give battle; but so little had war at that time advanced towards the dignity of a science, that, instead of cutting off the supplies of the invaders already half famished, and harassing them by preoccupying advantageous positions, he sent heralds, offering the choice of a day and a field upon which a trial of arms might be made. When Henry replied that he should never sleep within a walled town, and that he would always be found ready to repulse attack, the French determined not to press upon his rear, but to intercept him on his march to Calais. The King and his three sons, together with the Dukes of Berri, of Bretany, and of Burgundy, were absent during this movement. The last-named great Nobles were influenced by private motives; Charles and the Dauphin wished to partake in the approaching engagement, but the Duke of Berri, entertaining a vivid recollection of the disasters which he had witnessed at Poitiers, and which the lapse of three score years had by no means obliterated from his memory, checked their ardour by observing that it was far better to lose a battle than a battle and a King also.

On the evening of the 24th of October, the French army quartered itself between the villages of Framecourt and Azincourt, on a narrow plain three or four leagues Northward from Hesdin and St. Pól. The Constable neglected to defend a stream which covered the front of his position, and when Henry crossed at Blangy and ascended the neighbouring heights, he descried the whole array of his opponents, from whom his own headquarters at Maisonnelles were not distant above three bowshots. A sharp skirmish occurred before sunset; the night which followed was wet and dreary, and it appears as if a melancholy spirit weighed heavily upon both armies. The French, we are told, had but little music to cheer them; and it was noticed as a prognostic of ill that scarcely one of their horses neighed. In the English Camp the trumpets and other instruments sounded loudly and incessantly till Henry enjoined silence*; but the soldiers were much oppressed with

* Monstrelet speaks of the music which sounded all night in the English Camp;

cold, hunger*, and other discomforts, and were chiefly employed in confession and mutual forgiveness, in prayer, and the reception of the Host, as men who anticipated almost certain death on the morrow, and who were resolved to confront it†.

When that morrow rose, the French arranged themselves according to received tactics, in three divisions of battle. The van Monday, consisted of 8000 dismounted men-at-arms, 4000 archers, Oct. 25, and 1500 cross-bows, and, as the post of honour, it was led by the Constable himself, supported by the Dukes of Orleans and of Bourbon, the Counts of Eu and Richmond, the Maréchal Boucicaut, the Admiral Dampierre, the Lord de Rambures Master of the Cross-bows, and other Chiefs of high distinction. Fifteen hundred picked men on one wing, eight hundred on the other, were confided respectively to the Count de Vendôme and to the Ex-Admiral Pierre de Oignet, with orders to fall on the English flanks at a convenient moment. In the main battalion, which was of equal strength, were stationed the Dukes of Bar and of Alençon‡, the Counts of Nevers, of Vaudémont, of Blau mont, of Salines, of Grand-pré, and of Roussy. The rear comprised all the remaining troops, and was commanded by the Counts of Marle, of Dampmartin, and of Fauconberg, and by the Lord of Louvroy. The whole force, according to Monstrelet, might be estimated at six times greater than that of the English: this number is probably exaggerated, but the Chronicler spoke rather from knowledge than from conjecture, when he added that the wisest among them entertained fears of defeat§.

The English, whose numerical inferiority permitted little subdivision, were drawn up, in a single body four deep, by Sir Thomas Erpingham, "a Knight grown grey with age and honour," the archers were posted in front, the men-at-arms behind, the horses and baggage in the rear. Some light troops (by which are probably meant irregular and rudely-armed stragglers) were employed to fire the out-houses of a farm and Priory behind Azincourt; and a detachment of about 200 archers was directed secretly to occupy a field adjoining the village of Framercourt,

but a better authority, of which great use has been made by Mr. Turner, a MS. belonging to the Sloanian Collection, now in the British Museum. (1776), written by a Chaplain of Henry V., who was present at the scenes which he describes, notices the King's command for silence. M. de Sismondi has finely contrasted the dispositions of the two armies.

* The Army had been provisioned for eight days, in which period the march would have been executed, if the passage of the Somme had been free. As it was, the common men during eighteen days past had not drunk a stronger beverage than water, and many had been obliged to substitute filberts for bread. Walsingham, p. 391.

† Walsingham, p. 392. Monstrelet, iv. c. 30.

‡ John, grandson of Philippe of Valois, on the 1st of January, 1415, had obtained the creation of the County of Alençon into a Duchy. *Ordonnances de France*, x. 228.

§ Monstrelet, iv. c. 31.

and to attack the French van "whenever it should be a proper time to use their bows."

Henry, after having heard three Masses at break of day, rode among his men, addressing them with a few words of encouragement, and then, dismounting, placed himself in the foremost ranks. Among the brilliant train of Nobles by whom he was surrounded, were his uncle the Duke of York, his brother the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Dorset, of Oxford, of Suffolk, and of Kent. On the past evening when he had asked David Gam* (a Welsh Gentleman who received Knighthood while he lay expiring on the ground after the battle) what was the probable number of the enemy, he received the memorable and inspiring reply, "Enough to be killed, enough to be made prisoners, and enough to run away." The prevalence of so noble a feeling among his followers might well induce the King to reply to Sir William Hemmingford's wish for 10,000 of those English archers, who were at that moment desiring to be among them, in the memorable words "That if in truth he possessed the power, he would not add one single individual to his host†."

When each archer had planted before him the sharpened stake which formed the defence of their general line against a charge of horse, Sir Thomas Erpingham threw up his truncheon, and this signal that all was ready was answered by a loud and universal shout. The French were greatly astonished, and remained motionless on their posts, till Henry, perceiving that they were not inclined to advance, moved forward with a happy daring, at about ten o'clock in the forenoon. The line halted at intervals to recover breath and to preserve regularity, and after each brief pause it renewed its huzzas and again marched on. When the archers‡ had arrived within distance, they discharged their arrows, not point blank, but at a considerable elevation, and the volleys fell with deadly effect among the crowded van of the enemy, which, compressed between a copse on each flank, was drawn up thirty files in depth. It was in vain that the Knights stooped to prevent the strokes of the arrows upon their vizors; many were slain, many were severely wounded. The charge attempted at that moment by Clignet on the left flank only in-

* Some particulars respecting Davy Gam may be found in Powell's *History of Wales*, and in a Note on Dunster's Edition of Philips's *Cider*, p. 64. Drayton mentions him with honour in his *Battail of Azincour*, and he is noticed both by Walsingham and by Shakspeare among the few English "of name" killed in the action.

† Turner, from the Sloane MS.

‡ Monstrelet exaggerates them to at least 13,000. By the Sloane MS. they are reduced to 5000. The respective numbers of the two armies are well compared by Mr. Turner (415). Although Henry landed at Harfleur with 24,000 archers, many were lost during the siege, many returned sick to England, a strong garrison was left with the Earl of Dorset, and numerous casualties must have occurred during the march; so that, as Walsingham continues, the English engaged were, "as is said, not more than 8000 men-at-arms and archers, the greater part of whom was suffering under illness contracted at Harfleur; a scanty band, worn with hunger, dysentery, and fever." The French, on the other hand, "were reported to be 150,000 strong." 391.

creased confusion ; the ground was a deep clay, it had been much trodden by the troops of foraging parties on the preceding evening, and it had been saturated by rain during the night ; part of it also was fresh-sown corn-land, part occupied by copses and brushwood ; so that of 800 men-at-arms who commenced the attack, not 150 reached the English line, and most of these were driven upon their own van, when their wounded horses became ungovernable, from pain and terror. The English archers, on account of the lightness of their equipment, were far more active in close combat than men in complete mail : they are described as being “ for the most part without any armour, and in their jackets, with their hose loose, and hatchets or swords hanging to their girdles ; some indeed were bare-footed and without hats*.” This body, taking instant advantage of the Enemy’s first disorder, threw down their bows, and fought lustily, slaying all before them with swords, hatchets, mallets, and bill-hooks, till they penetrated to the second battalion. The Duke of Brabant, who had just arrived on the field by a forced march, charged, with a small company, between the routed van and the second division, but he was instantly unhorsed and killed. The Duke of Alençon rushed through the English line, and, in an attempt to reach Henry himself, struck down and wounded the Duke of York, who was near him. As the King stooped to raise his uncle, part of the Crown which circled the crest of his helmet was hewn away by the battle-axe of Alençon. The brave French Prince, overpowered by numbers, and seeing the inequality of the combat, lifted his arm, and, addressing the King, said, “ I am the Duke of Alençon, and I yield myself to you.” Henry stretched out his hand to receive his pledge from the illustrious prisoner, but before he could guarantee his safety, the impatience and anxiety of the surrounding guards had felled him lifeless to the ground.

The French reserve, which had continued mounted, panic-stricken by the total overthrow of the two leading divisions, turned their bridles and fled ; but in this moment of complete victory, an alarm was given that the English rear had been attacked, and that much of the baggage was already captured. A band of peasants, indeed, headed by some men-at-arms who had escaped from the mêlée, had fallen upon it in the hope of plunder. Their avarice was gratified, for they obtained possession of the Royal jewels ; and the lives of some of them were probably saved during subsequent imprisonment by the Duke of Burgundy, by the presentation to the Count of Charolois of a rich diamond-hilted sword, which formed a portion of their spoil. But this unknighly booty was purchased at a dear cost to their Countrymen ; Henry, although hitherto successful, perceived that if the fugitives should once be able to rally so as to deliver the prisoners who already outnumbered their captors, his

* Monstrelet, iv. c. 31. If there were really any troops thus destitute of necessary accoutrements, they were most probably irregular Welsh or Irish, of that class which did so fearful execution at Crécy.

destruction was certain; and, compelled by one of those painful necessities under which all choice of action is denied, he gave command that every man should put his prisoners to death. The carnage was stopped as soon as it was ascertained that the marauders were dispersed; but much blood had been spilled before the revocation of the order could be generally made known.

Three hours sufficed to render the English masters of the whole field. Henry himself gave its name to the Battle, on learning from the captured Herald Mountjoye that a neighbouring Castle was that of Azincourt; and when he had obtained from the same prisoner an admission that the victory belonged to the English, he humbly ascribed the triumph entirely to the favour of Heaven. About 1600 English (among whom the only persons of any rank were the Duke of York and the Earl of Suffolk*) were killed. Out of the more than 10,000 slain on the part of the defeated, it is affirmed that four-fifths were of generous blood, and seven of them, the Duke of Brabant and the Count of Nevers, the Duke of Bar and his two brothers, the Duke of Alençon and the Constable D'Albret, were near kinsmen of the King; 120 Bannerets lay around them, and most of the Nobles who escaped with life were led away captive. Among these prisoners were the Dukes of Orleans† and of Bourbon, the Counts of Richmond, of Eu, and of Vendôme, and the Maréchal Boucicaut‡. Perhaps the most adequate notion of the slaughter among the French is conveyed by Monstrelet, in his account of the provision for interment. After the corpses of all those who could be recognised had been carried away by their friends for suitable burial, the Count of Charolois, much grieved at the loss of his uncles§, measured out and enclosed a square cemetery upon the plain, presenting on each side a frontage of five-and-twenty yards. In three trenches, each twelve feet in width, dug within this circuit, were deposited, "by an account kept," 5800 men||.

Henry, conscious of his weakness, discreetly forbade pursuit; he returned to Maisoncelles for the night, and on the following morning,

* M. de Sismondi (xii. 488) says, by a slip of the pen or an error of the Press, *Le Comte d'Orford*. All the authorities to which we have had access concur in mentioning the Earl of Suffolk, and Shakspeare, in this instance, may be admitted as a correct voucher.*

"Where is the number of our English dead?

Edward the Duke of York, *the Earl of Suffolk*,

Sir Richard Ketly, Davy Gam, Esquire,

None else of name."

He then continues, according to an exploded report—

"and of all other men

But five-and-twenty."

† Rapin states, on the authority of the *Hist. de Bretagne*, 451, and of Le Fevre, 95, that the Duke of Orleans was recovered after having been found with some faint signs of life under a heap of corpses.

‡ Boucicaut died in England.

§ The Duke of Brabant and the Count of Nevers.

|| Monstrelet, iv. c. 33.

having burned all such spoil as was likely to impede rapidity of march, he hastened on to Calais, and on the eighth day after his

Nov. 2. memorable victory set sail for Dover, bearing with him his prisoners, and leaving France to be more than ever convulsed by Civil discord. The Duke of Burgundy indeed had derived strength from the National calamity; for, although his brothers had fallen, his own hosts were unharmed, and the bravest Armagnacs were among the killed or the captured. No sooner therefore did he receive intelligence of the defeat, than he marched towards Paris with 10,000 horse. The Dauphin and the Duke of Berri at the same time hastened thither from Rouen, carrying with them the King, and summoning Armagnac to their aid with about 6000 men whom he commanded in Languedoc. At Lagny, in which town Burgundy halted, his force became doubled; nevertheless, either from irresolution, or perhaps from a discovery that he could not obtain the support which he had expected in the Capital, he remained inactive amid the jeers of the Citizens who named him from his slowness *Jean-le-long*, from his quarters *Jean de Lagny*. The Dauphin peremptorily forbade his advance, and was exhibiting some

Dec. 18. vigour in his administration, when a few days' illness terminated his life in his twentieth year.

John, the next brother, was two years younger than the Prince to whose honours he succeeded. He had hitherto borne the title of Duke of Touraine, and being married to Jacqueline, a daughter of the Duke of Hainault and of a sister of the Duke of Burgundy, he resided in the States of his father-in-law, and was guided exclusively by Burgundian influence. While the Council was employed in formal com-

Dec. 29. munication with this new Dauphin, the Count of Armagnac arrived in Paris, where, exerting activity strongly contrasted with the want of energy manifested by his Rival, he obtained the sword of Constable which had been in abeyance since the death of D'Albret at Azincourt, sent back the widowed Dauphiness to her father, and commanded him under the penalty of treason to withdraw from Lagny.

The Duke of Burgundy obeyed, and Armagnac, thus left in unrestrained authority, exercised severities which speedily de-

A. D. 1416. stroyed his popularity. An expedition in which he personally engaged for the recapture of Harfleur was inglorious

Feb. —. and unsuccessful*; and during his absence from the Capital, a Conspiracy which might have been dangerous in its result was suppressed by the courage of the Provost Tannegui du Châtel. The objects of the rising were so wild, that we can scarcely believe them to

* Walsingham (394) gives a very inflated account of the Earl of Dorset's success at Harfleur on this occasion. The French, he says, were beaten because they ate meat and toyed with their mistresses during Lent, by 1500 English, "a band hungry, wearied, half starved, and worn down by want of sleep," who, having been spoiled of their horses by the camp-followers of the enemy, during a foraging excursion, were oppressed by a long march on foot under heavy armour.

have been sanctioned by agents of the Duke of Burgundy. Yet Monstrelet so affirms, and he is a writer not likely to be misinformed on such particulars. During Easter, the insurgents were to seize the Provost to kill him if he resisted, and to confine the King. They were to put to death the Queen, the Chancellor, and numberless others, with the Queen of Sicily, and after dressing the King of Sicily and the Duke of Bavaria in some of the King's old clothes, they were to carry them through Paris on two lean bullocks, and then to put them to death *. A woman, anxious for the safety of her lover, warned him to fly before the commencement of this insurrection. His denunciation furnished a clue; and while the Council and the Princes of the Blood struck with terror were deliberating upon means of escape, the Provost boldly arrested the chief conspirators, and brought them to punishment.

The Duke of Berri closed his imbecile but restless life in the ensuing Summer, having attained his seventy-sixth year. He was without male issue, and it had been arranged that his *apanages* of Berri and Poitou should pass to the new Dauphin. June 13. Armagnac, however, reluctant thus to increase the power of an avowed enemy, procured the transfer of the Duchy of Touraine to the Prince next in succession, Charles, at that time fourteen years of age, and soon destined to the heirdom of the Crown. He was betrothed to a daughter of the King of Sicily, and under guardianship of his future father-in-law had been carefully educated in Anti-Burgundian principles.

In his military operations, the Constable was again unsuccessful before Harfleur. With the aid of a Genoese squadron he had blockaded the Port, but it was relieved by a vigorous effort of the Duke of Clarence, who forced the mouth of the Seine with a fleet of 300 vessels, revictualled the Town, and compelled the besiegers to abandon their enterprise †. The Dauphin, John, meantime, indignant at his exclusion from that share in the Government to which his station justly entitled him, held Conferences with Burgundy at Valenciennes; but the plans which he there arranged were arrested by his sudden death; a death so opportune for the A. D. 1417. Faction of Armagnac, that popular rumour unequivocally April 4. attributed it to poison. The King of Sicily, to whom suspicion attached more immediately than to the other Princes (although no proof was ever adduced that the event did not originate in natural causes), survived not quite a month ‡; and by his April 29. demise Armagnac obtained the sole custody of the persons both of the King and of Charles the new Dauphin. Having increased the revenues and the dignities of this child by obtaining for him grants

* Monstrelet, iv. c. 39.

† Id., *ibid.*, c. 43.

‡ M. de Sismondi, who altogether discredits the charge of poisoning, says that Louis of Anjou was reported to be the murderer, *peut-être par ce qu'il ne vivoit pas assez long temps pour pouvoir imposer silence à ses ennemis*, xii. 509.

which virtually strengthened himself, he finally consummated his scheme of ambition by removing the Queen, the single individual of whose influence he felt apprehensive. It was not difficult to excite the jealousy of the King, who was persuaded to order the secret execution of one of Isabelle's chief counsellors *, to dissolve her household, to confiscate her jewels, and with the express approbation of the Dauphin her son, to confine her residence to Tours under very harsh, vexatious, and unbecoming restrictions †.

Thus freed from all rivalry, Armagnac exercised a power without controul, and none of his predecessors had ever exhibited more unblushing rapacity than that which deformed his brief rule. Wherever the hoards of the Queen could be discovered, they were applied to his use. The rich plate and furniture of the Churches, and the gold and jewellery which adorned the shrines of Saints were stripped from their consecrated depositories to glut private avarice. A monopoly of Salt and an adulteration of the Coinage, pressed heavily upon the Citizens of the Capital. Each *Bourgeois* was besides compelled to work every fifth day on the fortifications of Paris, unless he offered a specified sum as a composition for this manual labour; and every three families were required to contribute sufficient for the equipment of one man-at-arms. Imprisonment, perhaps death under an accusation of Burgundianism, was the punishment for refusal or delay.

The murmurs excited by this tyranny encouraged the Duke of Burgundy to draw near Paris; but the City was occupied Aug. — by 3000 Gascons, whose presence too greatly intimidated the *Bourgeois* to permit any co-operation; and after a few days' encampment on Mont Rouge whence the Capital might be descried, Burgundy removed his standard on a "withered tree" from its ill-omened station ‡." His expedition, however, in more than one way materially added to his strength. Not only did many im-

Nov. 1. portant towns openly declare in his favour, but he negotiated a reconciliation between himself and the Queen, and effected her deliverance from Tours. "Most dear Cousin," were the words in which upon the success of the stratagem which restored her to freedom, Isabelle addressed the Prince whom she had hitherto pursued with viru-

* The caprice of despotism is frightfully illustrated by Monstrelet's account of this transaction. "About this time, while the Queen of France resided with her Court at the Castle of Vincennes, she was visited by the King her lord. On his return to Paris in the evening he met Sir Louis Bourdon, Knight, coming thence and going to Vincennes, who on passing very near the King made a slight inclination of his head as he rode by, and gaily pursued his road. The King instantly ordered the Provost of Paris to follow and arrest him, and to take especial care to give a good account of him. The Provost performed his duty in obeying this command, and confined Sir Louis in the Châtelet of Paris, where he was, by command of the King, very severely tortured, and then drowned in the Seine." iv. c. 51.

† She was placed under the guard of three Wardens, by whom all her letters were inspected. Monstrelet, iv. c. 52.

‡ *L'Arbre sec.* Monstrelet, iv. c. 60.

lent and undisguised hatred, "of all men in the Kingdom I ought to love you the most;" and from that moment their interests became cordially united. Of her three Gaolers, one who had treated her with marked disrespect was drowned in an endeavour to escape, the two others were arrested*.

This union with Isabelle gave an appearance of legitimacy to the otherwise equivocal acts of Burgundy. The Queen loudly asserted her right to administration during the King's malady, a right founded on Letters Patent issued by the Council and signed by all the Princes of the Blood, a right moreover which she now wished to exercise in conjunction with *Sans peur*. Burgundy at the same moment conducted an active negociation with England, and his Envoys secretly ratified an alliance so intimate as to remove all apprehension which might otherwise have arisen from the warlike attitude re-assumed by Henry V.

When the King of England therefore again disembarked near Harfleur, his progress in Normandy was almost unopposed. With the Duke of Burgundy he was leagued in friendship, Aug. 1. from the Duke of Bretany he had obtained a promise of neutrality; Armagnac thought only of defending Paris and its vicinity; and town after town therefore surrendered to the invader. The Queen and Burgundy wintered at Troyes. The ensuing Spring commenced by a most bloody but fruitless attack upon A. D. 1418. Senlis, to which town Armagnac led the King in person Feb. —. during one of his periods of convalescence. Few atrocities of these most fearful times are more odious than the repeated execution of hostages under pretext of breaches of the fidelity of which they were pledges; and with the stain of such murders on both sides the enterprise against Senlis was very deeply polluted. Some overtures, however, for a general pacification were made by Papal Legates; and the project of a Treaty framed at Montereau was approved by the Burgundians, and would have been readily accepted by the *Bourgeois* of the Capital: but Armagnac and those in his immediate confidence perceived that their own authority must inevitably give way before the predominance which Burgundy would assume on the re-establishment of the Council; and they peremptorily declined all accommo- May 23. dation.

The Parisians upon whom the chief burden of the Civil war had fallen, and who were hourly writhing under the tyranny of Armagnac, combined for his overthrow, in spite of the vigi- May 29. lance of his mercenaries. The leader of the plot who opened one of the gates of the Capital to John of Villiers, Lord of L'Isle Adam, a Burgundian Officer quartered at Pontoise, was Perinet le Clerc, the son

* Laurens de Puy, who never raised his hand to his head when he addressed the Queen, fell into the Loire while endeavouring to cross it. Jean Toree and Petit were taken prisoners. Id., *ibid.*, c. 62.

of an Ironmonger, who had suffered some personal ill treatment, for which the Provost had denied redress. By means of this agent, L'Isle Adam entered Paris with 800 horse in the dead of the night, boldly possessed himself of its main-points of defence, and before the weakness of his numbers was discovered, roused the Citizens to arm in his support by the cry of "Burgundy." The King himself fell into his hands; the Dauphin was hurried from his bed, wrapped only in its coverlid, placed by Tannegui du Châtel on horseback, and conveyed to the Bastile; but Armagnac, wakened by the tumult, had only time to escape from his Hotel to the neighbouring hovel of a poor Bricklayer, by whom, in a fit of terror, he was soon betrayed to L'Isle Adam*.

In a sally which Tannegui du Châtel attempted from the Bastile much blood was shed. Every house was defended as a
 June 1. fortress by the *Bourgeois*, till the Provost was compelled to retire after leaving 400 killed in the streets. The security of the Dauphin became more than ever important to him; and he succeeded in transferring him first to Melun, afterwards to
 June 11. Bourges, before the little garrison, in the Bastile was compelled to surrender. But enemies far more fearful than the Burgundian Captains were about to assail the miserable remnant of the fallen party. The ferocious Butchers, returning from their
 June 12. exile, raised a yell for blood; and having beset the Tower of the Palace, loudly demanded that the prisoners confined in it should be abandoned to their fury. The interposition of L'Isle Adam was wholly useless; and among the first victims dragged from their cells to massacre were the detested Armagnac and the Chancellor Henry de Masle. The savage *Cabochiens*, as if in the exercise of their peculiar calling, scored the corpses with transverse gashes across the shoulders, in resemblance of the Scarf which formed the badge of their Party †.

Five Bishops, those of Coutances, of Senlis, of Bayeux, of Evreux and of Saintes, and many Civilians of high rank, were imprisoned in the Petit Châtelet. They were summoned individually by name, and murdered one by one as they passed the wicket. In the Grand Châtelet, the prisoners had obtained arms, and attempted defence till they perished amid the flames of the building fired over their heads. Horrors, paralleled, alas! upon the same spots in times much nearer our own, were perpetrated without compunction by the brutal rabble; and the Burgundians themselves reported that 400 of their enemies had been deprived of life during thirty hours of carnage; the opposite party swelled the amount of their losses to 3000 ‡.

* Monstrelet, v. c. 3. L'Isle Adam afterwards lost the favour of Henry V. in consequence, probably, of some want of respect. (Id., *ibid.*, c. 45.) He was deprived of his Maréchal's baton, and imprisoned, his life having been granted at the intercession of the Duke of Burgundy (c. 43). At Henry's death he was released, restored to his possessions, and in part to his former offices (vi. c. 2).

† Like a *Bend* in Heraldry. Monstrelet, v. c. 5.

‡ Id., *ibid.*

From willingness to disembarass himself from his adversaries without openly authorizing their destruction; from personal fear; or from real inability to controul the madness of the people, Burgundy permitted a month to elapse before he moved from Troyes. When he entered Paris with the Queen, he was received with the most enthusiastic joy; the King appointed him Captain General; nominated his chief adherents to the principal Offices of State*; and as if to show approbation of the late massacres, restored the Butchers to their former lucrative monopoly. Little tranquillity however resulted to the wretched Capital from these changes. The Seine, occupied by the English at its mouth, by the Armagnacs in the upper part of its course, at Melun, was no longer available to the supply of the famishing inhabitants; and the corpses of the murdered prisoners, still left unburied in the streets, infected the air with pestilential vapours. It was calculated that more than 50,000 persons died in Paris and its environs between June and October. Nor was the appetite for slaughter completely appeased. A rumour was sedulously circulated that the Government intended to enrich itself by the ransom of the surviving Armagnacs, who would be allowed to purchase immunity by ample disbursements. The public Executioner, Capeluche, led the Butchers, excited by this falsehood, to a second assault upon the prisons; and after sacking both the Châtelets, and dragging out their new inmates to a cruel death, he proceeded with his associates to summon the Bastile. The Duke of Burgundy, condescending to mingle with the infuriated rabble, endeavoured to soothe their passions by a mild demeanour and courteous speeches; he even took Capeluche by the hand, and intreated him as a friend to procure the dispersion of his followers. On the surrender of some prisoners of distinction whom the Butchers promised to convey safely to the Châtelet, the attack on the Bastile was abandoned, but no sooner were the captives within the walls of their second gaol than the assassins, keeping to the letter but violating the spirit of their engagement, mercilessly tore them in pieces†. A stratagem which Burgundy employed in some measure restored his authority, and at least enabled him to avenge his outraged pride. Having prevailed upon the most turbulent *Cabochiens* to assist in an attack on the neighbouring posts of Montlhéry and Marcoussi, then occupied by the Armagnacs, he furnished them with leaders, and closed the City Gates immediately on their departure. Six thousand formidable ruffians were thus excluded from Paris; and the first step of its Captain-General upon finding himself master of the Government, was to order the execution of Capeluche. It is said that this man of blood, who was beheaded by his own assistant, was so engrossed, even during his last moments, by a remembrance of his former occupation, that he corrected some faulty arrangements in the apparatus for his punishment, and died,

* Monstrelet, v. c. 6.

† Ibid, v. c. 12.

as it were, in the superintendence of the hateful duties of his office. A Proclamation was issued denouncing capital penalties against any one who should molest an Armagnac by private warfare; but in order to temper this provision with fitting severity, and to prevent it from bearing any favourable appearance to the friends of Orleans, many prisoners of note were formally condemned and sacrificed upon the scaffold, with strict attention to legal solemnities.

The Dauphin established a Court at Poitiers, and assumed the leadership of the Faction, which had so recently lost its Chief, and which accordingly henceforward became known by the name of the *Dauphinois*; under the guidance of Tannegui du Châtel, he repulsed all overtures from the Duke of Burgundy, to whom Policy loudly dictated reconciliation with the Heir to the Crown. The King of England, in the mean time, had amused both the contending Parties with ambiguous and inconclusive negotiation. The Civil dissensions of France availed him far more than his army which was but scantily provided, or his subsidies which were most irregularly paid; and when he sat down under

the walls of Rouen, there was not any adequate National force by which he could be resisted. Fifteen thousand *Bourgeois*, supported by 4000 men at arms*, defended themselves bravely in that City; but their applications for further relief were ineffectual†; and Burgundy, unable to collect sufficient troops to meet the invaders, retired from Beauvais, the farthest point to which he had advanced, signifying to the already famished inhabitants that they would do wisely to capitulate upon the easiest terms which their besiegers would grant. Henry at first sternly demanded their surrender at discretion; and when he found that they were prepared to perish sword in hand, rather than by the axe of the executioner, to which unconditional submission was a certain prelude, he granted terms distinguished by more than usual harshness. Three hundred thousand crowns of gold were to be paid at two instalments, all arms, stores and equipages were to be surrendered; the soldiers of the garrison were allowed to withdraw on their parole not to serve against England, during the next year; and the chief Citizen, who had animated his

A. D. 1419. brethren to defence, Alain Blanchard, the Commander of the Jan. 19. *Bourgeois* militia, was beheaded on the day which placed Henry V. in possession of the Capital of Normandy, 215 years after it had been ceded by John to Philippe Auguste. Two other Citizens who had been excluded from amnesty "escaped punishment by dint of money."

* Monstrelet., v. c. 9.

† A Priest "of a tolerable age and of clear understanding" was deputed by the besieged to seek aid in Paris. He employed an Augustin Doctor, Eustache de la Paville, as his Proctor before the Council. The Divine, according to custom, expounded the matter in a Sermon; for which he chose an apt text,—“Lord, what shall we do?” (*Domine, quid facimus?*) Monstrelet assures us that he harangued upon it very ably and eloquently, v. c. 14.

The fall of Rouen seems to have awakened both parties in France to a sense of their common danger, and the immediate result was a suspension of arms between the Dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy, and a Truce negotiated by each of them with Henry also. With the latter, Burgundy at first proposed to himself a far more intimate union than could be effected by a mere suspension of arms; and he hoped through the personal attractions of the Princess Catherine, at that time in her nineteenth year, to bind the youthful Monarch entirely. May 29. to his interests. For that purpose, he invited him to a Conference at Meulan, to which town he repaired in company with Queen Isabelle and her daughter. The interviews were conducted with the strictest attention to Royal etiquette, and with a jealous observance of ceremonial; but Henry, although greatly pleased with the proposed Bride, showed no willingness to relax his claims for dower. Burgundy would have abandoned Guienne and Normandy; but the King inflexibly persisted in demanding all the Provinces which had been confirmed to Edward III. by the Treaty of Bretigny. The discussions were not closed without an approach to angry words; and when the King haughtily assured his "Fair Cousin" that he would have his Bride and all he asked besides, or would chase both him and his Master Charles out of the Realm, he was met by a spirited and unexpected retort, that he would be heartily tired before he was able to fulfil the threat which he was pleased to menace †. June 30.

Peace with England appeared to be hopeless; and Burgundy therefore was well inclined to lend a ready ear to overtures which the Dauphin, by the advice of Tannegui du Châtel, was now July 11. equally ready to offer. The rivals met at Pouilly, on a bridge which crossed a small stream flowing into the Seine, about a league from Melun. The Lady of Giac, who once held a post of honour in the Queen's household, and now filled one in that of the Duke of Burgundy, to which dishonour *ought* to have been attached, adjusted the preliminaries. The Duke bent his knee as the Prince approached, and held his stirrup as he departed. Many words of courtesy and of seeming affection were interchanged, and a solemn Treaty of alliance was concluded, which each Party swore to observe on the honour of a Prince, and as he valued his hopes of Paradise †.

It is little, however, to be supposed that a reconciliation thus extorted by necessity could be sincere. Although *Sans peur* was in possession of the King and of the Capital, he felt that a quarrel with the Heir Apparent rendered his authority insecure; and on *his* part, interest, perhaps, might create a guarantee against infraction. But the Dauphin was a mere Boy, who had not yet completed his seventeenth year; he was surrounded by counsellors long trained in enmity to the Burgundian

* Monstrelet, v. c. 21.

† Id., *ibid.*

name; who vividly remembered the assassination of their former patron, and who had vowed that it should be avenged. Twelve years of ferocious struggle, accompanied by mutual outrage, had increased rather than diminished the original excitement; and there can be little doubt that when Tannegui du Châtel arranged the Conference of Pouilly he meditated the treachery for which better opportunity was afterwards afforded at Montereau.

The English recommenced hostilities immediately on Burgundy's departure from Meulan; they surprised Pontoise, and advanced detachments to the very gates of Paris. The Dauphin employed two months in collecting troops, and he then urgently pressed for a second meeting with Burgundy, in order to adjust the plan of a campaign. *Sans peur*, either jealous of his own dignity, or more probably suspecting some treacherous design, replied that it was more fitting for the Dauphin to present himself at the Court of his Royal Parents, than to summon their Ministers to his own quarters; but a "Dalilah," as she is termed by contemporaries, was at hand to dissipate these scruples. Tannegui du Châtel had bribed the Lady of Giac to exert her influence with her lover; and the Duke of Burgundy at length, after manifest reluctance and undissembled misgiving, consented to the proposed Conference.

A Bridge was again chosen for the meeting, that of Montereau, a town at the confluence of the Yonne with the Seine; and the accounts which we possess of the preparations there made may be unhesitatingly received. The Dauphin, with an army of twenty thousand combatants, arrived in the neighbourhood a fortnight beforehand, and the framework, erected as was said for mutual security, was constructed entirely under the superintendence of his friends. Each end of the Bridge was strongly barricaded, and a sort of chamber or platform was left open in its centre*. The number of attendants to be admitted within the

* Villaret describes the chamber as if it had been divided by a central barrier, *divisé par un barrière à hauteur d'appui*, vii. 246. M. de Sismondi expressly contradicts this statement; *elle n'étoit point séparée au milieu par une barrière*, xii. 581. Juvenal des Ursins does not mention any central barrier. *Outre cela, que sur le Pont d'entre le Chasteau et la Fille se feroient barrières, et en milieu au manière d'un Parc, bien fermant, où y auroit une entrée du costé au Chasteau, et aussi une autre du costé de la Fille, à chacune desquelles entrées y auroit un huis, qui se feroient et garderoient par leur gens*, 369. Monstrelet speaks of the first and second barrier, that is, as we understand him, of those at the east end of the bridge; and he describes the Dauphin to have been leaning upon one of them, probably that on his own side, v. c. 26. Nevertheless, Louis XI., in the account which he gave to Philippe de Commines, plainly spoke of an intermediate barrier with a wicket; and attributed the murder to this faulty construction, against which he effectually guarded himself in his Conference with Edward IV. at the Bridge of Pequeni by the erection of a strong trellis-work *comme l'on fait aux cages de Lions*. The King's account of Montereau is as follows: *Là fut fait un Pont et une barrière au milieu: mais au milieu desdites barrières y avoit un petit huisset, qui fermoit des deux costez, par quoi on pouvoit aller de costé à autre: moyennant que les deux parts le vouissent*. If the wicket had not existed, added Louis, using gentle terms, *ce grand inconvenient ne fut point advenu*, Mons. de Commines, c. 75.

chamber was restricted to eight on each side; and the Duke, in spite of a warning which he had received that there were appearances justifying suspicion, proceeded to the interview with a Sept. 13. retinue not exceeding 500 men. At about three in the afternoon, when he dismounted at the Bridge-foot, he was received by Tannegui du Châtel, upon whose shoulder he familiarly put his hand with an expression of confidence, "This is the man in whom I trust." The barriers were fastened immediately after he had passed through them; Tannegui du Châtel busily separated the Duke and the Sire de Nouailles, who followed him closely, from the rest of the suite; those two were murdered on their arrival in the Dauphin's presence; the others, with one exception (that of the Sire de Montaigu, who effected his escape), were arrested, and since none but the perpetrators and the victims of this bloody deed were eye-witnesses of its execution, we must accept the details which have been offered with some degree of mistrust.

Two contemporaries have furnished separate accounts,—each attached to the party opposite to that espoused by the other; each equally deserving of general credit; and each, in all probability, most honestly relating that information which he considered best entitled to belief. Juvenal des Ursins, who was favourable to the interests of the Dauphin, transmits two reports; one that the Duke upon his knees lamented the public calamities, and tendered the services of himself and of his vassals. The Dauphin, before he replied, touched his cap and raised the Duke, who at the moment gave a sign to his followers*. Tannegui du Châtel, alarmed at this movement, seized him by the shoulders, and killed him by the stroke of an axe. According to the second narrative, the Duke insisted that Charles should present himself at Court†; and when the Dauphin answered that he would do so at his own pleasure, not at the command of Burgundy, Nouailles whispered a few words in the Duke's ear. *Sans peur* changed colour, laid his right hand upon his sword which he half drew from the scabbard, and his left on the young Prince, at the same time declaring that whether he were willing or otherwise, he should at that moment come to his father. Tannegui du Châtel, taking the Dauphin in his arms, carried him to his own end of the Bridge, and in the confusion which ensued some of the bystanders struck down and killed the Duke and Nouailles‡.

The statement of Monstrelet, a zealous Burgundian, is far more circumstantial. The Duke rode "joyously" till he came near Montereau, when he was told by three of his retainers who had been despatched in advance, that there were several new barriers erected much to the advantage of the Dauphin's party. After a short consultation on horse-

* *Qui fist un signe à ceux qu'il le savoiënt.*

† "*Monseigneur, quiconque le veuille, vous viendrez à present à votre Père.*"

‡ *Puis il y en eut qui fraperent sur le Duc de Bourgogne et sur le Seigneur de Nouailles, qui alerent tous deux de vie à trépassement.*

back, he decided upon proceeding; having expressed unlimited confidence in the honour of the King's son, and great reluctance that his own courage should be doubted, or that hesitation on his part should occasion any delay in adjusting the peace of his Country. Tannegui du Châtel came to announce that the Dauphin was ready, and more than once the Prince's attendants urged that he was already waiting. The barriers were locked as soon as they were passed; and the Duke, addressing Du Châtel, in the terms which we have already cited, moved onward "until he approached the Dauphin, who was completely armed and girt with his sword, and leaning on one of the barriers: when near, to pay him greater honour, the Duke dropped on one knee, and most respectfully saluted him. The Dauphin, however, made no return, nor showed him the least sign of affection, but reproached him for not having kept his promise of discontinuing the war, and for not disbanding his forces from different garrisons, according to his engagements. At the same time Sir Robert de Loire, taking him by the right arm, said, 'Rise, Sir, for you are too great a man thus to bend.' The Duke, as has been said, was on his knee, and his sword having turned too much behind him as he knelt down, he put his hand to replace it properly, when Sir Robert cried out, 'What! do you put your hand to your sword in the presence of my Lord the Dauphin?'

"During these words, Sir Tannegui du Châtel approached him on the opposite side, and making a signal, saying 'It is now time,' struck the Duke with a small battle-axe he held in his hand so roughly on the face, that he felled him on his knees, and cut off part of his chin. The Duke, on this, put hand to his sword to draw it, and attempted to rise to defend himself, but at the instant Tannegui with others repeated their blows and laid him dead. While he was on the ground, Olivier Layet, assisted by Pierre Frotier, thrust a sword under the habergeon into his belly.

"The Lord de Nouailles, seeing this, drew his sword half out to defend the Duke, but the Viscount de Narbonne held a dagger ready to strike him. The Lord de Nouailles now turned towards him, and vigorously wrested the dagger out of his hand; however, while he was thus engaged he received a blow from a battle-axe on the back part of his head, which put an end to the scuffle and to his life*."

The Lady of Giac immediately threw herself upon the protection of the Dauphin's troops. Montaigu, who with other Knights had taken refuge in a Castle adjoining the Bridge, refused to surrender until he should receive some certain intelligence respecting the Duke; and the Envoy who had been despatched to summon him answered not a word, but significantly pointed with his finger to the ground. The corpse of Burgundy, stripped of all but its doublet and drawers, was left upon the ground till midnight, and, on the following morning, hastily interred

before the Altar of the Chapel of Montrean, in the same scanty dress, and with the bonnet drawn over its face*. A narrative of the late transactions was addressed by the Dauphin in circular Letters to the principal Towns of the Kingdom; and in those papers his approbation of the murder was unequivocally declared. Burgundy, it was said, had used several foolish expressions, had laid his hand on his sword with an intention of attacking the Prince and of disfiguring his person; and for that offence, for his design of seizing and keeping the Dauphin in subjection, and for general "mad conduct," he was (through Divine Mercy and the attachment of loyal servants) "put to death on the spot."

Of the premeditation of this murder by its chief actors not a reasonable doubt can be entertained; to what extent the Dauphin was implicated, whether he shared in the crime by having been admitted to privy before its commission, or whether, having been previously kept in ignorance, he was prevailed upon to give it sanction afterwards, may fairly be questioned†; but at the time he was vehemently condemned, and few abstained from charging him with guilty participation. Philip, Count of Charolois, only son and successor of *Sans-peur*, was in his twenty-third year, and was married to a Princess of France, Michelle, a sister of the Dauphin. A stroke of Nature, not of very common occurrence in the dry and frigid pages of Monstrelet, is worthy of preservation. "The Countess," we are told, "was greatly troubled, fearful that her Lord would on this account be estranged from her, and hold her less in his affections; but this did not happen, for within a short time, by the exhortations and remonstrances of his Ministers, he was no ways displeased with her, and showed her as much kindness as before‡."

Philip, who was at Ghent, assured himself of the fidelity of his hereditary States; and having received a deputation which gave him equal confidence in the Magistrates and the leading Citizens of Paris, he boldly resolved to visit the perfidy of the Dauphin by excluding him from the succession. The transfer of the Crown of France from the reigning dynasty to the King of England was the Dec. — basis therefore of a negotiation which he opened at Arras; while the Dauphin, during the Winter, became little other than a wanderer through the Provinces of the South. A fresh act of treachery, of which indisputable evidence was afforded A. D. 1420. by his own Letters, confirmed him in universal evil repute.

* The corpse was thus found when disinterred shortly afterwards by the order of Philippe le bon, for conveyance to the Chartreuse without Dijon. Monstrelet, v. c. 40.

† Mr. Hallam (*Middle Ages*, i. 71, 4to.) favours the latter opinion, which indeed seems the more probable of the two.

‡ V. c. 30. Michelle died July 8, 1422. Id. *ibid.* c. 81, where she is spoken of as "greatly beloved by all who knew her, and adored by the subjects of her Lord, Duke Philip, and not without reason."

• The inhabitants of Bretany had hitherto remained neutral, but the ancient relations of the Ducal Family with the House of Burgundy excited apprehensions in the jealous spirit of Tannegui du Châtel, by birth and connexion well acquainted with that Province. In order, as he believed, to establish in it a firmer interest, he obtained a written promise from the Dauphin, confirming the Count of Penthievre and his brother (grandsons of Charles of Blois and of Clisson) in the heritage which their ancestors had lost, provided they would undertake the overthrow of De Montfort. The youths were living on terms of familiar intimacy and confidence with their Sovereign; but, debauched by this

Feb. 12. ambitious hope, they unscrupulously decoyed him into an ambuscade, and transferred him to various places of secret confinement, in which he was treated with bitter indignity, and frequently menaced with death. By the heroism of his Duchess, who roused the Breton Nobles to arms, steadily refused all compromise even when told that her husband's body should be sent to her piecemeal, and in the end captured the mother of Penthievre and nego-

July 5. tiated an exchange, the Duke was restored to freedom, and the Dauphin, instead of receiving an accession of strength by the adherence of an important Province, created new enemies, and increased the prevalent conviction of his utter worthlessness.

The King, as we have often before shown, even when allowed to exercise the functions of Royalty in public, was incapable of free agency. The Queen Isabelle was wholly estranged from her son by his League with a hostile Faction, and she was moreover well pleased with any arrangement which contributed to the elevation of Catherine, her favourite daughter. After a few preliminary discussions, Henry V.

May 21. was invited to Troyes, and a Treaty of Peace was there ratified, the most important which had ever been concluded between the two Kingdoms. The hand of Catherine was bestowed on Henry, who renounced his empty title of King of France, and assumed in its stead the more substantial style of Regent and Heir apparent. Charles, during his lifetime, was to retain the Royal dignity and revenues, but, at his death, they were to pass with all their rights to Henry and his successors, even if his present marriage should be unproductive of issue. From the moment of signature, the Government of the Realm was, in consequence of Charles's infirmity, to be vested in Henry, assisted by a Council of State. All acquisitions made hereafter from the Armagnacs were to be united to France, but Normandy, which was already won, was to remain in the separate possession of its conqueror till he ascended his second throne. Each of the two Kingdoms, on union under one Monarch, was to be administered by its own peculiar laws and usages; and finally, the contracting parties pledged themselves never, without mutual consent and the approbation of the States-General,

to treat with the pretended Dauphin of Viennois, "on account of the horrible and enormous crimes which he had perpetrated*."

On the morrow of the Holy Trinity the marriage was celebrated at Troyes in the Parish Church, near which Henry lodged; and the next six months were employed by him in prosecuting a vigorous and successful War against the Dauphin. June 2.

It was not till December that the Court entered Paris, and then the Captaincy of the City was bestowed upon the Duke of Clarence, and the Burgesses and the assembled States swore to observe the Treaty. Much is said by the French writers of the great severities which Henry exercised after his conquests; he appears indeed to have executed without mercy all prisoners who could even remotely be held to have failed in allegiance, all natives of those Provinces which he considered to be Fiefs of his own Crown, as well as the many English and Scottish adventurers whom he captured in arms. Much also is urged concerning the strictness of Police which rendered him unpopular in the Capital. But the turbulence of the Kingdom and the uncertainty of his tenure must be duly weighed in any estimate which is formed of his measures. A rigid exaction of the Law was necessary for his very existence. We have the testimony of one contemporaneous writer† that he created strong attachment by the equity of his decisions, "which caused the poor people to love him above every other;" and an anecdote preserved by Monstrelet evinces that no favouritism was allowed to obstruct the course of even-handed Justice. Bertrand de Chaumont, a Gentleman of Guyenne, who had joined the English at Azincourt at a moment in which his service was most needed, who had been rewarded with a post in the Royal household, and who was much beloved by Henry on account of his valour, in an evil hour aided the escape of a friend concerned in the assassination at Montereau. The Duke of Clarence, and even the Duke of Burgundy, interceded in behalf of the culprit; but Henry forbade all solicitation, declaring that he would have no traitors in his army; that this punishment was for an example to all others; and that although he would willingly have given 500,000 nobles rather than Bertrand should have committed a disloyal act, having really committed it, he must be left to the executioner‡.

Another source of complaint arose from the contrast exhibited between the Courts of the two Kings; that of Henry glittered with pomp and splendour, that of Charles was sordid and destitute. "In comparison of past times," says Monstrelet on one occasion§, "it was a poor sight now to

* Monstrelet, v. c. 35, and the Treaty at length, c. 39.

† Pierre Fenin, cited by Mr. Turner, ii. 497. Pierre Fenin, who was *Ecuyer et Pannetier de Roi* Charles VI. and Provost of Arras, compiled *Memoires* of the period between 1407 and 1422. He died in 1433.

‡ v. c. 45.

§ This was at the siege of Melun, between the Peace of Troyes and the entrance of Paris. Charles was present at it, "under the care and management of his son-

see him ;” in a second place he is represented as “deserted by the grantees and others of his subjects as if he had been quite forgotten* ;” and, on the Feast of the Nativity, while the King of England and his Queen were surrounded at the Louvre by throngs of the French Nobles, “who came from all parts to do them honour with the utmost humility,” so that “it is impossible to detail the magnificence of their State, nor that of the Princes who attended them,” Charles sat apart in the Hôtel St. Pól, “poorly and meanly served compared with the pomp with which he used to keep open Court in former times, and attended only on that day by some old servants and persons of low degree†.” But who can wonder that the Presence Chamber of a gallant and victorious Prince, stored with beauty and glowing with the festivity of a recent bridal, should be more frequented than that which at any moment might be converted into the cell of a maniac? It is not upon the King of England that blame should be thrown, if undue adulation was offered him by Courtiers ; and an incident which occurred during his public entrance into Paris may be cited as a proof of generous forbearance on his part, of his unwillingness to receive honour at the expense of his less fortunate brother. When the Clergy bore their Relics in procession, Charles signified that they should be tendered in the first instance not to himself but to the King of England ; “but King Henry, putting his hand to his head, bowed to King Charles, and said he would kiss them after him, which was done accordingly‡.”

Before the arrival of Christmas, the Duke of Burgundy and the widowed Duchess commenced a formal suit against the
 Dec. 23. murderers of *Sans-peur*. The two Kings sat in judgment on the same bench in the lower Hall of the Hôtel St. Pól ; and the Procurator of the appellants demanded that “Charles, calling himself Dauphin of Vienne,” seven great Lords whom he specified by name, and “all those who had been concerned” in the crime, should “be placed in tumbrils, and carried through all the Squares of Paris for three Saturdays or on Festivals, bareheaded and holding wax tapers in their hands, and that in every Square they should publicly confess with a loud voice, that they had cruelly, wickedly, and damnably put the Duke of Burgundy to death, through hatred and jealousy, without any other cause whatever. They were then to be carried to Montereau, where they had perpetrated this murder, to undergo the same ceremonies and to repeat the same words.” Nor was this all ; a Church was to be built on the fatal spot, to be richly furnished and munificently endowed “at the expense of the said Dauphin and his accomplices.” An Inscription, recording the cause of its foundation,

in-law, the King of England.” During his stay in the Camp, “every day, at sunrise and sunset, eight or ten clarions with divers other instruments played most melodiously for an hour before the King of France’s tent.” v. c. 42.

* Monstrelet, *ibid.* c. 77.

† *Id.* *ibid.* c. 48.

‡ *Id.* *ibid.* c. 46.

was to be carved in large letters on a stone over the principal entrance of the Church, and a similar Inscription was to be placed in the Cities of Rome, Paris, Ghent, Dijon, St. James of Compostella, and Jerusalem. No further proof of the extreme degradation to which the Dauphin was reduced need be demanded, than the answer which his Royal father addressed to the Advocate who required this Act of Penance. "In regard to the death of the Duke of Burgundy and those who have so cruelly murdered him, by the grace of God and with the assistance of my son and heir, Henry King of England and Regent of France, I will do speedy and effectual justice on all who have been concerned therein*."

In consequence of this process, the Dauphin was summoned to appear with the usual solemnities before the Parliament at the Table of Marble†; and, as the result of his absence, he was sen-^{A. D. 1421} tenced as contumacious, and "by the Council and Parliament Jan. 3. was condemned to be publicly banished the Realm, and declared incapable of succeeding to any lands or lordships, and even to the succession of the Crown of France, notwithstanding he was the true and lawful heir after the decease of his father King Charles, according to the laws and usages of the Realm‡." The Dauphin, in reply, made an appeal to his sword, the final resource of most disputants when every other mode of argument has proved unavailing.

Henry withdrew to London with his Bride, and there celebrated her Coronation with great splendour. During his absence, the English were exposed to some reverses. The Duke of Clarence, in consequence of an unadvised movement which separated him March 23. from his main Army, was defeated and killed at Baugé in Anjou by a force under the command of the Sire La Fayette and the Earl of Buchan§, a Scottish Nobleman whom the Dauphin had named Constable. Nearly 3000 English, with the Earls of Kyme and of Ross, were among the slain. Henry, distressed at June 11. this loss, hastened to repair it, and re-entered Paris with a numerous body of troops. The Duke of Burgundy anticipated his revenge by winning a complete victory at Mons-en-Vimieu, which cleared Picardy of the *Dauphinois*; and Henry occupied himself with the siege of the strong City of Meaux. Aug. 31. During eight months its walls defied his utmost skill and valour; but the Dauphin, unable to attempt its relief, confined himself to Lan-

* Monstrelet, *ibid*.

† The Tribunal so called derived its name from a great table which occupied the whole breadth of the Hall of the Palace. Its name seems to have been appropriated to the three jurisdictions of the Constable, the Admiral, and the Waters and Forests. *Encyclopédie*, tom. vii. Du Tillet, *Recueil des rangs des Grands de France*, 97. This table was destroyed in a fire which consumed the Hall of the Palace in 1618.

‡ Monstrelet, v. c. 53. The evidence given by a contemporary of unblemished credit is incontrovertible; yet Rapin is very much inclined to shuffle out of it.

§ *Le Comte de Bukam*, as Villaret calls him.

guedoc, and famine at length compelled surrender. Whatever may be thought in our days of that military law which adjudged
 A. D. 1422. vanquished commanders to the gibbet, the fate of the Bas-
 May 10. tard_e of Vaurus, upon whom in this instance the sentence
 was executed, little deserves commiseration. He had made
 himself notorious by his cruelties, and had hanged many English and
 Burgundians upon an elm Tree without the Walls (on that account
 bearing his name, *l'Orme de Vaurus**), on which his own remains were
 exposed in retribution.

It would doubtless have been more consistent with dignity, if Henry
 had passed over with contemptuous disregard the gross insults which he
 had suffered during this siege. The Citizens of Meaux had led an Ass
 to the ramparts, and forced it to bray by beating it. They then called
 to the English to rescue their King, who they said was crying for assist-
 ance. This coarse buffoonery greatly irritated Henry, and was visited
 by him with unrelenting severity after the capitulation.

A. D. 1421. During the progress of the siege he had received the happy
 Dec. 6. announcement that Catherine had become the mother of a
 Prince at Windsor; and a few days after the surrender of

A. D. 1422. Meaux, he eagerly joined her at the Court of Vincennes.

May 31. The Dauphin, meantime, had collected a large armament in
 the South; some revulsion in his favour had commenced;

and his standard was eagerly sought by Scottish Chiefs of distinction,
 panting to revenge the captivity of their King, James I., ungenerously
 detained by Henry. To the Earl of Buchan, as we have already noticed,
 Charles had entrusted the Sword of Constable; and we read of other
 names in his service well known in our Northern Annals, Wigton,

July Douglas, Lindsay, Swinton, and Stuart. Thus strength-
 ened, the Dauphin had besieged Cône on the Loire, and had
 reduced it to the customary agreement of surrender unless

it were relieved before a given day. The advance of the Dukes of Bur-
 gundy and of Bedford afforded the requisite aid; and the Dauphin,
 refusing the battle to which he was formally defied, retired upon
 Beziers.

The King of England had vainly endeavoured to join the Army before
 Cône. He had been attacked at Senlis with dysentery, and after per-
 sisting in an advance to Melun he was conveyed back to Vincennes in a
 litter. His disorder rapidly increased, and fully aware of its approaching
 fatal termination, he summoned to his sick couch his brother of Bed-
 ford, his uncle of Exeter, the Earl of Warwick his cousin, and a few
 others in whom he reposed the fullest confidence. To the Duke of
 Bedford he gave injunctions that he should never permit the conclusion

* Monstrelet, v. c. 75, "called thenceforth Vaurus' tree." Villaret, vii. 291,
 attributes the name to its previous use by Vaurus. Either reason is sufficient for
 the purpose.

of a Treaty "with his adversary Charles," nor wholly restore Normandy to him; that if his "good brother of Burgundy" were desirous of the Regency of France he should abandon it to him; if otherwise, that he himself should undertake its administration. He named the Duke of Exeter * Regent of England, and guardian of his son; the Earl of Warwick was appointed his Governor, with the high commendation that no fitter person could be provided to teach him all things becoming his rank †. He expressed a wish that the Duke of Orleans and the other French Princes at that time captives in England should be detained till his dear son "should be of a proper age;" and he concluded by strongly impressing the necessity of cultivating friendship with the Duke of Burgundy; "and this," he added with a sagacious insight into dispositions almost prophetic of the event which was hereafter to occur, "I particularly recommend to the consideration of my dear brother Humphry (of Gloucester), for should any coolness subsist between you, which God forbid, the affairs of this Realm, which are now in a very promising state, would soon be ruined."

After the delivery of this advice, he addressed himself with marked devotion to the offices of the Church, and expired in a few hours, much to the grief of his attendants. A solemn service Aug. 31. was performed over his body at Nôtre Dâme in Paris; it lay in State for a considerable time at Rouen; it was conveyed, with greater magnificence than had been displayed at the interment of any King of England for two hundred years past, first to Canterbury, then to St. Paul's in London, in both of which Churches the Funeral service was repeated, and finally to Westminster Abbey ‡, "where," says Monstrelet, "even now as much honour and reverence is daily paid to King Henry's Tomb, as if it were certain he were a Saint in Paradise §."

The Duke of Bedford was confirmed in the Regency of France by the joint authority of the King, of his own nephew of England (at that time eight months old), and of the Council of State; the Duke of Burgundy

* Monstrelet, v. c. 80. All the modern writers to whom we have been able to refer misrepresent this appointment, and state that the Duke of Gloucester was named Regent of England by Henry V. The first Parliament after his death assembled, as Walsingham informs us, *presidente eidem ejus avunculo Humfredo Duce Glocestrie, prius Custode Angliæ commissione dicti Regis. Ejus and dicti Regis* plainly refer to Henry VI. The Parliament indeed assumed the right of giving a new arrangement to Henry V's will. The Duke of Exeter appears to have been passed over altogether. The Duke of Bedford was named *Protector*, not *Regent*; and his powers were to be exercised during his absence by the Duke of Gloucester. The education of the young King was entrusted to the Cardinal of Winchester, a much less fitting guardian of youth than the Earl of Warwick. Thomas of Beaufort, Lord High Admiral and Earl of Dorset, who commanded the rear, at Azincourt and afterwards successfully defended Harfleur, was created Duke of Exeter in 1416, and then received a pension of 1000*l*. Cotton's *Abridgment*, 550.

† A curious account of one of the Earl of Warwick's very chivalrous exploits is printed by Mr. Turner, ii. 490, from a *Life* by Rous. Cotton MSS. Jul. E. 4.

‡ Walsingham, 407.

§ Monstrelet, v. c. 80.

not being willing to assume the invidious office*. The wretched Charles terminated his disastrous reign within a few weeks after the
 Oct. 21. death of his son-in-law; no member of his Family was in attendance at the moment of his departure, and the neglected Prince breathed his last sigh in the presence of only a few officers of his Household.

Details of the great Schism which for nearly forty years distracted the Western Church are manifestly inappropriate to a professed History of France, nevertheless some brief outline appears demanded on account of the leading part taken by that Country in the progress and termination of the conflict. The incidents become more intelligible by being concentrated into one unbroken narrative than they would be if scattered loosely over the general Annals of the Times; and no place seems better fitted for their introduction than the close of that Reign during which the dispute itself was concluded.

The death of Gregory XI. in the Vatican, to which he had retransferred the Papal abode, afforded a favourable opportunity to
 A. D. 1378. the Romans of insisting that whoever might be raised to the tiara should fix his residence in their City, not in the Transalpine Court, which they represented to be another Babylon. The Conclave, notwithstanding twelve out of the sixteen Cardinals of whom it was composed were Frenchmen, intimidated by the ferocious cries of the populace, who demanded "a Roman or at least an Italian Pontiff," elected Bartolomeo Prignano, Archbishop of Bari †, a Neapolitan, who assumed the name of Urban VI. His arrogance and cruelty soon disgusted the repentant Cardinals to whose fears he had been indebted for elevation; and during the Summer, when they had withdrawn from Rome to Fondi and Anagni, they annulled the late Election as compulsory,
 Sept. 20. and unanimously chose Robert, Cardinal of Geneva, under the title of Clement VII. The Romans protested loudly against this change, and Clement rejected by almost all Italy, and assured of support by Charles V. who deprecated the return
 A. D. 1379. of the Pontifical Government to a City remote from his own
 June 10. influence, embarked from Naples for Marseilles, and established himself in the Palace at Avignon.

An Assembly of the French Clergy convoked at Vincennes issued a solemn declaration in favour of Clement, and the several
 Nov. 16. Powers of Christendom soon gave adherence to one or other of the competitors. England, the Northern Kingdoms, the German Empire, most of the Italian States, Portugal, and the Netherlands, avowed themselves Urbanists. On the side of Clement were arrayed, together with France, the Kings of Scotland, of Cyprus,

* Monstrelet, v. c. 81.

† It was not as yet necessary that the newly-elected Pope should have been a Cardinal.

of Castile, and of Aragon, the Duke of Austria and some other German Princes, the Counts of Savoy and of Geneva. The demise of Urban produced some hope of re-union; but the Roman Cardinals, as if to evince that retention of power was their sole object, within a fortnight elected a Pope, so scandalously ignorant, that we are assured he could neither write nor sing*, Pietro Thomacelli, Cardinal of Naples, known as Boniface IX. This unexpected continuance of the Schism excited much consideration among the Faculty of the Sorbonne, that Branch of the University of Paris whose pre-eminence in Theological Science appears to have been willingly acknowledged by the rest of Europe. The first access of lunacy in Charles VI. was regarded by him, on his convalescence, as a Divine judgment; and he cherished a conviction that no act could be more agreeable to Heaven, and none therefore be more likely to prevent a renewal of its visitation, than an exercise of power to close the rents in the garment which professed to be without seam. The King, therefore, so long as his brief sanity permitted, sedulously urged the choice of one out of three propositions suggested by the University, that each of the existing Popes should simultaneously resign, in order that the Conclave might proceed to an entirely new Election; that both should submit to arbitrators mutually chosen; or that both should abide by the decision of a General Council. These three methods, of *mutual cession*, of *compromise*, or of a *General Council*, A.D. 1394. were proposed by Nicolas de Clemengis, in the name of the Sorbonne. All of them were violently opposed by the Duke of Berri, whose avarice was lavishly satisfied in return for the protection which he extended to Avignon. But the University remained firm in its purpose; and Clement, perhaps agitated by the conflict, was struck with apoplexy, and expired during the discussion. Sept. 16.

All difficulty seemed now at an end, and the King invited the Cardinals of Avignon to await the result of a negotiation which he was about to open with Rome; but the Conclave, foreseeing that whichever Church should be headless at the moment of reconciliation must also be subordinate, proceeded to immediate election, without opening the Royal despatches. Each member of the Holy College, however, professing a sincere desire to terminate the Schism, bound himself by a preliminary oath, attested by his signature, that, in case the choice of his brethren should fall upon him, there was not any sacrifice which he would refuse to make for the restoration of harmony, and that he would agree even to *mutual cession*, if he could obtain the consent of his adver-

* Theodoric of Niems, lib. ii. c. 6, cited by Mr. Waddington, *History of the Church*, p. 519. Platina however speaks highly of the moral virtues of Boniface in a passage not very favourable to the general habits of the Pontificate, in *Vid.*

sary. Pedro de Luna, of an illustrious Aragonese Family, was the fortunate Candidate, but his recognition as Benedict XIII. was
 Sept. 28. deferred by the King of France until he should learn the opinion of his Clergy, whom he convoked for the ensuing
 February.

The Synod acknowledged Benedict, but at the same time strongly urged the remedy of mutual cession. For that object, the
 A. D. 1395. three Royal Dukes of Orleans, of Berri, and of Burgundy,
 Feb. 2. were deputed by the King on a mission to Avignon. There they were fatigued and perplexed by the Scholastic form of discussion which the Cardinals adopted; and after listening to many vexatious homilies, during a period of nearly three months, they returned to Paris without effecting their object.

Similar exertions were made with equal want of success by the supporters of Boniface. Pedro de Luna had not scrupled to seek emancipation by perjury; and one of the first acts of his Papacy was to exercise upon himself the general power of Dispensation arrogated by the Holy See, and to annul the oath which he had taken on entering the Conclave as a Cardinal. Boniface temporized with equal insincerity; to the Envoys sent to urge mutual cession, he replied in general terms which encouraged a belief that he would submit; but to the People of Rome, who were greedily looking forward to the approaching lucrative celebration of the Jubilee, he spoke without disguise, and assured them that whatever the Emperor and the King of France might do, he would never resign the Popedom*.

A fresh Synod of the Gallican Clergy resolved upon a measure of vigour hitherto unexampled, chiefly at the recommendation
 A. D. 1398. of John Gersen, one of the ablest of their Theologians;
 May 22. and a Royal Ordinance proclaimed that France had *subtracted* Spiritual obedience from both the Pretenders. Benedict received this announcement with disdain, and a military force consequently moved on Avignon, under the Maréchal Boucicaut, to compel submission. The aged Prelate had engaged a few mercenaries, and had filled his Palace with ample stores; there was sufficient provision for three or four years' consumption, and whenever fuel was wanting, some apartments were destroyed in order to furnish wood for the Kitchen. The French were completely in possession of the City; but they scrupled to employ force against an old man whose only weapons were a silver Bell and a waxen Taper, armed with which he occasionally dealt out
 Excommunication; and they contented themselves by an
 A. D. 1403. inefficient blockade. After four years of this seclusion,
 March 12. Benedict, wearied by captivity, effected escape in disguise, and passing down the Rhône, took refuge in the strong

* Froissart, xiii. c. 9.

fortress of Château Renard, which was garrisoned by 500 Aragonese. The Dukes of Berri and of Orleans still espoused his cause in the French Cabinet; and the latter having deceived and surprised his imbecile brother into a belief that the majority of his Prelates wished to renew their obedience, obtained an Edict which restored May 28. the Papal authority in France.

In the following year*, on the death of Boniface IX., Guzman de Sulmona, Cardinal of Bologna, was elected under the name of Innocent VII., by a Roman Conclave of nine Cardinals; A. D. 1404. and it seemed, when a Conference between the Rivals was Oct. 17. proposed and accepted, as if approach were about to be made to Peace. The zeal indeed which had at first been awakened in the chief European Powers was fast expiring, and the scandal of the breach had become so crying, that the Popes themselves were apprehensive of desertion, and from policy assumed at least a semblance of conciliation. When Benedict embarked from A. D. 1405. Avignon for Genoa, hope of amity was keenly excited. But May 16. the interposition of delay was easy: it was obvious that neither Pretender could ever hope to extend his dominion over the Universal Church, but each clung to his share of sovereignty, and neither was sincere in desiring a union which might expose him to the hazard of descending to a secondary rank. The slow processes of Ecclesiastical negotiation were continued until the death of Innocent raised a new opponent to Benedict in Angelo Corrario, Car- A. D. 1406. dinal of Aquileia, and Titular Patriarch of Constantinople, Nov. 6. under the title of Gregory XII.

Mutual want of confidence, a feeling indeed well justified by the numerous acts of treachery perpetrated around them, obstructed the personal interviews which from time to time were arranged between Benedict and Gregory; and every Treaty was eluded perhaps at the moment at which it seemed nearest completion. The University of Paris, although hitherto baffled, persevered in its healing projects; and at length convinced the Members of the separate Colleges of Rome and of Avignon how deeply the general interests of Christianity were suffering by a quarrel which ought in truth to be regarded as only personal. These arguments persuaded the Cardinals to abandon the opposite Factions in which they had hitherto been ranged, and to A. D. 1408. unite in one College at Leghorn, where, having denounced the two existing Popes as equally hostile to Peace, upon their own authority they summoned an Œcumenical Council to meet at Pisa in the ensuing Spring. Benedict, alarmed at this spirited demonstration, withdrew to the protection of the King of Aragon in Catalonia. Gregory sought an asylum at Rimini, under the shelter of Carlo Malatesta.

* Boniface IX. died October 1.

The Council of Pisa assembled in March. In its fifteenth Session it pronounced both the nominal Popes Schismatics, Perjurers, A. D. 1409. and Heretics, and declared their throne vacant. On the March — collection of suffrages, the choice of the Cardinals fell upon Pietro of Candia, Archbishop of Milan, who was enthroned July 7. as Alexander V., and who pledged himself before the dissolution of the Council to assemble another for the especial Aug. 7. purpose of Ecclesiastical Reformation. The influence of France greatly predominated in the Council of Pisa, on account of the virtual sovereignty which she at that time exercised over Genoa; the new Pope by no means possessed qualities adapted to the turbulent season in which his reign was cast; and his election, instead of suppressing competition, did but add one more to the number of competitors. The temper of Balthazar Cossa, Legate of Bologna, who succeeded Alexander V., under the title of John A. D. 1410. May 5. XXIII., widely differed from that of his predecessor, and seldom have the Keys been committed to a guardian whose previous life offered less guarantee for their pure custody. Under his presidency, a new Council assembled at Constance in A. D. 1414. Nov. 16. Switzerland, and the activity of the Emperor Sigismond at length obtained the desired session. Yet even when John, alarmed by the fearful list of atrocities of which, in case of his refusal to secede, the Emperor was prepared to accuse him, had consented to abdication, his flight from Constance renewed the A. D. 1415. former difficulties. The treachery of the Duke of Austria, March 21. by whom the fugitive had been invited to an asylum, placed him again within the hands of Sigismond; and his deposition and the rigorous imprisonment which followed cannot May 29. but awaken pity in those who, anxious for the honour of Human nature, disbelieve the foul charges with which his memory is polluted*.

Gregory perceived that further opposition on his part would be fruitless, and he also consented to abdication; but neither menace nor intreaty, no dread of peril, no temptation of compromise, could vanquish the obstinacy of Pedro de Luna. The Council of Constance (to the other well-known acts of which Assembly unconnected with our main subject we purposely forbear all allusion), disregarding this idle resist-

* Sigismond had been greatly indebted to John XXIII. for his attainment of the Imperial Crown. Théodoric of Niems, who was Secretary to the Pontiff, describes him in a very evil light; but M. de Sismondi, on reasonable grounds, is inclined to make a much fairer estimate of his character. *Hist. des Rep. Ital.*, tom. viii. pp. 228 and 254. The imprisonment of the degraded Pope was needlessly severe. He was kept for three years in the strong Castle of Heidelberg without any Italian attendant, and as he was unacquainted with German, the only language known to his gaolers, their communication was entirely carried on by signs. *Platina in Fild.*

ance, pronounced that he was deposed; and a Conclave, after three days' debate, declared itself in favour of Otho Colonna, Cardinal of St. George of the Golden Fleece, a Roman of noble birth, under whom, as Martin V., the Western Church Nov. 11. became re-united*.

CHAPTER XIV.

From A. D. 1423, to A. D. 1435.

Henry VI. proclaimed King—Coronation of Charles VII.—Miserable anarchy of France—Defeat of the French at Crevant—Bravery of the Scots—Meeting at Amiens—Richemont appointed Constable—He removes the Armagnacs, and assassinates Giac—Camus de Beaulieu substituted as Favourite—His treachery and assassination—Ascendancy of La Trémouille—He supplants Richemont—Siege of Orleans—Capture of Les Tournelles—Death of the Earl of Salisbury—Battle of Herrings—Proposed conditional surrender of Orleans—Refused—Great danger of the City—Fanatical excitement—Arrival of Joan of Arc at Chinon—Her early history—She is sent to Orleans—Effect produced by her appearance—Les Tournelles retaken—The siege is raised—Her interview with Richemont—Battle of Pataye—Joan accompanies Charles VII. to his Coronation at Rheims—She declares that her mission is at an end, and solicits leave to retire—She is persuaded to remain with the army—The Duke of Bedford takes the field—The armies in presence, but combat declined at Epiloy—Charles beaten back from Paris—Retires to Chinon—The Duke of Bedford resigns the Regency to the Duke of Burgundy—Capture of Joan at Compiègne—Process against her—Her execution—Truce with the Duke of Burgundy—Henry VI. crowned in Paris—Fall of La Trémouille—Congress at Arras—Quitted by the English—Death of the Duke of Bedford—Peace of Arras—Death of Isabelle of Bavaria.

NOTWITHSTANDING the possession in which Henry of England found himself, the Dauphin affirmed his legitimate claim to the succession, and celebrated his Coronation at Poitiers as A. D. 1423. Charles VII. The "little King of Bourges," as the Parisians styled him, from his residence in that City, convened there an Assembly of the States General; while the Duke of Bedford exercised sovereign power in the Capital. The first July 1. conflict between the Generals of the Regent and those of

* Benedict XIII. died at Paniscola, near the mouth of the Ebro, a fortress which he used to term Noah's Ark, in 1424, asserting himself to his last gasp to be legitimate Pope. Two Cardinals, who adhered to him in this retreat, immediately on his death elected one Gilles Mugnos as Clement VII., but this "serry Pontiff" (as Maclaine, translating Mosheim, terms him), finding his claim unsupported, discreetly resigned without a struggle. Gregory XII. died shortly after his peaceable cession, devoured, as it is said, by chagrin. John XXIII. having tendered obedience to Martin V. in terms which removed all doubt of his sincerity, was released from confinement, restored to his Cardinalate, and appointed Dean of the Sacred College and Bishop of Tusculum. He died at Florence a few months after this agreeable change of fortune.

Charles VII. occurred at Crevant, a fortress between Auxerre and Avallon on the right bank of the River Yonne. About 4000 English under the command of the Earls of Salisbury and of Suffolk, co-operating with an equal number of men of Burgundy under the Sire de Thoulangeon, Maréchal of that Province, overthrew a larger body of French and Scots after a very obstinate engagement. The French, levied chiefly in the Central Provinces, exhibited little discipline or bravery, and speedily took to flight. The Scots maintained their ground with vigour; but, in the end, 1200 of them, among whom we read of a Hamilton and a Seton*, were left upon the field, and their Constable, a Stuart, lost an eye and was taken prisoner†.

The King's army had hitherto been chiefly officered by foreigners; and the honours profusely bestowed upon Scottish auxiliaries had not unjustly aroused a strong feeling of National jealousy. Archibald, Earl of Douglas, in payment for a body of 6000 Highlanders, had been advanced to the Dukedom of Touraine, and appointed Lieutenant-General of France‡; and, for some benefit of a similar nature, the Sword of Constable had been presented to his son-in-law, the Earl of Buchan.

These unprecedented favours created a violent clamour; A. D. 1424. and a total defeat suffered by the Scots at Verneuil, in Aug. 17. which both their above-named Leaders were killed, great as was the loss to Charles himself, was hailed with scarcely-dissembled joy by many of his adherents. Arthur, Count of Richemont, was immediately promoted to the dignity of Constable, and he exercised the ascendancy which he soon obtained in the Royal Councils

by removing from the King's presence all the ancient Chiefs Nov. — of the Armagnac Faction. The Breton Prince perceived that, while Charles was surrounded by partizans stained with the blood of Montereau, all reconciliation with the Duke of Burgundy was hopeless; and he succeeded in detaching his Master from these dangerous friends. An honourable banishment was provided for Tannegui du Châtel in the Seneschalship of Beaucaire; and it is recorded to his credit, that he not only abstained from opposing his own exile from Court, but even expressed conviction of its beneficial tendency. Richemont, trained to military habits, and austere in his manners, was ill calculated, however, to obtain the personal favour and confidence of a Prince devoted to pleasure; and discreetly avoiding all

* *Seeton. M. de Sismondi, xiii. 21.* Monstrelet calls him *Sir Thomas Sacron*, which misnomer is corrected by Dr. Robert Anderson in *Johnes's Note* (vi. p. 49) into *Swinton*.

† Monstrelet, vi. c. 11. To this Stuart was granted the County of Evreux and the Signory of Aubigny, with a right to quarter the Royal Arms of France. On the extinction of the male line of this branch of the Stuart Family, Charles II. requested the Signory of Aubigny for his natural son by the Duchess of Portsmouth. Louis XIV. not only granted the application, but also erected the Signory into a Ducal Peerage. Villaret, vii. 363.

‡ He was so nominated in order to give him precedence before the Constable.

witness of frivolities which his temper would lead him to condemn, he selected as a companion for Charles's lighter hours the Sire de Giac, tool upon whom he believed that he might depend.

The experiment was hazardous; for the cold and imperious spirit of Richemont had created many adversaries. Giac betrayed him, and by neglecting to furnish supplies, and by diverting to other purposes the funds provided for War, he exposed the Constable to some unexpected reverses in the field. But he had miscalculated both his own influence and the energy of Richemont; when the latter had developed the perfidy of his creature, he waited only for a moment in which vengeance might be secure. While the Court was at Issoudun, two of the Constable's confidential agents, La Trémouille and d'Albret, dragged the miserable traitor from his wife's chamber, and mounting him, not half dressed, upon horseback, hurried at full gallop to a magistrate prepared in a neighbouring Castle belonging to Richemont, to examine, condemn, and execute the prisoner.

Little difficulty was experienced in reconciling the fickle Charles to this murder of his companion; and whatever resentment he might at first express was speedily and effectually silenced by the pleasing address of Camus de Beaulieu, whom Richemont introduced to supply the place of Giac. The new minion abused his power, and underwent a similar punishment. He was entrapped into a pretended assignation, and poignarded within sight of the Palace windows. La Trémouille, who succeeded to the Royal favour, possessed greater art than either of his predecessors; and warned by their fate of the uncertainty of his position, he lost no time in strengthening himself; and so dexterously did he provide against the rupture which he had foreseen must some day ensue, that its occurrence led not to the disgrace of himself, but of Richemont, whom the King banished from his presence.

During these Court intrigues, the Regent Bedford had been chiefly occupied in tempering the resentment of the Duke of Burgundy. The abandonment of claims on the Belgic Provinces made by the Duke of Gloucester, and the peaceable acquisition of them by Philip*, quieted Bedford's apprehensions of any immediate quarrel; and the arrival of the Earl of Salisbury from England with 6000 men-at-arms determined him to take the field with activity. That force, supported by about 4000 other troops withdrawn from the garrisons of Normandy, and conducted by Leaders whose

* The Duke of Burgundy obtained a Bull annulling Jacqueline's marriage with the Duke of Gloucester, and declaring that, even in case of the death of the Duke of Brabant, it should not be lawful for her so to marry. On the occurrence of that event, April 17, 1427, she was compelled to declare the Duke of Burgundy her heir, and to promise never to marry again without his consent. Monstrelet, vi. c. 49. She died in 1436, having only attained her six and thirtieth year, and having taken for a third husband Francis Borselen, Stadtholder of Holland, whom she created Count d'Ostrevant.

names are familiar in our Annals, Talbot, Scales, and Suffolk, ascended the Loire, and after mastering the principal strongholds on
 Oct. 12. its Northern bank, invested the powerful City of Orleans, not however with the approbation of the Regent. The Burgesses prepared resolutely for defence, and they were animated by the presence of a young Hero, a Bastard of their late Duke, already distinguished for having relieved Montargis. About 1600 men were gathered under his banner, and among his comrades he boasted of La Hire, Xaintrailles, and other not less distinguished Captains.

The Siege commenced advantageously to the assailants, who, after a murderous attack, established themselves in the Tournelles,
 Oct. 21. a principal out-post on the bridge across the Loire. Nor were they dispirited by the loss of their Commander, which occurred within a few days after this opening success. The Earl of Salisbury was directing the construction of some batteries from one of the towers which he had recently stormed, when a random cannon-shot discharged from the walls, shattered the stone work of the window at which he happened to be standing. A gentleman behind him was killed upon the spot, and Salisbury himself, mangled by a ghastly wound, which carried away one cheek, expired after eight days of agony*.

The command of the besieging army devolved upon the Duke of Suffolk, who pressed his operations vigorously. A gallant
 A. D. 1429. action also was fought by a small force to which the Regent had intrusted the conveyance of supplies for the use of the Camp. Sir John Fastolfe, with about 1600 men, of whom little more than a third were regular English troops, had advanced from Paris to the village of Bouvroy, between Gonville and Orleans. He was there attacked by nearly 4000 French and Scots, assembled from the neighbouring garrisons, and headed by some of the noblest warriors of the time. The Bastard of Orleans, the Duke of Bourbon, La Hire, Xaintrailles, the two Maréchals and the Admiral of France, and the Constable of Scotland †, were among the number. Fastolfe, neither discouraged by the great superiority of the enemy, nor by the encumbrance of his baggage, drew up his little force in a hollow square; and, in order to protect it from the attack of cavalry, disposed his waggons and their stores as an outer barrier. Two openings, guarded by archers, were left in this frail rampart, and on its strongest side were placed the horses, and the unarmed train of sutlers and their attendants.

The action commenced by a cannonade on the part of the French,

* The army, says Monstrelet, vi. c. 53, were much grieved at this unfortunate accident, for Salisbury was much feared and beloved by them, and was considered as the most subtle, expert, and fortunate in arms of all the English captains.

† The Marechaux were De la Fayette and Sainte Sévère; the Admiral was the Sire de Culant; the Constable of Scotland was John Stuart.

which, by shattering and overturning many of the tumbrils and sumpter carriages, made large breaches in the enclosure. Persistence in this mode of attack must ere long have ensured the destruction of the English, but the Scots charged impetuously on foot, and were received by the archers, "who shot so well and stiffly," that six score gentlemen and five hundred common soldiers were soon left on the ground, and the remainder fell back in disorder. The English proceeded in triumph to Orleans; and the engagement, fought on the first Sunday in Lent, was named the "Battle of Herrings" from the stores of salted fish, adapted to the season, which were scattered on the field by the discharge of the French artillery*.

The garrison of Orleans, terrified by this reverse, and despairing of relief from Charles, offered to remain neutral, and to place their City as a deposit in the hands of the Duke of Burgundy; till his young cousin, to whose *apanage* it belonged, should be released from captivity in England†. When this tender was submitted to the Regent, he dismissed it coldly with a reply expressive of confidence that Orleans must soon fall, and that the proposition was only a shallow expedient to rescue it from the unqualified surrender which was now inevitable. "I will not beat the bushes for others to capture the birds‡." Deliverance, indeed, according to all human calculation, appeared most improbable. Charles, sunk in luxury and sloth, remained immovable at Chinon, where his courtiers were divided into the separate Factions of Richemont and of La Trémouille; and it is said that, but for the opposition of his Queen, he would have wholly abandoned the contest§. The North of France quietly submitted to the English rule; the late defeat had lessened both the numbers and the ardour of those who were under arms; the besiegers every day urged their operations more closely; scarcity already prevailed in the garrison, when the tide of fortune was turned in its course by an obscure peasant Girl, whose history and character, even when stripped of the legendary marvels with which they have been largely encumbered, still excite just astonishment, and in many points continue unexplained||.

* The Bastard of Orleans was severely wounded; Stuart and many other distinguished officers were killed in this action. Monstrelet, vi. c. 57.

† He had been taken prisoner at Azincourt.

‡ Jean Chartier, p. 18. *Chron. de la Pucelle*, 292. Monstrelet, as cited by M. de Sismondi, xiii. 101. Monstrelet, however, gives a far more homely metaphor to the same purport, and attributes it to Raoul le Saige, one of the Council, who observed, "that he would never be present when they should chew for the Duke of Burgundy to swallow." vi. c. 59.

§ See this point fully examined by Mr. Hallam. *Middle Ages*, i. 78. &c.

|| The original documents illustrative of the Life of Joan of Arc are copiously given by M. de Charmettes, the spirit of whose Work has been transfused into English by Mr. Turner in the second vol. of his *History of England during the Middle Ages*. Our references to both of these writers, from whom we have unscrupulously borrowed, must be general. The latter of the two corrects the impression of supernatural agency, which the former appears too much inclined to leave upon his readers.

At a moment of extreme difficulty, when men's hearts were failing them for fear, and any experiment which appeared to offer a chance of success was worthy of hazard, Charles received a very novel communication from one of his most devoted officers, Robert de Baudricourt, Lord of the small Town of Vaucouleurs in Champagne. Baudricourt had more than once repulsed the importunity with which Joan of Arc, a village Girl in his neighbourhood, solicited an introduction to the Court; and when she earnestly declared that she was inspired by Heaven to undertake a mission for the deliverance of her Country, he ridiculed her assertions, and advised the uncle to whose guardianship she had intrusted herself to discipline her silly fancies by the rod. At length, however, whether partially convinced of her truth, or, as is more probable, believing that she might be advantageously employed, he gave her the desired letters, furnished her with a sword and male attire, that she might more safely encounter the perils of her long journey, and dismissed her with a little escort of seven persons, to traverse 150 leagues, through disturbed districts, from the banks of the Meuse to the extreme confines of Touraine.

She arrived at Chinon in safety; and, after some by no means unreasonable demurs, she was admitted to the King's presence. But

Charles, either seeking amusement from the rusticity of Feb. 24. his visitor or willing to make trial of her pretensions, disguised himself in a habit of more than ordinary plainness and purposely mingled with a herd of Courtiers. Joan, however, already no doubt well acquainted with his person (for the features of a Prince are seldom strange to his subjects), at once selected him from the more than 300 Knights by whom he was surrounded in his banquetting chamber, accosted him as "*Gentil Dauphin*," and declared that she was commissioned by Heaven to raise the siege of Orleans, and to conduct him to his Coronation at Rheims.

This immediate recognition of the King's person, for which it seems by no means difficult to account, was sedulously bruited abroad as the work of Inspiration; and it was added that Joan had afterwards convinced the King that she was under Divine guidance, by relating to him a matter of which no other human Being except himself possessed any knowledge†. Even after these recommendations to the notice of the vulgar, two months however passed in close investigation of her character and qualities. Men of cooler judgment, although believing her to be a Visionary, might be anxious to determine whether she could be serviceably engaged. Others of more ardent imagination, who admitted

* Joan never addressed Charles by any other title until he had been crowned at Rheims.

† This great mystery, as it was long esteemed, has been fully unravelled by Mr. Turner from a MS. work of N. Sale in the Royal Library at Paris. Joan, it seems, reminded Charles of a mental prayer which he made one morning during his distress. "Such an incident," observes Mr. Turner very justly, "leads to a suspicion that some one very near the King, and acquainted with his private thoughts, was now secretly assisting the Maid." ii. 538, Note.

that she had supernatural claims, might still seek to know whether they were derived from a good or an evil source; whether she were under the influence of beneficent or of malignant Spirits; the Ministers of Heaven or of Hell. Her unblemished purity was satisfactorily established by the testimony of several matrons of high rank, among whom the Queen of Sicily was foremost; and her Orthodoxy in points of Faith received the approbation of a Synod of Theologians.

The particulars of her early history with which we are furnished by these and subsequent close inquiries cannot be doubted. Joan of Arc was born at Greux, a hamlet of Domrémy, about the year 1409*. Her father, Jacques, possessed a small farm; her mother, Isabelle, was a good and simple woman, who taught all which she herself knew, housewifery and the elements of Religion. Both of them were wholly illiterate, and Joan was unacquainted with either reading or writing. The family consisted of three sons and one daughter besides herself, all of whom were devotedly attached to Armagnac principles. The political convulsions with which France had been so long agitated were strongly felt by the lower classes, and Joan, while a child, was confirmed in loyalty to the House of Valois, by witnessing many boyish rencontres in which her brothers were engaged with Burgundians in the adjoining villages.

Her occupations differed not at all from those of the peasantry around her, and she partook of the amusements natural to her age and station. Her thoughts, however, were early occupied by Devotion, which strengthened as the powers of her mind developed themselves, and soon passionately engrossed her chief attention. Some of the superstitions of her Province perhaps might not be wholly without influence in the formation of her character. Near Domrémy, at the head of a fountain reputed to possess medicinal virtues, stood a venerable Beech, called the *Ladies' Tree* or the *Fairies' Tree*, from a notion among the old people of the vicinity that it was frequented by those imaginary Beings. "My God-mother," observed Joan upon being asked concerning it, "said that she had seen them, but I do not know that this was true." To that Tree at the verge of the *Bois Chesnu*, not far from her father's cottage (from which Wood a Tradition affirmed that a Maiden was to come who would perform Wonders), she often repaired with other children on village holidays, danced under its shade, and hung garlands upon its boughs. "From the time at which I knew that I ought to go to the King," she remarked, "I took as little share as I could in their diversions; I do not think I danced there after I reached the years of discretion." One, however, of the Visions which we are about to mention took place near the Fountain of the Fairy Tree.

* Hume (vol. iii. c. 20), without citing any authority, represents Joan to have been twenty-seven years of age when she appeared at Chinon, and observes that "to render her still more interesting, near ten years were subtracted from her age." We have not been able to trace the source of this assertion.

At a critical age, during which she differed from the generality of her sex by a constitutional peculiarity not unlikely to affect her general frame of mind, she became impressed with a belief that she was favoured by Heavenly visitations; a belief which we shall represent as much as possible in her own language. "At the age of thirteen I had a voice from God to assist me to govern myself. It came at noon, in Summer, in my father's garden. I had not fasted the day before. I heard it on my right towards the Church. I was greatly frightened. I rarely hear it without seeing a great brilliancy on the side it comes from. I thought it came from Heaven. When I had heard it three times I knew that it was the voice of an Angel. It has always kindly guarded me, and I understand very well what it announces. Though I were in a Wood, I still heard it, and usually at noon. When I came into France*, I often heard it."

To this very simple narrative she afterwards made several fantastic additions, in which it is scarcely possible to determine what parts were really pictured upon her own unassisted imagination, what owed their birth to the questions with which she was assailed. But not a vestige of imposture exists, even when her replies are the most vague and dreamy; and there cannot be a doubt that she really believed whatever she affirmed. For a long time she refused to state what figures accompanied the Voices, from a fear, as she said, of displeasing them; but being strongly urged on this point, she declared that her first visit was from St. Michael, whom she quaintly described as appearing "in the form of a true Gentleman with wings," but that the voices which she was most accustomed to hear were those of Ste. Catherine and Ste. Margaret, who showed themselves crowned with rich and beautiful diadems. They spoke in a sweet, mild, and humble tone, in polished language, and in French; "for how," she added, "could Ste. Margaret speak English, when she was not on that side." She had touched and embraced the female Saints, and had kissed the turf upon which they reposed; till having unexpectedly been instructed by them in the nature of her mission, she applied to Baudricourt as the most powerful man in her neighbourhood for assistance in its execution.

In person she is said to have been most attractive; but the modest dignity of her manners awed both the rudeness of the peasants with whom she had been nurtured, and the licentiousness of the Courtiers among whom she was transplanted. An offer of marriage, made before her departure from home, was rejected by an explicit declaration that she considered herself to be wholly dedicated to God and to the deliverance of France. She possessed vigorous health, great bodily strength, quickness of apprehension, undaunted hardihood, and calm discretion; she was inured to labour, patient of fatigue, dexterous in many exercises

* Domrémy in Champagne, on the frontiers of the Burgundian territory, would be distinguished in the time of Joan from France Proper.

which she had practised with her brothers, and a bold and skilful horse-woman*. These qualities and acquirements were of eminent use in the design which she meditated; her reveries, although springing from a diseased Fancy, by no means deprived her of self-control; and however confident she might feel that Heaven had called her, and that it would surely perform the Work for which it had selected her agency, she was entirely free from the arrogance with which other Enthusiasts have often claimed the possession of miraculous power†.

It was at length resolved to despatch her with relief to Orleans. The King presented her with a suit of armour, and it is stated that a sword of ancient fashion and workmanship, marked on the blade with fleurs de lys, was disinterred, according to instructions given by herself, from behind the Altar of Ste. Catherine at Fierbois‡. A Standard also was blazoned at her direction, in which, on a white field semé with fleurs de lys, was portrayed a figure of the Saviour on His Judgment Seat in the clouds surrounded by Angels, with the words 'IHESUS MARIA' embroidered beneath. Round her neck was suspended a small battle-axe; and when she had written a defiance to the English Commander, 7000 men with a large convoy of provisions, under the guidance of Sainte Sévere and La Hire, were ordered to accompany her to Orleans.

Infinite pains had been taken during her residence at Chinon to circulate reports which might excite wonder; and the effect produced both upon friend and foe by the appearance of so unwonted a champion fully equalled or perhaps far exceeded the expectations of those in whose behalf she was engaged. The Burghers of Orleans acquired new spirit, and believed themselves to be secure under celestial guardianship: the English were proportionately depressed with a gloomy conviction that the Powers of Darkness had been permitted to league together for their destruction, that "a creature in the form of a Woman" fought against them, and that "a Fiend, who used false enchantment and sorcery," must prove invulnerable§.

* Monstrelet, vi. c. 58, states that she was "for some time ostler and chamber-maid in an inn, where she had shown much courage in riding horses to water, and other feats unusual for young girls." Mr. Turner shows that this was only an accidental occupation during a short residence at Neufchateau, while her native hamlet was invaded by a party of Burgundians.

† To these qualities is generally added great meekness; but we know not how to reconcile the existence of a meek demeanour with many of the anecdotes which have been preserved. One cited by Mr. Turner may suffice. When the Bastard of Orleans mentioned that the English expected reinforcements under Sir John Fastolf, she replied, "As soon as you know of his coming, apprise me of it; for if he passes without my knowledge, I promise you that I will take off your head." *Deposition d'Aulon*, 114, in Turner, ii. 549. Be it remembered, that the interlocutors in this pithy dialogue were a Cottager's daughter and an acknowledged, although an illegitimate, scion of one of the noblest Houses in France, who has become proverbial in History as the greatest Captain of his time.

‡ A village of Touraine, about sixteen miles from Chinon, in which Joan rested for one night upon her journey, during which she, no doubt, obtained information of the sword.

§ Letter from the Duke of Bedford to the English Council. Rymer, x. 408.

In spite, therefore, of the circumvallation, the troops penetrated by Sologne to Orleans, and the convoy passed up the Loire.

April 30. The besiegers, who were in least force on the left bank of the River, abandoned a redoubt at Joan's approach, and she entered the City without resistance, amid the enthusiastic shouts of the inhabitants; a few days afterwards a second convoy

May 3. arrived in equal safety, escorted along the right bank through Beaucé. In repeated sallies, conducted by herself and the Bastard, Joan exhibited distinguished bravery; and although she was twice wounded (on the second occasion severely by an arrow, which she plucked with her own hands from her neck), she led her followers to victory. A cannon-shot struck the drawbridge of the Tournelles at a moment at which it was crowded with English soldiers; and 300 men, oppressed by the weight of their armour, sank into the Loire never again to rise. Among them was an officer of high repute, William Glasdale, whom the French Chroniclers have disguised under the more euphonous and classical name of Glaucidas*, and whom they describe as not less noted for ferocity than for courage.

In three sorties, the Duke of Suffolk had been driven from his chief works, and had lost upwards of 6000 men. The panic which had occasioned these reverses was increased by the disasters to which it had given birth, and the English General prudently resolved to withdraw the remnant of his force while he retained power so to do, and to abandon an enterprise in which success was no longer to be expected. "The

May 8. Maid (*La Pucelle*) of Orleans," as she was now emphatically called, had commanded only eight days in the City, when its besiegers broke up from the lines which they had occupied during an equal number of months; and the first part of her original declaration was thus fully verified, notwithstanding its manifest opposition to probability. She was received with marked honour at Tours, to which City she was summoned in order to report her own success; and the Duke of Alençon, having been instructed to assist

May 21. her in the pursuit of the English, stormed the town and castle of Jargeau, in which Suffolk and his brother the Lord de la Pole were taken prisoners.

Beaugency, on the Loire below Orleans, was next invested; and the Constable Richemont, unwilling to relinquish the share of triumph to which his high military rank entitled him, hastened to the Camp, notwithstanding the jealous prohibition of La Trémouille. He was accompanied by 400 lances and twice as many archers; and Joan, who considered this movement as an express violation of the Royal commands, and therefore as an open act of rebellion, strongly urged the employment of force in order to compel his retirement. But his ancient companions in arms, who knew the importance of the reinforcement which he headed,

* Sir Matthew Gough has been similarly transformed into Matago.

calmed her zeal, and received him with joy. We learn much of the estimation in which the Maid of Orleans was held by the words in which the Constable addressed her in their first interview. "Joan," said the blunt and plain-spoken soldier, "I have been told that you have been inclined to offer me battle. I have yet to learn whether or not you come from God. If you do so, I fear you not, for God knows the uprightness of my heart; and if you are from the Devil, I fear you still less." Even to the cautious and practised judgment of Richemont, the extraordinary nature of the incidents in which Joan of Arc had been concerned wore a supernatural appearance.

Talbot, Scales, and Fastolfe, upon whom the conduct of the retreat devolved, had fallen back upon the village of Pataye, where they were overtaken and defeated with the loss of half their number and of the two first-named leaders, who were captured. June 18. Sir John Fastolfe escaped by galloping from the field; and he was disgraced by exclusion from the Order of the Garter till he obtained restoration by showing that the battle had been fought contrary to his advice, and that the troops had fled from their ranks at the first appearance of the Maiden's banner*.

The King, meantime, had advanced to Gien, and, encouraged by these repeated successes, he no longer hesitated in complying with the wish, still strongly urged by Joan, that he would march with her upon Rheims to his Coronation. La Trémouille, having again secured the absence of the Constable, did not object to the enterprise, and the Royal Army having passed the Loire, received the submission of all the great towns upon its route. Troyes was the only fortress which prepared for resistance; but the terror which had been excited by the reports from Orleans and Pataye was irresistible, July 9. and no sooner had artillery been disposed for attack under the direction of Joan, than the garrison capitulated, involving Chalons and Auxerre in the same fate with themselves.

On the morning after his peaceable entry into Rheims, Charles celebrated his Coronation with as much solemnity as the disturbed state of the Kingdom, the rapidity of his movements, July 17. and the emptiness of his Treasury permitted. Three Princes of the Blood, the Duke of Alençon, the Counts of Clermont and of Vendôme, were present; and by them, in conjunction with three Gentlemen of inferior degree, La Trémouille, Beaumanoir, and De Mailly, the Lay Peers were represented†. The Archbishop of the See placed the Crown on the Monarch's brows, and the Maiden, during the ceremony, stood by the Altar bearing her Standard. The Chronicler of her Life relates that, at the end of the Act of Inauguration, she embraced the King's knees with many tears, declared that her mission was accomplished, and

* Monstrelet, vi. c. 62.

† Ibid. c. 65.

solicited leave to return home to her customary occupations*. But success had rendered her a most important Political instrument, and she yielded to the earnest intreaties of the Ministers of Charles that she would still continue with the Army.

The Régent Bedford, meantime, had received personal assurances of support from the Duke of Burgundy, and, with an army July 10 amounting altogether to about 10,000 men, he advanced from the Capital to Montereau. The hostile armies manœuvred in each other's presence at Mount Epiloy, near Baron, during two days and two nights. Neither party could obtain sufficient advantage of position to induce it to resolve upon attack; and although the French were much superior to the English in their number of men-at-arms, the Maid for the first time evinced considerable indecision, "perpetually changing her resolutions; sometimes being eager for the combat, at other times not†." After very brisk skirmishing, in which all quarter was refused, and a loss of about 300 killed between them, the enemies separated without coming to any general action.‡

The Duke of Bedford having strengthened Paris, by throwing into it 2000 English soldiers, proceeded to Normandy which had been attacked by Richemont, and Charles, taking courage, advanced at once upon his Capital. Fixing his head-quarters at St. Denis, he commenced an assault upon the City early in the forenoon of the 29th of August. The contest raged principally about the Gate St. Honoré, to which the Maiden applied ladders and fascines, and the other usual implements of a storm. The breadth of the ditches and a well-directed cannonade repulsed all efforts of the assailants. The Maiden herself was dangerously hurt‡; but she refused to quit the field, and having been sheltered behind a rising ground, she remained there till vespers, when the French Captains sounded a retreat. Charles, on the morrow, "very melancholy at the loss of his men," retired to Senlis §.

La Trémouille, whose influence had declined in proportion as the King had emerged from inactivity, profited by this first reverse to induce his Master once again to seek repose in the distant security of Chinon. The willing consent of Charles was most disadvantageous to his interests; and the English re-occupied most of the strongholds which they had lost in the earlier part of the campaign. The Duke of Burgundy perceived that little reliance could be placed on a fickle Prince who would thus easily abandon his conquests; and he confirmed his alliance with England, and accepted the appointment of Regent,

* M. de Sismondi, xiii. 144, refers to the *Chronique de la Pucelle*, 333, in proof of this assertion, without implying any doubt respecting it. Mr. Turner, ii. 575, remarks that the evidence is not satisfactory. If we are to believe the *Chronique*, which Mr. Turner repeatedly cites, without misgiving, for other facts, the evidence is satisfactory.

† Monstrelet, vi. c. 67.

‡ *Aux deux cuisses*. M. de Sismondi, xiii. 152.

§ *Ibid.*, vi. c. 71.

which the Duke of Bedford, always ready to make any private sacrifice for the benefit of his Country, offered to resign in his favour. Their interview in Paris was more than friendly, it exhibited the affection of kinsmen. Bedford retired to the Government of Normandy, the administration of which he still retained; and the new Regent agreed to an Armistice with Charles until the ensuing Spring.

Charles soon again resigned himself to luxury in his seclusion at Chinon; and the Maiden, disgusted by this relapse into apathy, once more requested dismissal. It is pretended A. D. 1430. that evil omens materially increased her desire to resume a private station; that the sword of Fierbois was broken in her hands, and that another which she had won in battle, and had deposited as a trophy on the Tomb of St. Denis, became a prize to her enemies. At the close, however, of the Armistice, she was prevailed upon to take the field; but she was ill supported by troops, and her former enthusiasm had subsided. After some petty operations she threw herself into Compiègne, at that time besieged by John of Luxemburg. On her return from a sortie, in which she was bravely covering the rear of her detachment, she was abandoned by her comrades, not without some suspicion of treachery. A Picard Archer unhorsed May 24. her, and she surrendered at the approach of the Bastard of Vendôme. Thirteen months had elapsed since her first triumphant march from Chinon, when after a career of unparalleled glory she was conveyed to Marigny, under a strong guard, as a prisoner. The shouts of joy which announced her capture summoned the Duke of Burgundy from his quarters; "he went," says Monstrelet, "to the lodgings where she was confined, and spoke some words to her, but what they were I do not now recollect, although I was present*." Who is there who would not readily commute more than half the pages of this valuable but most unimpassioned Chronicler, for a dozen sentences of the single conversation which he has neglected to record?

Would that the sequel of this most detestable History were equally unremembered, or rather, would that it were not disgraced by a crime meriting everlasting infamy! Only three days had elapsed from the capture of Joan, when the Vicar-General of the Inquisition demanded her from the Duke of Burgundy, in order that she might be tried by a Spiritual Court. Several months, however, passed, during which she was considered in her rightful character as prisoner of war, and subjected at Beaurevoir, at Arras, and at Crottoy, from which she more than once attempted escape, to not more rigid confinement than was usual under those circumstances. But meantime a negotiation was pending for her deliverance to the merciless hands of Pierre Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais, who claimed her as taken within his Diocese, and offered 10,000 francs in the name of Henry VI., the sum at which the Kings

* Monstrelet, vi. c. 87.

of France affirmed that they had the privilege of ransoming from a subject any enemy of their Crown. Cauchon bitterly hated Charles, by whom his revenues had been sequestered, and he considered Joan as the authoress of his disgrace. In October, the money having been paid, Joan was transferred to the custody of the English in Rouen. Early in the following year, the Process commenced before the Bishop of Beauvais and the Vicar-General, supported by nearly a hundred Lay and Clerical assessors.

A. D. 1431. Her accusation involved charges of sorcery and heresy; the Jan. 12. adoption of male attire, an abomination which was pronounced to be contrary to the Law of God; and the assertion of Divine support, by which imposture she had misled the vulgar. In the Public Library at Geneva are still preserved all the Records of this odious Trial, and the fifteen examinations to which the Maiden was subjected occupy more than two hundred folio pages in double columns*. Power, station, talent, subtilty, and learning were marshalled against an uneducated and unfriended Girl; yet some of her replies must have triumphed over this most unequal array. When asked why she carried a Banner, she answered that it supplied the place of a spear, and prevented the necessity of bloodshed, for that even in battle she had never killed a foe. To an inquiry why she stood bearing it near the Altar during the Coronation at Rheims, she explained that as she had shared the danger, she thought that she deserved to partake in the honour also. "Are you in God's grace?" asked the insidious accuser. "To answer such a question is no light matter," was the meek reply, which so far interested one of the Judges, that he argued in her behalf. The Bishop of Beauvais, furious at this merciful intervention, sternly repeated the question, and received an answer not to be exceeded for readiness, for piety, for humility, and for soundness of comprehension. "If I am so, may God keep me in it; if I am not so, may He admit me to it!"

Resort was had to the basest *espionage* in the hope of attaining some private avowal; and a vile Priest, named Nicolas Loiseleur, was placed in her cell, who described himself as a Lorrainer condemned to imprisonment for adherence to Charles VII. But the secrets which this foul hypocrite, having deceived her confidence, obtained under the seal of Confession, and which he sacrilegiously revealed in violation of the duty of his Order, tended not to establish the guilt, but to confirm the purity of Joan. When it was afterwards proposed to place her on the rack, and the majority of the Court felt satisfied that her answers had been explicit, and that torture was not to be employed except in cases of wilful obscurity, only two out of one hundred assessors persisted to the last in urging its application, and one of them was the very traitor who had thus abused the privileges of Religion.

The several Interrogations and the prisoner's replies had been sub-

* M. de Sismondi, xiii. 183.

mitted to the decision of the Sorbonne, which decreed that her pretended revelations were superstitious, proceeding from Evil Spirits, and diabolical; that her Visions were improbable, May 19. lying, and presumptuous; and that her persisting to wear the habit of a man, even at the reception of the Holy Sacrament, was a contemptuous transgression of the Divine Law, and of Canonical Ordinances. Her judges, as they expressed themselves, earnestly desiring to save her both in body and soul, recommended a correction of these scandals, and an unconditional submission to the Church. Perseverance, they assured her, would expose her soul to eternal damnation, and would most probably end in her bodily destruction also.

At first the Maid was unshaken, and contemplated her approaching sentence with firmness. But the love of Life is strong in youth; her spirit was impaired by severe and lengthened imprisonment; she had been perplexed by artful examinations; and above all she saw opposed to her the whole Ecclesiastical body, whose decisions she had been trained to reverence as infallible. Thus overcome, she consented to affix her mark to a Recantation, in which she admitted that her pretended interviews with Angels and Saints were delusive. This Paper was publicly read, while she did Penance on a scaffold May 23. in the Burial ground of St. Olier, and she then received a definitive sentence from the Bishop of Beauvais, condemning her to immurement for the remainder of her life, in which "she might weep for her sins, while eating the bread of grief, and drinking the water of affliction."

But her imprisonment was not of long duration, for the Bishop of Beauvais by no means intended that she should escape with life. We are told of outrages offered to her in the solitude of her cell, and of violence worse than death itself to which she was exposed by the brutality of her persecutors; but of these deeds of darkness (if such really occurred) it is manifest that the sufferer and the perpetrator are the only persons qualified to speak; and that the silence of each, although from very different motives, is equally secured. The facts which are fully developed do not require any addition by which sympathy may be excited. A few mornings after Joan's Act of Penance, the Gaoler on entering her dungeon found her again habited in her former attire. A suit of man's clothes had purposely been left with her in the hope that she might be betrayed into their adoption, and the stratagem succeeded but too well. At sight of the garb associated with so many recollections of Glory, her past illusion revived in all its strength, and she fancied that her Patrons Ste. Catherine and Ste. Marguerite descended to reproach her apostasy, and to encourage her to repentance. "I am prepared," she said, "to die rather than any longer to endure the misery of imprisonment." The Bishop of Beauvais joyfully received the intelligence which he had anticipated; informed a Synod, hastily convened

at his Palace, of the Maiden's relapse, and obtained their approval for committing her to the Secular arm. On the morrow, at May 30. nine in the morning, she was carried in a female dress to the Old Market Place in Rouen; and, having heard the usual lying sentence, which adjudged her to be cut off from the Church, as an unsound Member, and which expressed a hope that the justice to which she was delivered might treat her gently and humanely, without injury to either life or limb, she was chained to a stake by the English magistrate of the City, and slowly burned alive, upon a scaffold of which the fresh plastering prolonged her torture. The English Archers who surrounded the place of execution testified impatience at the delay of her Confessor; savagely asked whether he intended to keep them waiting till dinner-time; and kindled the faggots before he had completed his sad office. Joan had requested him to hold his Crucifix aloft, so that it should be the last object upon which her eyes might rest, and as her head drooped amid the flames, the name of Jesus was the parting word which was audible from her lips.

The fate of the Maid of Orleans has led us a few steps too forward in strict Chronological arrangement. The Duke of Bedford received small assistance from England. The Parliament chiefly occupied by the struggle between the Cardinal of Winchester and the Duke of Gloucester, denied both subsidies and reinforcements; and terror at the Maiden's success deprived him of the usual influx of voluntary adventurers. From the hope of re-animating the drooping courage of his adherents, and more especially of attaching the Normans, he advised his young nephew to fix his Court at Rouen, which accordingly during eighteen months was the resort of many Nobles from England. The following Summer witnessed the Siege of Compiègne, and the capture of the Maiden, soon after which latter event the Duke of Burgundy withdrew with little reluctance, to take possession of Brabant, which had devolved upon him by inheritance.

Philip's ambition had no doubt been gratified by the cession of the Regency, but he soon perceived that the unnatural part which he had taken against his own Country was unfavourably regarded by the Parisians so long devoted to his Family; and in a short visit which he paid to the Capital little sagacity was required to discover that he had become a mark for popular hatred. The resentment excited by his father's murder had subsided during the lapse of time; doubts, at first hastily dismissed, relative to the participation of Charles, were now allowed their full weight; no motive of interest tempted Burgundy to prolong Civil War; and he was, perhaps, seeking an honourable method of disengaging himself from alliance with England, when he agreed to a separate Truce for two years with their common enemy.

A. D. 1431.

Sept. 8.

This arrangement was not unjustly viewed by the Duke of Bedford as most injurious to the English interests. He could no longer conceal from himself the conviction that Burgundy was wavering; and that the French, whenever they felt sufficiently powerful, would throw off the foreign yoke to which under his influence they had submitted. One experiment presented itself which might terminate advantageously. The young King had not as yet been crowned, and it seemed by no means improbable that the exhibition of him to the Capital in the trappings of Royalty might revive that Faction by which his father had been elevated to the Throne. Henry accordingly proceeded from Rouen with a brilliant retinue of Nobles and an armed train of 3000 soldiers. The preparations for his entry into Paris Dec. 2. were conducted with great magnificence; but, in spite of these attractive shows, the Coronation itself afforded little Dec. 16. satisfaction. The Crown was placed upon the Royal Brows by the Cardinal of Winchester, who also chaunted Mass, sorely to the displeasure of the Bishop of Paris, who asserted the right of performing both services; and after the Offertory, a rich silver gilt Chalice which the Canons of Nôtre Dame claimed (and in the end obtained) as their perquisite, was seized by some rapacious Court attendants. Certain customary largesses to the populace were omitted either from neglect or from ignorance; and the predominance of English habits during the whole course of the Ceremony disgusted all classes of French spectators. After a very short residence in his Capital, which by no means tended to conciliate the good will of its inhabitants, Henry returned to Normandy.

The Court at Chinon also witnessed a Political revolution most disadvantageous to the English, by the removal of a Minister who fostered the King's indolence. The pride shown by La Tré- A. D. 1433. mouille had created numerous enemies, and the Constable Richemont easily found agents to undertake a project, which although it involved assassination, was not esteemed by him derogatory to his honour. The Favourite was carried off by armed men at night, from his sleeping apartment, and after receiving a dangerous wound, purchased life by the surrender of ambition. He paid largely for his ransom, and engaged never again to enter the presence of the King*. Charles, as on similar occasions in times past, after a short burst of indignation, forgot his Counsellor, and admitted Richemont to full confidence.

The condition of France, however, was most utterly deplorable; for long-continued internal discord had rendered violence habitual; almost every man was armed, and the armed subsisted only by plunder. Adventurers spread themselves over the Provinces under a name, the Skinners, *Les Ecorcheurs*, which sufficiently betokens the savage nature of their outrages, if we trace it to even its mildest derivation,

* Monstrelet, vii. c. 47.

stripping shirts, not skins*. The Soldiers regularly engaged in the Burgundian service, finding themselves prohibited from warfare by the Truce, assumed the Red Cross of St. George as a badge under which they might pillage; and Charles was powerless to enforce obedience from even his own Generals. Few names are more frequently mentioned with distinction in these Wars than that of La Hire; yet we read of his violating a hospitable reception offered by the Lord of Auffemont in his Castle; seizing his unsuspecting host at the moment in which he was regaling on his wine; throwing him heavily ironed into a loathsome dungeon; and although the King remonstrated and wrote frequent Letters to state that he was well satisfied with the captive Noble's services, detaining him in confinement until he paid an immoderate ransom for liberty†.

The Duke of Burgundy found employment for his arms in a private feud with the Count of Clermont; but when the latter succeeded to the Duchy of Bourbon on the demise of his father, who had remained prisoner in England since the Battle of Azincourt, a reconciliation was effected between the Princes who were linked by private connection‡. Every hour indeed tended to confirm Philip in his pacific intentions, and he at length openly announced to the Parisians that negotiation with Charles was at hand. Little as the community of interests and the mutual connection of States was as yet understood in Europe, it seemed as if the general voice of Christendom powerfully remonstrated against the continuance of that War by which France had been so long distracted; and a Congress which the mediation of Rome at length assembled at Arras was thronged by a diplomatic train brilliant and numerous beyond all precedent. Rome and the Council of Basle respectively despatched the two Cardinals of Santa Croce and of Cyprus as Presidents, attended by about eightscore Masters in Theology. The Emperor, the Kings of Castile and Aragon, of Portugal, of Navarre, of Naples, of Sicily, of Cyprus, of Poland and of Denmark, the Dukes of Brittany and of Milan were represented by their several ambassadors. Deputies arrived from the University of Paris, from the chief towns of France

* Monstrelet, viii. c. 12.

† "It was all in vain," says the Chfonicler, "the Lord d'Auffemont lay a whole month in prison, insofuch that his limbs were greatly bruised and benumbed, and he was covered with all sorts of vermin." His ransom was fixed at 1000 *saluts d'or* and a horse valued at 20 tons of Wine. The *salut* was a coin struck by Charles VI. and by Henry V., and so named because it was impressed with Gabriel's Salutation to the Virgin. Three *saluts* = one florin = two crowns = twenty-five sous. D'Auffemont revenged himself in 1437, when he captured La Hire at Beauvais, carried him off from a stable in which he sought concealment, and did not release him till the Duke of Burgundy interfered in his behalf. The ransom, however, which he obtained was much less than that which he had paid. Monstrelet, viii. c. 8. M. de Sismondi, xiii. 286.

‡ The Duchess of Bourbon was a sister of the Duke of Burgundy.

and of the Netherlands. England commissioned the Archbishop of York and the Earl of Suffolk, who counted in their retinues 200 gentlemen of birth. The Duke of Burgundy was accompanied by many Nobles, and by 300 Archers of his own Body-guard gorgeously clothed and equipped. Charles VII. sent eighteen envoys, of whom the chief were the Duke of Bourbon, the Constable Riche-
 mont, the Count of Vendôme, and the Archbishop of Rheims; and when the first Session commenced in the Chapel of St. Vaast*, more than 500 illustrious personages, and above 10,000 strangers were assembled in the City.

On the arrival of the Cardinal of Winchester, State interests superseded diversion, and projects of general pacification were seriously debated. The English demanded a renewal of the Treaty of Troyes, the French denied that the sense of the Nation had ever been expressed by that Treaty, which they recognized only as the act of a deranged King at the close of an unsuccessful War. The Truce concluded with Richard II. in 1395, or, yet earlier, the Peace of Paris with Edward III. in 1327, were offered as presenting a more equitable basis. Some further concessions were added at the instance of the Cardinal Presidents. Aquitaine might be held as of old in Fief; the Dioceses of Bagnaux, of Avranches and of Evreux might be annexed to the ancient Duchy; the ransom demanded for the Duke of Orleans might be paid; and even Normandy itself might be abandoned. But the Cardinal of Winchester obstinately persisted in his objections. He would sign a Truce for twenty, thirty, or even for forty years consolidated by a marriage of Henry VI. with a daughter of Charles VII., during which period each party should retain its actual possessions; or he would agree to a definitive Peace by which Paris, the Isle of France, and Normandy were to be absolutely vested in the Crown of England. When these proposals were rejected, the Cardinal, accompanied by all the English, without further delay quitted Arras.

The evil feeling generated by these exorbitant and impolitic pretensions, which the English were by no means in a condition to enforce, was much increased by the death of Bedford, whose wisdom, energy and uprightness had hitherto greatly contributed to prevent the approaching rupture. He died at Rouen, in which City he had languished for some months, and his decease removed the only scruple which still deterred Burgundy from renouncing his alliance with England. The Treaty of Arras which reconciled this most powerful of the French Peers with his native King was received with general joy; and the conditions which Charles accorded demonstrated the high price at which he was willing to purchase Civil union. He declared that the death of the

* Monstrelet, vii. c. 77, 80, 81.

late Duke had been iniquitously and treacherously caused through wicked counsels which had always been displeasing to him. That if he had been of sufficiently mature age at the time of its occurrence to judge of the consequences, he would have prevented it; but that he was then in truth very young, inconsiderate, and possessed of little knowledge. These admissions, which imply at least privy to the assassination, were concluded by an entreaty that the Duke of Burgundy would henceforward lay aside whatever hatred and rancour he might have conceived on account of his father's murder.

The King next engaged to use all diligence to apprehend the perpetrators of the said wicked deed, in order that they might be punished in body and goods. If they should escape seizure, he banished them from his dominions irrevocably, with confiscation of their effects; and the more completely to ensure the inclusion of all who were guilty, he required the Duke of Burgundy to furnish him both now, and from time to time hereafter, as he might happen to obtain more complete information, with lists of the persons concerned, against whom the King undertook to proceed in the most summary manner. A Chapel was to be founded and endowed by Charles in the Church of Montéreau in which the Duke had been first buried, where a requiem should be daily chanted for the Soul of the deceased, and the presentation to it was to be vested in Philip and his successors for ever. A Church and Convent of Carthusians, "with cloisters, hall, refectory, granges, and all other necessary buildings," were to be erected and endowed in the Town. On the Bridge itself was to be raised a handsomely sculptured Cross, and a daily Mass was to be celebrated at Dijon over the Tomb in which the body was finally deposited. For these religious purposes very ample sums were assigned in the Treaty.

Thus far provision was made to satisfy the Duke's honour, the remaining Articles stipulated for very substantial advantages. Fifty thousand golden crowns were to be paid as a compensation for the jewels stolen or lost at Montereau; and the Duke in consequence of this allowance was not to be at all impeded from persevering in his researches after the valuables, especially "the rich collar of his late Lord and father;" all of which, if he should recover them, were to be retained by him exclusively of the money. The Counties of Maçon and of St. Jangon, the Cities of Auxerre and of Bar were granted to him in Fief. Sundry castles, townships, and rights of revenue were guaranteed, and by a very remarkable clause, Philip during the lifetime of Charles was exempted from any performance of personal homage. In case of a War between Burgundy and England, Charles pledged himself to active alliance with the former. Oblivion of all acts arising out of the divisions of the Realm (excepting those connected with Montereau) was proclaimed; and as if the King's degradation had been incomplete, even after these numerous subtractions from his authority, he solemnly

released all his subjects from allegiance in case he should violate any of the foregoing conditions; and if he should so fail hereafter he enjoined his vassals no longer to obey himself, but to assist the Duke of Burgundy and his successors against him. Few Treaties were at that time considered to be binding until cemented by intermarriages, and it was therefore agreed that the Princess Catherine of France should bestow her hand on Philip's heir, the Count de Charolois.

Three days after the ratification of this Treaty*, Isabelle of Bavaria, to whom the Peace of Troyes was mainly attributed, expired at Paris. She had long resided in the Capital, in poverty, neglect, and it is reported that she wept abundantly as Henry VI. saluted her, on passing her window to the ceremony of his Coronation. Her remains were interred with little pomp among the Royal Tombs at St. Denis. The Duke of Burgundy endeavoured to atone for this want of respect by the performance of a magnificent Service at Arras, which he attended clad in deep mourning, and supported by many "great Lords" in similar attire†.

CHAPTER XV.

From A. D. 1435 to A. D. 1461.

Dissatisfaction of the English—The French recover Paris—Failure of the Duke of Burgundy at Calais—Public Entry of Charles into Paris—Famine and Pestilence—The Pragmatic Sanction—Conference at Gravelines—Change in the Character of Charles VII.—Military Reforms—Discontent of the Aristocracy—*La Praguerie*—Headed by the Dauphin Louis—Suppressed—The English capture Harfleur—Release of the Duke of Orleans—Charles punishes the *Ecorcheurs*—Besieges and captures Pontoise—Continued successes of the French—Remonstrance of the Princes from Nevers—Activity of the Dauphin—Armistice—Marriage of Henry VI. with Margaret of Anjou—Dissolution of the *Ecorcheurs*—Establishment of the Companies of Ordonnance—And of the Franc Archers—The Dauphin Louis withdraws to Dauphiné—Hostilities against England renewed—Siege and Capture of Harfleur—Death of Agnes du Sorel—Defeat of the English at Fourmigny—Fall of Cherbourg—Expulsion of the English from Normandy—And from Guyenne—Affairs of Brittany—Murder of Prince Gilles—Death of the

* Monstrelet, vii. 90. Historical writers are greatly divided concerning the character of Isabelle of Bavaria. Mr. Hallam considers her to be "the most infamous of women." M. de Sismondi is very far from condemning her. Villaret affirms that after 330 years no true Frenchman can hear her odious and ill-omened name pronounced without a shudder.

† The Treaty is printed at length by Monstrelet, vii. c. 88, who has also recorded a just but most severe remark made by the Lord de Launoy on swearing to it. "Here am I who have heretofore taken oath for the preservation of Peace five times during this War, not one of which has been observed, but I now make promise to God that this shall be kept of my part, and that I will not in any degree infringe it." Mr. Hallam ingeniously conjectures that the Duke of Burgundy stipulated for exemption from personal homage to Charles VII. in consequence of some vow, for he tendered his services to Louis XI. on his Accession. *Middle Ages*, i. 88, 89.

Duke—Injustice of the French Tribunals—Disgrace of Jacques Cœur—Marriage of the Dauphin with Charlotte of Savoy—Revolt of Guyenne—Suppressed—The Duke of Burgundy vows a Crusade—Process against Armagnac—The Dauphin Louis retires to Flanders—Hungarian Embassy—Process against the Duke of Alençon—Persecution at Arras—Affairs of Italy—Sickness and miserable death of Charles VII.

THE news of the Peace of Arras was received in England with as many signs of resentment as if it had been wholly unexpected. The Duke of Burgundy hoped to recruit his exhausted finances, and to lighten some of the burden of debt with which he was oppressed, by remaining neutral in the future contest; for although Charles had become bound to assist *him* in case of War, Philip had left himself unshackled by any reciprocal pledge. But the English were too deeply piqued by his abandonment to allow the fulfilment of these pacific intentions. They gave open encouragement to insurgents awaiting opportunity for Rebellion in the Netherlands; they made attempts upon some of his garrisons, and the Duke of York, who succeeded Bedford in the Regency, declined all overtures for negotiation. Each Party felt that War was inevitable, and employed itself in strengthening its frontiers.

While Philip meditated an attack upon Calais which required much time for preparation, he despatched a small auxiliary force A. D. 1436. to join the Constable Richemont and the Bastard of Orleans, who were marching upon the Capital. The Duke of York had not yet arrived, and Lord Willoughby, who commanded a garrison of about 2000 English, was straitened by want of provisions, and surrounded by a discontented populace. New oaths of allegiance, and even a resort to executions, by no means repressed the growing spirit of revolt; and his troops, impatient of scanty food and of deferred payments, broke through the rules of discipline; scattered themselves over the suburban districts in hope of plunder, and lost many of their number by surprise. The besieged were soon aware of the weakness of the force to the control of which they had hitherto submitted, April 13. and having made arrangements with Richemont, they barricaded the streets, and assisted the Maréchal L'Isle Adam with ladders when he approached the ramparts. The gates were soon forced, and the French and Burgundians poured into the city. Lord Willoughby prepared for the defence of the Bastille, into which he had thrown himself, but he was permitted to transport to Rouen his little garrison and all the Citizens who chose to accompany his retreat.

Vigour on either side would have greatly tended to abridge this lamentable contest, but Charles and Henry were equally devoid of energy. We are assured that the permanent force of the English in France, even during the season of their highest ascendancy, never exceeded 15,000 men; it was now reduced to less than a fourth of that

number*; but regular troops were wanting to oppose even this scanty band, and the Adventurers and the *Ecorcheurs* preferred the chance of enrichment by plunder in forays to any effort for national deliverance. Instead of profiting by the capture of Paris, Charles still lingered in the South; in the Summer indeed he advanced June — to Tours, but it was only to be present at the nuptials of his eldest son Louis with Margaret of Scotland †. Gratitude for the faithful services which he had received from that Northern Court when deserted even by his native subjects, in part contributed to the alliance; in part it might be intended to cement a closer interest for the future; but the assassination of their King, James I., a few days after his daughter's marriage ‡, engrossed the Scots too closely with domestic feuds to allow their pursuit of a designed invasion of England.

Charles however was more deficient in activity than in courage, his disposable force amounted to at least 7000 men "well tried and well equipped;" and with these and a brilliant Staff of Nobles he at length commenced the Siege of Montreuil. A little garrison of 300 or 400 English bravely defended themselves for six weeks, during which period, Charles, as we are told by Monstrelet, did not spare himself in military labours §. At the end of that time, the Town Oct. 11. was carried, and about a fortnight afterwards the Castle surrendered. Not more than thirty of the besieged were killed in the storm; and some precautions, which reflect credit on the humanity of Charles, prevented much of the guilt, bloodshed and abomination, which too frequently accompany a successful assault.

The route to Paris was now uninterrupted, and the King was persuaded to show himself in the Capital, of which he entertained most ungrateful remembrance, on account of the many savage events which he had witnessed in it during childhood. His public entry was conducted with pomp very similar to that which had Nov. 13. distinguished the recent visit of Henry VI.; for magisterial processions and the noisy shouts of the rabble are to be procured in a Metropolis under every change of Masters. We hasten therefore over the enumeration of Provosts and Pageants, and Fountains of Hippocras, with the single notice that as Henry was accosted by the Nine Worthies, so a still more fantastic allegory presented itself to Charles, when he was saluted by the Seven Virtues, and the Seven Deadly Sins on horse-back ||.

* M. de Sismondi, xiii. 283.

† Margaret of Scotland, a Princess of elegant tastes and pursuits, versed in the Poetry and Literature of her day, deserved and acquired great popularity. She died of a Pleurisy in the autumn of 1445, much to the regret of her father-in-law, who regarded her with confidence and affection.

‡ Monstrelet, viii. c. 1.

§ viii. c. 5.

|| Monstrelet, viii. c. 9. Although the title of this motley group (*les neuf Preux*) in its aggregate is familiar, few perhaps can name the individuals by whom it was

A very short residence in the Capital sufficed; and scarcely had Charles retired to Tours, when the two heaviest scourges of mortality wasted the Isle of France and the adjoining Provinces. Nearly fifty thousand sufferers perished within the walls of Paris from Famine and its usual concomitant Pestilence; and seldom have any darker pictures of human misery been sketched, than those which pourtray this most fearful visitation. The English might easily have recovered a Town thus stripped of defence, but they wisely avoided the City of death, and even evacuated some posts in its neighbourhood.

The Ordinances promulgated by Charles since his accession had been hitherto few and unimportant, but an Edict issued by him during the Summer following his visit to Paris is always considered to be the main foundation of what are called the Liberties of the Gallican Church. During the discussions arising out of the Council of Basle (which it would be remote from our purpose to detail, and which must be sought for in Ecclesiastical Annals), the French Clergy became keenly awakened to the arrogance of Papal usurpation, and in several meetings, the first of which was contemporary with the assembly of the Council itself, they showed a resolution to reject the A. D. 1438. slavery of vassalage to Rome. Charles VII. presided over

July 7. the most important of these Synods, in which Legates attended at Bourges, both from Eugenius IV. and from the Council which at the time was disputing his supremacy, and which afterwards proceeded to his deposition. The French Prelates at once perceived the great advantage which they might derive from an espousal of the principles supported by the Council; the Jesuits also foresaw in them an increase of the authority of the Crown, so that with the joint approval of both his Secular and his Spiritual advisers, the King signed an Ordinance for future Ecclesiastical regulation, framed expressly upon certain Decrees of the Council of Basle favourable to independence, and known in History as the *Pragmatic Sanction* *.

Of the twenty-three Articles into which this celebrated Statute is divided, only a few heads demand our notice. The superiority of Œcumenical Councils over the Popes was distinctly recognized, and the Holy See was declared bound to summon one such Council after the lapse of every ten years. The nomination of Bishops with very few composed: they were Joshua, Gideon, Samson, David, Judas Maccabeus, Alexander, Julius Cæsar, Charlemagne and Godfrey of Bullion.

* No two words convey less distinct meaning to English ears than those which form this Title: nor are we at all prepared to furnish an equivalent. Perhaps a well considered Ordinance may in some degree represent them: i. e. an Ordinance which has been fully discussed by men practised in State Affairs. But we are very far from either recommending or being satisfied with such a substitute. The Title was used in the Lower Empire, and Ducange *ad v.* describes *Pragmaticum Rescriptum seu Pragmatica Sanctio* to be that which *adhibet diligente causæ cognitione, ex omnium Procerum consensu in modum sententiæ lecto, a Principe conceditur*. See also Mr. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ii. 75 (4to.) for the Pragmatic Sanction of Louis IX. and p. 120 above.

exceptions was entirely denied to the Pontiff, and their *election* by their respective Chapters, subject to the Royal approval, was established on the authority of the Primitive Church. The Court of Rome was no longer allowed to interfere in the disposal of inferior Benefices. The abuse of "expectatives" or promises in reversion while incumbents were yet living was abolished; and by this one curtailment half the undue influence of the Vatican was swept away. The reception of *Annales* was stigmatized as Simoniacal, and the occasions on which appeals were permitted to Rome were very strictly limited. These last two enactments seriously affected Revenue; for the succession to Benefices afforded a regular average influx to the Pontifical coffers, and the sale of judgments by the Sacred College had become so proverbial, that the venality which the Satirist of old ascribed to the Pagan City was now a far more just reproach against Her who affected to be the Metropolis of Christendom.

This Edict, as may be supposed, was received with widely different feelings by the Fathers at Basle and by Eugenius. To the former it appeared a signal approval of their legislation, by the latter it was esteemed sacrilegious rebellion against an authority derived from Heaven, and the Pontiff, although degraded and exiled, assumed a tone of remonstrance to Charles VII. not less haughty nor less indignant than had been employed by his predecessors during the fulness of their power. In one point, however, both the Council of Basle and the Pope altogether coincided, and each Party strenuously urged the conclusion of Peace with England. This advice was pressed also by the two most illustrious Houses in France. The Duke of Orleans entertained no other hope of terminating his long captivity, (which had been endured during the five and twenty years which had elapsed since the Battle of Azincourt,) but by a reconciliation of the belligerents; and the Duke of Burgundy, influenced by an hereditary taste for pageants and festivities, coveted a season of repose which might permit the indulgence of this favourite passion. Well aware, however, that Charles continued to regard him with jealousy, he discreetly avoided the invidious office of actual mediation, and when the Cardinal of Winchester was instructed to open Conferences on the frontier between Calais and Gravelines, Philip deputed his Duchess Isabella to attend in his behalf. Isabella was a woman of talent, of spirit, and of address, and as grand-daughter of John of Gaunt, she was niece to the Cardinal, with whom her negotiation was principally to be conducted. Henry of A. D. 1439. Beaufort, who far outshone the other ambassadors "in the June — splendour of his tents and pavilions, and the richness of his gold and silver plate," received his fair kinswoman with marked distinction and feasted her nobly*, but the diplomacy proved altogether

* Monstrelet, viii. c. 33. Isabella of Portugal, third wife of the Duke of Burgundy, was daughter of John I. of Portugal by Philippa daughter of John of Gaunt by his

unavailing, for the English were not inclined to relax from their former demands.

Hostilities had by no means been suspended during these Conferences, which form a remarkable Epoch in the History of France. In themselves, as we have seen, they were wholly nugatory, but during their occurrence a change appeared in the conduct and disposition of Charles VII., of which, since contemporary writers have left it unexplained, it is idle to expect that we at present can afford any solution. We must be content to repeat the simple facts, that the King having arrived at the mature age of six and thirty, and having administered the Royal functions for seventeen years, during which period he had been lost in indolence, commenced a life of energetic action, which astonished both friends and enemies; which conferred inestimable Civil benefits upon his dominions, and by sweeping from them the foreign invaders by whom they had been so long occupied, obtained for him, not undeservedly, the title of "the Victorious," an appendage too often the reward of ambition, but in *his* case of much less doubtful value*.

When the Constable Richemont undertook the investment of Meaux, the recovery of which Town he considered necessary for the maintenance of Paris itself, he little anticipated that his ultimate success would result from the vigour with which the King furnished troops, supplies, and breaching batteries †. Charles meantime passed three weeks in his Capital, and he there obtained such information of the state of his armies, the want of discipline in the ranks, and the consequent necessary severity of the Officers, as induced

him to make an important proposition for military reform to the States General which he had summoned to meet at Orleans. A standing army, always at the command of the Crown, and regularly paid from funds especially assigned to its support, doubtless mainly contributed to the confirmation of that absolute authority which the Kings of France exercised at a later period; but it is far from equally certain whether either Charles himself or any of his Counsellors was sufficiently acquainted with Political Science to foresee this not very remote result, at the time at which they conceived the project; and they were most probably actuated by a sincere and honest wish to relieve their suffering Country from the lawlessness of the *Ecorcheurs*, who drew the sword at pleasure, and exacted compensation for service according to their own estimate of its value.

first wife Blanche. The Cardinal of Winchester, son of John of Gaunt, was therefore half-uncle to Isabella.

* Some clue, perhaps, is afforded by another title which Charles VII. bore, *le bien-servy*; but every thing cannot be attributed to his Ministers. See M. de Sismondi, xiii. 399.

† Jasper Bureau was the first Master of the artillery, who about this time suggested the employment of cannon to batter in breach. The firing hitherto had been entirely at random. His brother John also, Treasurer to the King, was expert in the science of Gunnery. They jointly directed the batteries at the siege of Harfleur. Monstrelet, ix. c. 11.

We shall have occasion by and by, when we notice its final establishment, more fully to explain the new military constitution which Charles first proposed at Orleans. The States, which strongly recommended Peace, and arranged the opening of a new Conference with the English for that purpose, at the same time cordially adopted the proposed changes; and they agreed that the King alone should nominate his Officers, and fix the number of their respective followers. These were to be chosen from among the many who actually professed arms at the moment; but free trade in War was peremptorily forbidden, and restrained by severe penalties for the future. The Captains were made responsible for the good behaviour of the troops under their command. Cases of pillage and violence were subjected to the ordinary tribunals, the Parliament of Paris being the Court of ultimate appeal; and whenever legal redress was not immediately at hand, the sufferers were authorized to employ force in order to avert injury.

These regulations were far from being agreeable to the marauding bands, whose licentiousness they were designed to control, and they greatly tended to frustrate an enterprise against Avranches, to which Town Richemont advanced after storming Meaux. The common men deserted in masses, and the Chiefs by no means endeavoured to discourage their spirit of mutiny. Nor was it among the inferior classes only that disaffection prevailed. Numerous members of the higher Aristocracy also manifested unwillingness to relinquish any portion of their former power, and complained of tyranny in the Crown, because it prevented themselves from being tyrants*. The Dukes of Bourbon and of Alençon, the Count of Vendôme, and the Bastard of Orleans, now invested with the title of Count of Dunois†, talked loudly of the disorganization of the Army, and of the consequent peril to which the Country would become exposed from the English. The Sire de Chabannes, de Blanchefort a Bastard of the House of Bourbon‡, La Trémouille still fired with resentment against the Constable, and many other not unimportant personages, were active in a Cabal, which assumed or received the name of *La Praguerie*, from a remembrance of the popular commotions in favour of John Huss, which by attracting the notice of all Europe to Prague, had afforded a general insurrectionary title. The Dauphin Louis was easily persuaded to enrol himself among the malecontents, by an assurance that having arrived at the age of seventeen, he was far more capable of Government than a weak father, who after a slothful career was now awakened to mischievous activity

* M. de Sismondi, xiii. 358.

† The Bastard of Orleans had greatly assisted in procuring the redemption of the Duke his brother, who, in return, presented him with the County of Dunois in an interview at Calais, July 21, 1439. According to Monstrelet, ix. c. 5, Dunois was "one of the most eloquent men in all France."

‡ Alexander, a natural son of John the late, and a half-brother of Charles the existing, Duke of Bourbon.

under the guidance of artful Ministers. With the young Prince at their head, the rebellious Faction withdrew to Niort, in the hope of exciting a tumult throughout the Kingdom, which might compel Charles to abdicate, or at least might reduce him under their control to the condition of one of the former *Rois fainéants*.

Fortunately for the Monarchy, this revolutionary feeling was very far from being general. The peasantry at once perceived that A. D. 1440. the new Ordinances, if carried into effect, must afford them relief, and the majority even among the Nobles had a strong wish for the suppression of the *Ecorcheurs*. Nor were the soldiers themselves united in support of the *Praguerie*. Some were honourably influenced by sentiments of loyalty; the certainty of pay or the hope of promotion weighed strongly with others. The Constable hastened to the Royal Banner, and Charles no longer needed any excitement to alertness. When he entered Poitou with his army, and March —. was received by the inhabitants with marks of affection instead of discontent, the situation of his opponents became critical, and they eagerly tendered submission, which the Court was by no means reluctant to accept. The Duke of Alençon was permitted to retire to his own *apanage*; the Duke of Bourbon was received at Cusset, and pardoned after a stern rebuke. To La Trémouille and the minor agents amnesty was granted, although they were forbidden the Royal presence; and the Dauphin who, for once in his hateful life, remained true to his engagements, made his peace after hearing from his father that he was at liberty to withdraw if he so wished, “for under God’s pleasure we will find some of our Blood who will assist us in the maintenance of our honour and power with more firmness than you have hitherto done*.”

After some futile attempts at the renewal of negotiation during this insurrection, the English had besieged Harfleur. Six thousand men, commanded by the Earl of Somerset, having under him the Lords Dorset, Falconbridge, and Talbot, intrenched themselves so strongly under the walls, that when Dunois, after the Peace of Cusset, attempted to relieve the besieged Town, he found the lines of circumvallation impregnable. So confident were the besiegers of success, that “the Countess of Somerset and other Ladies and Damsels were present at the Camp to witness the conclusion of the investment†.” The French succours, consisting of picked men, led by experienced Captains, withdrew after eight days of reconnoissance, and the garrison capitulated.

The Duke of Burgundy had avoided all open connexion with the *Praguerie*; not assuredly from any greater love of Charles than was

* Monstrelet, viii. c. 35. The King discharged all the Officers of the Dauphin’s household, except his Cook and his Confessor.

† Monstrelet, viii. c. 37.

entertained by the Princes who had been most actively engaged in it, but from a prudent distrust of their means of success. He was employed, however, in cementing an alliance by which he hoped to obtain strength sufficient to counterbalance the increasing power of the Crown, and in spite of the incessant opposition of the Duke of Gloucester, who forcibly reminded the English Council of the dying injunction of Henry V., Philip at length obtained the release of the Duke of Orleans. The ransom was fixed at 200,000 crowns, 80,000 of which were paid down, and ample pledges were given for the discharge of the remainder within six months*.

Accompanied by the Constable, by the Dauphin, and by a brilliant train of Nobles, who either from long confirmed attachment or from recent wavering, were equally anxious to evince their A. D. 1441. present fidelity, Charles actively directed himself to the suppression of the *Ecorcheurs*, who still abounded in Champagne. Having fixed his head-quarters at Troyes, he reduced many strongholds of these brigands, and in order to strike greater March — terror into those who continued to defy his authority, he resolved upon one example of marked severity. The Bastard of Bourbon had been among the most active of the insurgents, but having tendered submission, he confidently looked for pardon. The King, however, undeterred by the illustrious connexions of the offender, or rather indeed stimulated by a remembrance of them, after receiving incontrovertible proofs of a late act of pillage, ordered him to be enclosed in a sack, and thrown into the river at Bar-sur-Aube.

Having cleared this Province of marauders, the King next turned his arms against the English, and marched with a considerable army to lay siege to Pontoise. The garrison, although not June — exceeding 800 men, partly composed of disaffected French and partly of regular English troops, was prepared for resolute defence under the command of Lord Clifford, a General of much renown and experience. It was in vain that the Duke of York and Lord Talbot attempted to provoke the King to a battle, by which, if he had been defeated, the Town would have been permanently relieved. They were able to revictual the garrison, to strengthen it by reinforcements and by the removal of the sick and wounded; but Charles, having manœuvred so skilfully as always to retain a choice, declined combat although four

* The Duke of Orleans amused himself during captivity by cultivating a Poetical talent. In the *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Ins.* xiii., are some Papers by the Abbé Sellier on those Poems, of which a complete Edition was published at Grenoble in 1803. M. de Sismondi has characterized them briefly and ably, xiii. 591. He considers the Duke of Orleans to hold a much higher rank as a Poet than René of Anjou. Hume mentions 54,000 nobles as the ransom, which he estimates at £36,000 of present sterling money, or as equal to two-thirds of all the extraordinary subsidies granted by the English Parliament during seven years for the support of the war.

times offered. On the retirement of the English he recommenced the siege, till the Town was carried by assault. Half of the
 Sept. 16. garrison was put to the sword on the spot, and by an atrocious act of cruelty, 400 of the English prisoners were dragged to Paris, "paraded naked and in chains through the streets, and thrown afterwards into the Seine *."

After this great success, for it was one which had not been achieved without infinite cost to both parties, and much importance was therefore attached to it, the King remained for a short time in Paris. The winter was passed by him in Poitou and Saintonge in concerting measures for the extermination of the remaining Brigands, and before the
 A. D. 1442. following Midsummer he delivered Tartas in Gascony by
 June 23. keeping his day before it †, a condition which the Sire d'Albret had reserved in agreeing to its provisional capitulation. The English were unable to take the field against the force which had been gathered to meet them, "the greatest army which had been raised during the reign of Charles;" their scattered bands were daily reduced by hardships of service; Henry VI. evinced the utmost imbecility, and the Cardinal of Winchester had triumphed in the Cabinet over his nephew the Duke of Gloucester, hitherto the chief advocate for War, but who was now broken in spirit by the disgrace of his ambitious Duchess. Charles terminated a brilliant campaign by an Assembly of the States of Languedoc at Beziers.

But during these continued successes over the foreign enemy, the Kingdom was still under the excitement of Civil dissension, and the ashes of the *Praguerie* although smothered were not yet extinguished. The Dukes of Burgundy and of Orleans, having again met, had arranged projects of resistance, and the former invited
 March —. the Princes of the Blood to assemble at Nevers for the express purpose of constructing a Representation of Grievances. The meeting was numerous, notwithstanding the politic absence of the chief mover by whom it had been summoned. Among its members were the Duke and Duchess of Orleans, the Duke and Duchess of Bourbon, the Duke of Alençon, and the Counts of Etampes, of Dunois, and of Vendôme. The King himself so far respected the Congress as to depute his Chancellor and other Counsellors to represent him at its sittings.

The Remonstrance was presented to Charles during a residence of the Court at Limoges. Monstrelet briefly states that it advised the con-

* The account given by Villaret, viii. 155, is most piteous. He says, on the authority of a contemporary whom he does not name, and his marginal reference is only to Monstrelet, that the prisoners were dragged through the streets, like dogs in couples, and that all who could not furnish ransom were drowned. But Monstrelet, in his narrative of the siege and capture of Pontoise, does not mention this subsequent cruelty? viii. c. 51. M. de Sismondi, xiii. 386, refers to a host of authorities.

† Monstrelet, viii. c. 55.

clusion of Peace and the keeping of the appointment at Tartas, but the King's answer, which he details at considerable length, shows that it embodied some very factious propositions, and that it was far from being dictated by a pure spirit of Patriotism.

Demands for the restoration of certain forfeited Towns, and for the continuance or allotment of pensions to individual complainants, formed the conclusion of this Remonstrance, which the King answered with so much truth, dignity, and moderation that the Nobles, hopeless of interesting the Country in their behalf, abandoned all further opposition and dissolved the *Praguerie*. The Duke of Orleans was among the first who notified submission; and in a gracious audience at Limoges he received a liberal contribution towards the defrayment of his arrears of ransom.

Peace was still unattainable; but Suffolk concluded at Tours an Armistice for two and twenty months, which appeared likely to ripen into more permanence when it was prolonged shortly afterwards for the betrothment of the King of England to Margaret, youngest daughter of René of Anjou. Saving her commanding intellect, her beauty which was highly celebrated, and her illustrious descent from the Pretender to three Crowns, the titular King of Naples, of Sicily, and of Jerusalem, the Bride was portionless; but Suffolk, who in leading her to his Master's arms anticipated the consolidation of his own influence, not only closed his eyes upon the improvidence of the alliance, but even bribed Charles of Maine, the new Queen's uncle, into approbation of the marriage by the promised surrender of Mans the Capital of his *apanage*. The condition was secret, for the Diplomatist well knew that its fulfilment would render him most unpopular in England.

The Truce of Tours * enabled Charles to pursue his long contemplated measure of relieving France from the oppression of the *Ecorcheurs*. This salutary project had been interrupted by the outbreak of the *Praguerie*; and there were still many obstacles to its completion, chiefly arising from the great numbers which it was requisite to control. Without exterminating almost all the members of the race it was difficult, perhaps it was impossible, to divert them from pursuits in which they had been educated. But Prudence not less than Humanity forbade the exaction of punishment from the many thousands whose violence had been encouraged, nay had been employed, by the State whenever its exercise appeared to promise even a temporary advantage.

From this embarrassment Charles was relieved by a fortunate and most unexpected occurrence. Frederic III. of Austria, anxious to repulse the Swiss who were besieging the Imperial City of Zurich, despatched an Embassy to request a subsidiary force from the nation of

* The Articles of this Truce are given at length by Monstrelet, viii. c. 65. It expired on April 1, 1446; but was prolonged first for six months, afterwards for a year.

most warlike repute in Europe. The application would at any time have gratified the pride of France ; at the moment at which it arrived it especially accorded with the wishes of her Government ; and the King utterly careless as to the legitimacy of the cause which he was required to assist, promised the desired aid, and adopted a policy very similar to that practised by Charles V. when engaging the Free Companies in the Wars of Castile. The *Ecorcheurs* eagerly snuffed the scent of pillage in a new Country, and they enrolled themselves with joy under the Dauphin who was appointed to command. Others of their band were at the same time engaged by the King himself to assist in the reduction of Metz, one of the Free Cities of Lorraine which René of Anjou wished to incorporate with his Duchy, and which had furnished Charles with a pretext for aggression.

We need not closely follow these expeditions, which, however important in their ultimate results to France, scarcely affected her fortunes in their immediate course. Fifty thousand men were mustered in the two armies. Of these, it is affirmed that not less than 8000

Aug. 26. fell in the ten hours' combat on the field of St. Jacob on the Birse, when the 1600 Swiss who were engaged were slain to the very last man*. Louis had not been present during the Battle, but he learned from it fully to appreciate the valour of the Swiss, which in his future reign he artfully turned to his account, and he resolved also not to expose himself to further hazard. The nominal object of the campaign was indeed accomplished, for the Swiss after their discomfiture hastily raised the Siege of Zurich ; and the Dauphin, contented with this success, quitted the Helvetian Mountains, and spread his troops over Upper Alsace and Suabia. The German peasantry groaned, but not without revenge, under the depredations of these unwelcome visitors ; and Frederic too late perceived that he had invited a scourge which was to be wielded for his own punishment. " It is against Germany not against Switzerland that you are warring,"

was his just remonstrance ; and no Party was more rejoiced
Oct. 28. than the Emperor Elect when Louis signed at Ensishheim a Treaty with the Swiss Communes, and at the approach of Winter led back to Lorraine the remnant of his greatly diminished army.

Charles meantime had personally conducted the Siege of Metz, till wearied with the more than usual ferocity which disgraced its operations on both sides, he adjourned with René to Nancy, and devoted the Winter to festivity. The Germans had been provoked by the outrages of the *Ecorcheurs* to a formal declaration of War ; but the dispute was adjusted when the French retired ; and the Citizens of Metz, alarmed by

* Ten Swiss were unable to cross the river, and returned home, nine of them being wounded. The one unhurt was received by his Countrymen with execrations. M. de Sismondi and the authorities cited by him, xiii, 432.

the concentration of force under their walls on the arrival of the Dauphin, purchased safety by remitting a debt of 100,000 florins due to them from René, and by paying 200,000 Crowns to the King of France. Neither of the campaigns had been productive of military reputation; but they completely fulfilled the object of Charles, for the *Etorcheurs*, lessened in numbers and humiliated by losses, were henceforward easily restrained, and by their submission justified the boast of the King "that he had at length found an issue for the bad blood of his armies."

The proposition originally approved by the States-General at Orleans was finally embodied in a Decree promulgated at Chalons-sur-Marne, and the future National Military Force was A. D. 1445. arranged in fifteen Companies of Cavalry*. Each Company comprised 100 Lances, and as every Lance consisted of six persons, a Man-at-Arms, a Page, three Archers, and a *Coutiller* or short-swordsmen, the whole presented nine thousand horse-soldiers. The Men-at-Arms were furnished with greaves, cuirasses, salades (light helmets), swords and spears, all for the most part ornamented with silver, and the spears were carried by the Pages. The Archers wore salades, greaves, and pliant brigandines of scale armour. The Coutillers were clad in salades, brigandines, or haubergeons consisting of only mailed sleeves and gorget, and besides their knives or short swords, they bore for offence battle-axes or *guisarmes* (long-handled and long-headed pikes). The pay of the Men-at-Arms was ten livres per month, that of the Archers four. The Coutiller received 100 sous. A permanent impost (*taille*) was levied by monthly assessments, and set apart for the maintenance of this band, which, although apparently small, was the most powerful instrument which had ever yet been at the command of any King of France†. The Officers, named by himself, selected those men whom they knew to be the most brave, the most orderly, and the best mounted and equipped; and the entire body, controlled by a single hand, was far more efficient than twenty times its number when dispersed under numerous Chieftains uncompact by mutual union. Discipline was so rigorously enforced that robbery and disorder soon became almost unknown; and the soldiery, instead of being cursed as the chief perpetrators of outrage, were welcomed as protectors in every district which was fortunate enough to afford them quarters.

* Villaret, viii. 190.

† It seems very doubtful whether *two* or *three* archers were attached to each man-at-arms; if there were only two, the total of 9000 was made up by the addition of a *gros varlet* to each. But the original authorities contradict one another. See Jacques de Berry (*Héraut ou Roy d'armes de France*), p. 427, *dans le Supplément à l'Histoire de Charles VII. par Jean Chartier* (1661); Matt. de Coucy, id. 545; *Mém. de La Marche*, 161 (1562); Monstrelet, ix. c. 23, and also Villaret, viii. 188, and Mr. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, i. 83, 224 (4to.)

The military arrangements were completed by the organization of a National Infantry. Each Parish in the Kingdom was called A.D. 1448. upon to provide a man well skilled in the long or cross April 28. bow, and to furnish him with salade, haubergeon, sword, dagger, bow and quiver. He was to be exercised on Sundays and Feast days, to be ready for service at the Royal Summons, and to receive four livres per month as pay, while in the field. These Franc-Archers, as they were called, owed that name to their freedom from certain imposts and subsidies, and to the possession of other immunities beyond their Parochial brethren, privileges accorded by the policy of Government in order to render the appointment covetable; but we are told that the experiment failed, and that the Franc-Archers, like most other armed Bodies not purely military, became only half Soldiers.

The repose of the Palace was interrupted by dissensions between Charles and the Dauphin. It was not difficult to arouse jealousy in the King, and the qualities of the Heir apparent were calculated to strengthen suspicion when once excited. After disgusting all his father's Ministers by pride and violence, which the subtilty of his disposition had not as yet taught him to dissemble, and after having been implicated (we know not how justly) in a conspiracy which was to deprive the King of freedom, Louis was permitted or perhaps was enjoined to withdraw to his Government of Dauphiné.

The Truce with England was very ill observed. The garrisons of Nantes, of Verneuil and of Lagny infested the high roads between Paris and Orleans, and committed robberies under the protection of frightful masques and disguises, by which the wearers acquired the name of *Les Vizards* *. But a more immediate cause of the renewal of hostilities arose from the demand of the surrender of Mans by Charles du Maine. That town, as we have already mentioned, was secretly abandoned to the French Prince by the Duke of Suffolk when he negotiated the marriage of Margaret of Anjou; and the King, irritated by the long delay which had occurred in executing this Treaty, formally undertook a siege at the commencement of 1448. François Surienne its Governor, March 16. an Aragonese adventurer engaged in the English service †, capitulated, with permission to retire at the head of his garrison, A.D. 1449. and seeking indemnity for the post which he had lost, March 24. he commenced a predatory War on the frontiers of Brittany, and at length established himself by surprise in the town and Castle of Fougères. His act was disavowed by the Duke of

* Monstrelet, ix. c. 1.

† Surienne, the cause of this fatal war, afterwards abandoned the English service, and took the oath of allegiance to Charles VII. Monstrelet, ix. c. 15. He was an unworthy Knight of the Garter.

Somerset, Lieutenant of Normandy, but the English Government refused reparation when it was solicited by the Duke of Brittany.

Never at any time was War more unnecessarily provoked, never was it less adapted to the circumstances of England; and never was its progress and termination more disastrous. Ample employment was found at home for all the troops which Normandy might otherwise have received for its protection; and Dunois, after crossing the borders, spread himself over its interior with rapid conquest. Oct. 16.

When Charles himself appeared before Rouen, he mastered the City in three days, and the very names of the ancient artillery which composed his Park strike terror into unwarlike ears. He had, says Monstrelet, the greatest number of battering Oct. 19.

cannons and bombards, veuglaires, serpentines, crapaudines, culverins, and ribaudequins that had ever been collected in the memory of man *. The Duke of Somerset and Lord Talbot Oct. 31.

maintained themselves about a fortnight longer in the Citadel, and after they were compelled to surrender, the latter was placed in the hands of the enemy as security for the fulfilment of the Capitulation. During the triumphant entry which Charles made into the Capital of his recovered Provinces, the Pageant was viewed from one of the Gates by this gallant hostage and his companions; and who is not moved when he hears that they "were very pensive and hurt at heart on witnessing a sight so disagreeable to their interests †." After a month's repose, Charles marched on to Dec. 8.

Harfleur; and, in spite of the inclement season, he broke ground before it in the depth of Winter. The King himself, lightly armed, often appeared in the trenches; and the contrast between pomp and misery has seldom been more strikingly exhibited than in the sufferings endured by the mass of the Soldiery and the splendour of some of their Leaders. Not a house nor even a tree was near at hand; frosts and inundations were more severe than usual; and the few huts thrown up for shelter, composed only of earth thatched with juniper branches, were frequently swept away by the sudden rising of the Sea. Meantime the Princes of the Blood were magnificently attired, and the Count de St. Pôl on one occasion equipped his horse with a *tétier*, or head piece, valued at thirty thousand francs ‡.

Harfleur capitulated, and the King having determined to occupy both banks of the Seine commanded the immediate investment of Honfleur on the opposite side. During the preparation for Dec. 24. this attack, he retired to the Abbey of Jumièges, and there *

* Ribaudequins are gigantic cross-bows; the others are various kinds of fire-arms which it is impossible to distinguish by merely verbal description. Monstrelet, ix. c. 23.

† Monstrelet, ix. c. 14.

‡ Monstrelet, ix. c. 16.

he was visited by a heavy private calamity. Agnes du Sorel, the Lady of Beauté (so called both from her charms, and from an estate A. D. 1450: near Vincennes with which the King had presented her,) expired within its walls after a few days' illness. The nature of her connexion with Charles, to say the least of it, is equivocal; but contemporaries universally agree in praising her powers of intellect and her loveliness. The King, it is said, denied the paternity with which in one instance he was charged by her; but it seems established beyond doubt that Agnes died in child-bed, notwithstanding the rumour of poison, out of which arose a most unjust Process to be mentioned hereafter*.

The English Government was at length shamed into the despatch of reinforcements, but Sir Thomas Kyriel did not arrive at Cherbourg with his three thousand men till more than a month had elapsed from the capture of Honfleur. He was joined by several smaller April 15. bodies from the different remaining Norman garrisons, and he probably headed more than twice his original numbers, when after some minor successes he became entangled at Fourmigny between two detachments, to which, when combined, he was unequal. The Count of Clermont attacked his rear, the Constable Richemont his front. The position of the English was strong, covered by a rivulet, by gardens and by vineyards, but from this advantageous ground they advanced too hastily, impatient of the galling fire from a field-battery which the Count of Clermont had thrown forward; and after three hours of bloody combat the whole line gave way. The survivors fled for refuge to Bayeux, but the Commander in chief and forty-three Gentlemen remained prisoners, and "the Heralds, Priests, and credible persons" reported that 3773 slain were buried in fourteen deep trenches on the spot†. The chief honour of the day was disputed between the two French Commanders, and the King decided in favour of the Count of Claremont. The victory, as may be supposed, spread universal joy through France, and it was celebrated at Paris by a procession which betokens that Education was much encouraged by the Citizens. The Bishop invited "all the children as well male as female that were at school, from the age of seven to eleven years, to return thanks to God" at Nôtre Dâme. They walked two and two, each bearing a lighted waxen-taper, attended by their masters and tutors, and this youthful band consisted of between twelve and fourteen thousand suppliants.

* *Mémoires sur les dernières années de la vie de Jacques Cœur par M. Bonamy. Mém. de l'Acad. des Ins.* xx. 512. The place of Agnes was supplied by her niece, the wife of the Seigneur de Villequier. She was quite as handsome as her aunt. Jacques du Clerc, c. 29.

† Monstrelet, ix. c. 18. But his credibility in this instance may be doubted, for he says that the French lost but "eight men at most." Hume undervalues this "battle or rather skirmish." Perhaps it is as much over-rated by M. de Sismondi, who nevertheless cites numerous authorities, xiii. 502.

Mass was sung, and the Bishop preached from an appropriate text, "Out of the mouths of very Babes and Sucklings hast Thou ordained strength, because of Thine enemies, that Thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger*." Monstrelet concludes his account of this deeply interesting ceremonial with a praise which will be echoed from the bosom of every reader. "It was a fine sight to see, and did great honour to the Bishop †."

The succeeding operations in Normandy are reduced to almost a mere catalogue of names. Vire, Bayeux, Avranches, Bricquebec, Valognes and Saint Sauveur le Vicomte capitulated in succession; and among the calamities of War, even when most humanely conducted, Monstrelet has presented us with one striking instance at the surrender of Bayeux. "In honour of Nobility," horses were supplied for the conveyance of all gentle Ladies and Damsels; and carts "for the most respectable of the women who followed their husbands. It was a pitiful sight this to see from three to four hundred women (without including children, who were very numerous) some carrying their infants in cradles on their heads, others swinging them round their necks, or in rolls of cloth round their bodies, and in a variety of other ways †." When the King presented himself before Caen 22,000 men accompanied his march. The English defended themselves bravely, and not till the walls were seamed on all sides with practicable breaches, and burrowed with unnumbered mines, did the Duke of Somerset listen to the terms proposed, by which he was allowed to withdraw unmolested, and to be conveyed to England with his entire garrison and their property. Cherbourg was the last Town exposed to attack, and among other means employed for its reduction, was one which appears to have excited great astonishment. A battery of heavy guns was constructed on the shore, so much below high-water mark, that at every return of tide it was covered by the Sea; but the cannoneers wrapping their artillery in greased cloths, preserved the charges dry, and recommenced their fire as soon as the waves had retreated. The fall of this garrison completed the subjugation of Normandy, in the short period of a year and six days. The War had been conducted with great comparative humanity, and is free from the many sickening massacres of prisoners, brave men who had fulfilled their duty, which it has hitherto been most painful to record. The Chronicler assures us that so large an extent of Country had never before been conquered in so little time, and with less shedding of blood or damage done to the inhabitants. He attributes this rapid success in part to the very favourable epoch at which the ex-

* Psalm viii. 2.

† To the honour of the metropolis of England a similar exhibition occurs annually under the dome of St. Paul's.

‡ Monstrelet, ix. c. 19.

pedition was undertaken; and we are not sure that he does not intend to ascribe the mildness of the warriors to the same cause; "it was the year of a general pardon of sins at Rome, called the Jubilee Year*."

From Normandy the King hastened to attack the English possessions in the South, where the command of his armies was intrusted to Dunois. The turbulent spirit which raged in England had shown itself by the murder of Suffolk, by the arrest of Somerset, by the insurrection of Jack Cade, and by the suspicious conduct of Richard of York in Ireland. Succours therefore from a Country so distracted were hopeless, and the progress of the French in Guyenne and Gascony was even yet more quickly triumphant than it had been in Normandy; twenty thousand soldiers were distributed in the sieges of four towns at once, and Dax, Riens, Frohsac, and Castillon surrendered within a few days of each other. Bordeaux, upon which the yoke of England had pressed lightly, and which under the protection of its Crown had attained high commercial prosperity, was expected to be obstinate in resistance, but the wealthy Citizens shrank from the hazard of pillage, and consented to negotiate for the surrender of the whole Province. Bayonne was more firm in its allegiance; the inhabitants burned their suburbs, and prepared for resolute defence; but their fidelity was unavailing and exposed

Aug. 18. them in the end to harder measure than had been meted to their neighbours. Their walls were breached within twelve days from the opening of the trenches; and Dunois was induced to remit the horrors of a storm, only upon the surrender of the garrison as prisoners of war, and the payment of forty thousand crowns by the residents.

In the conquest of Normandy we have seen that Francis † Duke of Bretany deviated from the neutrality which had been cultivated by his predecessors, and attached himself to the service of Charles; Gilles, the younger of his two brothers, was devoted to that of England, in which Country he had been educated. This political difference, and a successful rivalship for a rich heiress ‡ with Arthur de Montauban (an odious Favorite of the Duke) exposed Gilles to the bitterest enmity at Court; and Charles VII., justly suspicious of any one who avowed preference for the English, lent assistance to a stratagem by which he was arrested. The Duke, who is represented to have been utterly devoid of affection, and enslaved by avarice and the most degrading voluptuousness, had long wished to escape the applications made by his brother for an increase of his far too scanty *apanage* §; and unmoved by justice, by pity, by remorse, or by solicitation; he hurried on a Process supported by false testimony, designed to sentence Gilles to capital punishment. But the States of Bretany, and the Constable Richemont, uncle to both

* Monstrelet, ix. c. 32. † Francis I. succeeded his father John V. in 1442.

‡ Françoise de Dinan, heiress of that House and also of that of Chateaubriand.

§ Some Baronies producing an income of not more than 6000 livres.

Princes, demurred against the committal of an act so cruel and so illegal; and even when the English surprised Fougères, and the feelings of the whole Province were strongly roused against the aggressors and their friends, no condemnation of Gilles could be extorted from the Tribunals. He was transferred therefore from dungeon to dungeon, in a hope that he might be forgotten; and the Duke eluded a request which Charles had been prevailed upon to address for his release, by pretending that the King of England had applied for the same purpose at the same moment, with threats to which it would be dishonourable to concede. Olivier de Miel, the Gaoler selected for the prisoner, undertook to starve him to death in the Castle of Hardouinage, but the grating of the captive's dungeon looked into the ditch of the fortress; and through that aperture, a poor woman, attracted by his moans, supplied him by night from time to time with enough coarse bread and plain water to support nature through a struggle of many weeks' duration. Poison was next ineffectually administered, and at length, when a more direct attack seemed necessary, Gilles was thrown between A. D. 1450. mattresses and strangled after a detention of three years and April 26. ten months. His murderers proceeded from the cell in which they had perpetrated their crime to a hunting-match which they had arranged some days beforehand; and on their return they received with well feigned surprise the announcement of the death of their prisoner by apoplexy.

The Duke was engaged with the army besieging Avranches, when he received intelligence of his brother's murder; and he seems to have been instantly awakened to a sense of his enormous guilt. On the route to his quarters at Mount St. Michel, a Cordelier who had been Confessor to the late Prince*, crossed his path unexpectedly, and in a menacing tone cited him in the name of Monseigneur Gilles to appear before the Judgment Seat of God in forty days. The summons haunted the Duke's imagination, and having prepared for his decease, and adjusted the succession in favour of Pierre, a sur- July 19. viving brother, he expired at the appointed season.

The Tribunals of France about the same time had authorised a most flagrant wrong. On the justice of the sentence which confiscated the property of the Financier, Xaincoings, although it appears to have been unduly obtained, we are not prepared to speak with so much certainty as on that which disgraced and ruined Jacques Cœur. To that opulent Banker, whose wealth almost realised the fabled treasures of

* M. de Sismondi accounts for the introduction of the Confessor to Gilles by the intervention of the same poor woman who saved him from starvation, xiii. 534. It must be confessed that both events are tinged with Romance. The murderers were executed after the accession of Pierre; but their instigator Arthur de Montauban having assumed the habit of a Celestin at Marcoussis, was in the end preferred to the Archbishopric of Bordeaux.

Romance*, and who rivalled the Florentine Merchant-Princes in extent of commercial knowledge, speculations, and success, Charles was mainly indebted for his recent triumphs, as the capital and the credit of his Treasurer at Bourges supplied means without which he must have discontinued his warlike operations. The spoil of Xaincoings which had been distributed among the Courtiers, whetted their avidity for yet more costly pillage; and Antony of Chabannes, Count of Dammartin, who had partaken of this booty, and who likewise was jealous of any partnership in the Royal favour, in order to excite prejudice A. D. 1451. in the mind of Charles, brought a preliminary accusation July 31. against Jacques Cœur of having poisoned Agnes du Sorel.

The charge was supported by the grossest perjury†, and was followed by the immediate imprisonment of the accused, and the seizure of his property. Even after it had been shown that so far from the existence of enmity between the chief parties, Agnes had always treated Jacques Cœur with marked confidence, and had appointed him her Executor, his release by no means ensued. His enemies had succeeded in removing him from personal access to the King, and Charles seldom remembered friends who were not in immediate communication with him. To perplex the Books of a public accomptant is not a task of much difficulty; and to the charge of default next preferred was added another which the circumstances of the East rendered particularly hateful. Jacques Cœur, it was said, had supplied the Infidels with arms, and had sent back a Christian Slave who had escaped from captivity. The examinations, during which he was frequently menaced with the Question, were protracted for two years, at the end of which period the prisoner was declared guilty and condemned to death, but the King's especial favour remitted capital punishment. Inability to hold any public office, condemnation to an *amende honorable*, the surrender of all his movables, the payment of a fine of 400,000 crowns, imprisonment till that most ruinous mulct was discharged, and perpetual banishment on release, was the final sentence. After four years' confinement at Beaucaire, Jacques Cœur was delivered by one of his factors, to whom he had given a niece in marriage, and found an asylum at A. D. 1453. Rome. He was employed by Pope Calixtus III. in an May 29. expedition against the Turks, and he died while holding military command in the Island of Chio‡.

In the retirement, to which his perception of the ascendancy of Cha-

* The legendary report of the time affirmed that Raimond Lully had communicated the secret of the Philosopher's Stone to Jacques Cœur, to whom, while he was yet but a youth, the Sage had taken a fancy.

† Jeanne de Vendôme, by marriage La Demoiselle de Martaing, was the chief witness. She was afterwards convicted of perjury (*calomnie*) and sentenced to an *amende honorable*, and not to come within ten leagues of the residence of the Court.

‡ M. Bonamy, in papers before alluded to in the *Mem. de l'Acad. des Ins.*, xx., has cleared the history of Jacques Cœur of much falsehood.

bannes and his own consequent danger probably contributed, the Dauphin involved himself in the labyrinth of Italian Politics by friendship with Francesco Sforza, a brave Condottiere, who had acquired the Ducal authority at Milan on the death of his father-in-law Filippo, last of the Visconti. The jealousy of Charles was excited by this connexion, but he wisely abstained from entanglement in the complicated interests of Lombardy. When Louis, however, on the death of his first wife Margaret of Scotland, demanded the hand of Charlotte of Savoy, the King of France became alarmed at the independence which must accrue to so factious a son from the rich portion which he was about to obtain. The Bride was in only her sixth year, but she was dowered by her father with 200,000 crowns. Charles peremptorily forbade the marriage, but the Herald, who arrived at Chambéry four-and-twenty hours before its celebration, was denied audience till after the nuptial benediction had been given; and not till then did Louis open the prohibitory dispatch, with the contents of which he was already well acquainted.

The King, irritated by his disappointment, found a pretext A. D. 1452. for declaring War against the Duke of Savoy; but the Papal Court interfered, prevented hostilities, and even mediated a still further alliance by the marriage of Amadeus Prince of Piémont* with Yolande, a daughter of Charles.

The King of France the more readily allowed himself to be diverted from his project of vengeance on account of an unexpected revolt in the newly-conquered Province of Guyenne†. In defiance of the capitulation of Bordeaux, he had proceeded to violate many of the ancient privileges claimed by that City, and to oppress it heavily with the arbitrary taxation by which he supported his standing army. The English were not wanting in readiness to ferment the disaffection thus excited; Margaret of Anjou and the Duke of Somerset were in ascendancy for the moment, and, under their authority, the veteran Talbot, although stooping under the weight of more than eighty winters, headed an expedition of 8000 men, was admitted within their walls by the Oct. 23.

Bourgeois, and surprised and captured the astonished garrison‡. Before the close of Winter, all the neighbouring districts had been reconquered by him, and the following Midsummer passed without any effectual opposition to the invaders. But the death of Talbot and of his son Lord Lisle§, both of whom were A. D. 1453. killed in a bloody action fought under the walls of Cas- July 17. tillon, terminated the hopes of the Gascon insurgents||.

* Afterwards Duke of Savoy as Amadeus IX.

† The causes of this second rebellion in Guyenne are well explained from contemporary writers by Mr. Hallam. *Middle Ages*, i. 84, 4to.

‡ Monstrelet, ix. c. 28.

§ John Viscount L'Isle (a title belonging to his mother's family) was a son of Talbot by his second wife Margaret, daughter of Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick.

|| Monstrelet, ix. c. 54.

Their fortresses were speedily subdued, and Charles unsparingly punished with death all the Commanders who fell into his power. Bordeaux owed the gentler terms which it obtained to the approach of Autumn and the consequent sickness which manifested itself in the Royal camp ; but even that gentleness exacted the payment of 100,000 crowns, the renunciation of all the boasted immunities of the City, and the surrender of twenty of its most active defenders, who were sentenced to exile and confiscation of property*. The English, after the abandonment of their prisoners and of all monied claims upon France, were permitted to re-embark ; and Charles, having distributed his troops so as to prevent all hazard of another revolt, returned to pass the Winter at Tours.

Calais and its petty dependencies were now the sole possessions remaining to the English in France ; but Charles could not approach them without crossing the neutral territory of the Duke of Burgundy ; if, moreover, those towns should be conquered, the King had engaged, by the Treaty of Arras, to cede them in Fief to Philip, a Master more likely to injure him than the one whom they now obeyed. He remained therefore motionless, a quiet, but by no means a disinterested, spectator of a contest between the Feudatory whom he most dreaded and the Citizens of Ghent. After the capture of Constantinople,

A. D. 1454. Feb. 9. an event which filled all Christendom with dismay, Philip solemnly announced his intention of undertaking a Crusade for its recovery. At a Banquet, which cost him every remaining Ducat in his Treasury, he vowed "before God, the glorious Virgin, the Ladies and the Pheasant," to fulfil the conditions of a sealed packet which Golden Fleece King at Arms presented, while he served on table the Bird appealed to in the Oath, with a costly garniture of jewels. Each of the noble guests present bound himself by a similar pledge, and thus became engaged to combat the Turkish conqueror. The project, however, was soon forgotten, or only so far remembered as it afforded a pretext, to which we shall have occasion to advert presently, for interference in a quarrel between Charles and the Dauphin.

When Charles pardoned the Count of Armagnac and restored his Fiefs, he judged rightly that intimidation would prevent any renewal of disobedience ; but the Count's son and successor, John V., bade open defiance to all Codes, whether Moral or Political. A detestable incest with one of his sisters was unblushingly avowed by him, and he obtained, although by fraudulent means, a Papal Bull authorising his most unnatural marriage with her. His offence against Charles VII. was, however, altogether of a Civil nature ; the appropriation of the Patronage

* One of the noble Gascons excepted from amnesty was the Souldich d'Estrades. The title *Souldich*, peculiar to the Bordelais, was retained by only d'Estrades and another native, the Souldich de la Trau. It is explained by Ducange, *ad v. Syn-dicus*, to which it is synonymous.

of an Archbishopric which the King^d destined for another Candidate, Chabannes, the Count of Dammartin, who at that time engrossed the Royal ear, easily persuaded his Master to A. D. 1455. undertake the chastisement of Armagnac, who, on the ap- May —. pearance of the French army, fled together with his sister-wife to the Aragonese dominions.

His Process before the Parliament did not take place till 1457, when he demanded a safe-conduct and a Trial before the Chamber of Peers as a descendant of the Blood Royal. Charles granted the first request, but denied the second, because Armagnac did not hold any Fief or Peerage. In spite of this safe-conduct he was imprisoned in 1459, and obtained release only upon an agreement that he would never absent himself more than ten leagues from Paris. That agreement, however, he considered to be annulled by the previous violation of his safe-conduct, and he made an adventurous escape to Brussels, in the hope of finding protection from the Duke of Burgundy. Disappointed in that expectation, he proceeded to Rome, and there sought and obtained asylum from Pius II., the learned *Æneas Sylvius*.

The fears of the Dauphin Louis were keenly excited by this expedition against Armagnac; he perceived that no rank, however lofty, furnished hope of immunity for those who incurred the displeasure of the Court; he was especially jealous of the influence of Dammartin, whom he suspected, perhaps not without probability, of a design to secure his person; and he felt assured that entanglement in such custody would only be a prelude to death. His younger brother, Charles, was but ten years old, he himself counted three-and-thirty; and there could be little doubt that a minority offered a far more grateful prospect to an aspiring Minister than the succession of an adult and an avowedly hostile Prince; an alternative which the declining state of the King's health might, at any moment, present to Dammartin. Every summons therefore which Louis received to attend his father's Councils was sedulously evaded; and his anxiety was increased to terror when the troops, which had overrun the Fiefs of Armagnac, were ordered to A. D. 1456. advance upon Dauphiné. Nor was the disgrace and seizure of the Duke of Alençon, which occurred nearly at the same time, at all calculated to diminish his inquietude. That illustrious Noble, one of the first Princes of the Blood, was justly discontented by his exclusion from the Royal confidence; and having unadvisedly provoked the Favourite, whose power no doubt he wished to overthrow, he was arrested on the charge of a treasonable intrigue with May 27. the English Cabinet. Louis, beyond measure dismayed at this unusual exercise of authority, foresaw the approach of ruin to himself if he continued to abide in France. His father-in-law, the Duke of Savoy, possessed neither energy, nor indeed power, to afford him safety,

but in the Court of Burgundy, and under the protection of Duke Philip, he anticipated a sure asylum. A hunting-party on the banks of the Rhône presented opportunity for escape, and, followed by a suite of not more than six attendants, after traversing forty leagues Aug. 31st on horseback with the utmost speed, he reached Saint Claude*.

On his arrival in the Burgundian territories, Louis wrote to his father informing him that he had engaged in the projected Crusade as Gonfaloniere of the Church. The Duke, adopting this pretext, invited him to Brussels, received him there with the honours due to his rank, assigned three thousand francs monthly for the expenditure of his household, and presented him with the pleasant Castle of Geneppe on the Dyle, for which he had expressed a wish. Meantime, the Royal A. D. 1457. army, headed by Dammartin, occupied the whole of Dauphiné, which Charles re-united to the Crown, confiscating to his own use the entire revenues of his fugitive son †.

The Court of Burgundy was a prey to disunion resembling that which prevailed in France; and Philip was scarcely less exasperated against his son the Count of Charolois, than was Charles against the Dauphin Louis. The causes of quarrel also were similar; the strong dislike felt by the Count to the Sire de Croye, the Minister who swayed his father. In all essentials of character the young Princes were wholly unlike each other. Louis was cautious, easily alarmed, and practised in dissimulation; Charles of Burgundy, on the other hand, acted solely on impulse, was inflamed by a blind and brutal courage, and gave unlicensed rein to passions of more than ordinary violence. On one occasion he provoked the Duke to unsheathe his dagger, and an unnatural struggle might have ensued if the Duchess had not seasonably thrown herself between her son and her husband.

The King of France had relapsed into the indolence which he loved; and the efforts of Chabannes to provoke him to War with Burgundy were unavailing, notwithstanding he was powerfully seconded by the secret agency of the Count of St. Pól, a vassal of both Crowns, who was disgusted with Philip. Another cause for hostility seemed to arise when an intimate connexion was meditated with Ladislaus King of Hungary and Bohemia. That Prince demanded the hand of Madeleine, one of Charles's daughters; and, as grandson to the Emperor Sigismund, he pretended to the Duchy of Luxemburg, a rich territory which Burgundy was by no means willing to cede. The Embassy which he despatched to claim his Bride astonished the French by its Barbaric pomp; and the treasure conveyed by the numerous carriages which accompanied it was guarded at night by slaves, chained like watch-dogs to the axle-trees,

* In Franche Comté,

† Monstrelet, ix. c. 67.

and sleeping on the bare ground in the open air during an intensely severe Winter*. The nuptials were interrupted by the sudden death of the wooer, and the claims upon Luxemburg became extinguished by his want of posterity. • Nov. 23.

The Ducal Crown of Brittany had passed some little time earlier to the Constable, Arthur Count of Richemont, who exerted himself to bring the assassins of Gilles to justice, and who Sept. 22. retained his office of Constable of France even after it had been intimated to him that the appointment was scarcely compatible with the independence of sovereignty; replying, that he would bestow honour in his old age upon that dignity which had given him honour in his youth. The animosity which he had always entertained against England endured to his latest moment; and probably at his suggestion and with his co-operation some A. D. 1456. predatory descents were made upon the coast of the Channel. Aug. 24. The town of Fowey, in Cornwall, was burned; as Aug. 28. was also Sandwich, which 4000 marauders occupied during the interval between two tides†.

England, however, was far too deeply occupied by Civil struggles to attempt retaliation; and these insults and sufferings were left unavenged. Meanwhile the Process instituted against the Duke of Alençon was advanced, and the Dukes of Brittany and of Burgundy received summonses to attend the Court of Peers to which it was submitted. The former denied that his Fief had ever formed any part of France, and when he eventually repaired to Montargis, it was not as the Judge but as the Advocate of his nephew. The latter who, with proud humility, affected a double claim on Peerage, both for Burgundy and for Flanders, but who well knew how greatly he must be endangered by the enmity of Charles if he trusted himself in his power, replied that the Treaty of Arras had released him from all personal service; nevertheless, that he would obey the King's command, and would attend with a suite befitting his rank. When Charles learned that the arrière ban of the Netherlands had been convoked, that the Flemish Cities were

* *Ils avoient gens établis à coucher dessus leurs chariots, enchainez de grosses chaines, quelque froideur qu'il feist, qui estoit bien nouvelle chose, et estoient fermez à serrure et à clef que l'un des Gouverneurs emportoit au soir quand il s'en alloit coucher.* Monstrelet (1595), tom. iii. p. 70. The ambassador's train consisted of 700 horses and 26 waggons. M. de Sismondi, tom. xiv. p. 11.

† The French disembarked about 1800 men at two in the morning, at a spot two leagues distant from Sandwich, on Sunday, Aug. 28. They marched over very bad roads, and stormed a bulwark in fresh repair, with wet ditches and full of archers. Here they were joined by a second division, and the English retreated partly into the town, partly into some vessels in the port. The latter were abandoned on a threat of burning. After six hours' hard fighting the French gained the town; but the English rapidly increased in numbers; the weather was stormy, the conquerors were fatigued, and many of them were overpowered by wine, which they had drunk profusely; so that in the afternoon, having set fire to the town, they withdrew to their ships, which lay in the roadstead till the following Wednesday. Monst. ix. 60. See also a State Paper in Rymer, iv. 483.

gathering their Archers and Cross-bowmen, and that a Park of artillery ~~was~~ in readiness to accompany their march, he signified through Golden Fleece, that so numerous a retinue might perhaps occasion inconvenience, and that he was therefore willing to dispense with his Master's Company*.

The Trial proceeded, and the meetings of the Parliament were held at Vendôme. According to the established custom of the times the questions under discussion related far less to Law than to Theology, and were ornamented with apt quotations from the Scriptures.†

A. D. 1458. After two months' deliberation, the Duke of Alençon was

Oct. 10. pronounced guilty of Treason, and sentenced to confiscation and death. At the prayer of the Duke of Brittany, Charles

respite the capital punishment during pleasure; and the Prince, who had defended himself chiefly on the plea of concert with the Dauphin (a plea the examination of which was avoided by the Court), was transferred to rigorous confinement at Aigues Mortes‡. Previously to this interference in behalf of Alençon, Arthur III. performed homage for his Fief, with a protest against the demand of the Chancellor of France, that the service should be deemed Liege Homage§, and maintaining that he paid it only in such manner as it had been offered by his predecessors. He closed his brief reign two months afterwards,

Dec. 26. in his sixty-seventh year, leaving a reputation in which austerity was the predominating quality||.

The town and neighbourhood of Arras were exposed to a cruel persecution in the course of the year 1458, from which both private enmity and avarice derived gratification. A charge of *Vaudoisie* (as the offence was called from an obscure remembrance of the Valdensian Heresy), or of attendance upon nocturnal meetings of Sorcerers, was preferred against certain individuals; and as the credulous judges listened with eagerness to the narrative of those insane and abominable acts with which the Sabbath of the Witches is reputed to be accompanied, denouncers became abundant in order to partake of the harvest of confiscation. Lofty rank afforded the most profitable quarry; and Prelates, Nobles, and Governors of districts were named as engaged in this unholy brotherhood. The fear of death or the agony of the rack in many instances extorted confession. Some of the most wealthy inha-

* Monstrelet, x. 1.

† Id. *ibid.*

‡ Monstrelet, x. 2. It was requisite that a Knight of the Golden Fleece should be without reproach; and at the grand anniversary of that Order, on May 1, after the condemnation of Alençon, the Duke of Burgundy on observing the proxy of the absent Prince, said publicly, and used similar language during the three days of the Feast, that he held him to be a Nobleman of untarnished honour, whom the King of France had condemned and wrongfully dismissed through the envy and wicked insinuations of others. Id. *ibid.* 10. c

§ *Liege Homage* implied an obligation of service to the Lord, in contradistinction to *Simple Homage*, which was a mere symbol of Feudal obedience. Mr. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, 4to. i. 97.

|| He was succeeded by a nephew, Francis II., Count d'Etampes.

bitants fled the Country; a few established their innocence; nor did the fervour subside till enough persons of worth had been destroyed and disgraced, "to put the scale" (of the perjured witnesses) "in an imminent danger at the last day*."

The hostile feelings between the King of France and the Duke of Burgundy continued to increase; but they evaporated in angry correspondence or in undignified harangues to Ambassadors. The Dauphin professed unbounded reverence for his Father's authority, and general submission to his will; but he firmly declined every invitation, nay every order for his return to France. The jealousy between the two Courts might have been heightened into absolute war, if the renewed pretensions of the House of Anjou to the Throne of Naples had not altogether diverted the thoughts of Charles to Italy. It is not requisite that we should pursue the struggle maintained in that Country by the titular King René and his son John Duke of Calabria with Ferdinand of Aragon; a contest of which Charles hoped to partake the advantages without exposure to its perils or expenses. For a while the French influence again became dominant in Genoa, and the A. D. 1459. Doge Fregoso was content to delegate his power to a Governor appointed by Charles. The submission of the Republic was, however, but of short duration. The King of France pressed the Genoese to assist his niece Margaret of England with a fleet, but the extent of their commercial establishments in London rendered the proposed interference most indiscreet, and it was at once declined. In the discontent which ensued, the French Governor behaved with haughtiness, and attempted to raise some unauthorized levies which pressed heavily on the lower Orders. He was expelled from A. D. 1461. the city after a popular insurrection, notwithstanding sup- March — port afforded him by the Nobles; and in an attempt made for its recovery, he was repulsed with a loss which the Genoese Historians estimate at scarcely fewer than July — 3000 men.

There can be little doubt that Charles inherited a taint of mental disease from his Father. That he laboured under insanity is not indeed directly affirmed, but there is a passage in Monstrelet from which we think it may not unfairly be inferred. While the Chronicler is relating the death of Ladislaus of Hungary, he adds that it was concealed six days from the King, "*lest it might increase his disorder*," and that it was thought requisite to break it to him very gently†. Not long

* Monstrelet, x. 6. In the following chapter is an account of a Witch buried alive about the same time for having poisoned a farmer, his wife, and one of three sons, near Soissons. The charm which she employed was a decoction made from a Toad baptized by the name of John, and afterwards fed upon consecrated wafers. When the hell-broth thus brewed was thrown under the peasant's dinner-table, all who were at the board "felt themselves suddenly taken with qualms, as if they had eaten something nauseous," and died within a few days.

† Monstrelet, ix. 72.

afterwards, he was considered sick beyond recovery, and although his ~~life~~ ^{life} was preserved for the moment, he appears to have lingered during the brief remainder of his miserable days in a state of perpetually increasing jealousy and irritation. The Dauphin, no doubt, had given him ample cause for disgust and suspicion, and it little surprises us to be told that Charles entertained a strong wish to disinherit him, which was checked only by the sage admonition of Pius II., that he knew not to what extent such an act might scatter the germs of Civil War. But from his youngest son Charles he had ever received tokens of the most dutiful affection; and deeply indeed must the monomania of fear have imbued the spirit of the wretched father when he believed that this favourite child had lent himself in conjunction with his medical attendants to the ambitious projects of the Dauphin. From a conviction that he should be poisoned if he consented to receive food at their hands, he obstinately declined all sustenance; and when, after seven days of this suicidal abstinence, an attempt was made to force nourishment down his throat, an abscess had formed, the power of deglutition was lost, and he sank from exhaustion in the fifty-eighth year of his age, at Melun-sur-Yèvre, in Berri*.

CHAPTER XVI.

From A. D. 1461 to A. D. 1475.

Accession of Louis XI.—Changes in the Government—Personal character and unpopularity of the new King—Revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction—Acquisition of Roussillon and of Cerdagne—Redemption of the cautionary towns in Flanders—League for the Public Weal—Escape of Chabannes from the Bastille—Illness of Philip Duke of Burgundy—Battle of Montlhéry—Louis retreats to Paris—Visits Normandy—Temporizes—Confers with Charolois—Defection of Normandy—Peace of Conflans—Its disgraceful conditions—Louis gains over the Duke of Bourbon—Fomenta a quarrel between the Dukes of Berri and of Brittany—Refuses to cede Normandy—Insurgency of Flanders—Charolois razes Dinant to the ground—Death of Philip the Good—Accession of Charles the Rash as Duke of Burgundy—He is wholly occupied by troubles in Flanders—Treaty of Amiens—Pacific policy of Louis—The Cardinal Ballue encourages his design of conference with the Duke of Burgundy—Conference at Peronne—Insurrection at Liege—Fury of Charles—Danger of Louis—He swears Peace on the Cross of St. Laud, and accompanies the Duke of Burgundy to punish Liege—Louis returns to Paris—Prevails upon the Duke of Berri to accept Guyenne instead of Champagne—Treachery of Ballue—His imprisonment in an iron cage—Meeting between Louis and the Duke of Berri—Transactions with England—Birth of a Dauphin afterwards Charles VIII.—Convention of Notables at Tours—They annul the Treaty of Peronne—The Constable St. Pol persuades Louis to declare War—Peace of Crotoy—Death of the Duke of Guyenne—Louis refuses to ratify the Peace—War renewed with great cruelty—Lescut and Commynes engaged in the interests

* Monstrelet, x. 9.

of Louis—Punishment of the Duke of Alençon, and of the Count of Armagnac—St. Pôl's destruction negotiated—Postponed—His Interview with Louis—The Duke of Burgundy raises the Siege of Neuss—Edward IV. invades France—Want of co-operation—Louis negotiates by a false Herald—Peace—Large disbursements of France—The English soldiery feasted at Amiens—Interview between the Kings at Pequigny—The Duke of Burgundy consents to Peace, and bargains for the surrender of St. Pôl—Execution of St. Pôl.

LOUIS XI. scarcely dissimulated the joy occasioned by the announcement of his accession. For twelve years he had been estranged from the parent whose demise had now placed the Crown A. D. 1461. upon his brows, and, even if he had been differently circumstanced, intense selfishness was the ruling passion which absorbed every other feeling of his nature. The despatch which conveyed intelligence of his father's extremity, at the same time convinced him that the Faction which hitherto had opposed his own interests was already dissipated by the approaching revolution; that each member of it anxiously sought to make his peace; and that the Body conjointly had determined upon the abandonment of Chabannes as the sacrifice most likely to propitiate. Thus freed from all dread of opposition, it was by no means his policy that he should appear to mount the Throne of France as a conqueror by the power of Burgundy; and when Philip therefore assured him that one hundred thousand men would be ready to accompany his progress, Louis earnestly requested that he would bring to the Coronation not more than his usual suite, and such great Lords of his Court as might increase the splendour of the solemnity by their presence.

An intimate knowledge of the human heart (confined perhaps to its worst and weakest parts) had taught him how cheaply debts may sometimes be defrayed, if the repayment be Aug. 18. adapted to the particular humour of the creditor; and on the day of his Coronation, when attired in the Royal habits and supported by the Twelve Peers he was preparing to set out for the Cathedral of Rheims, he drew his sword, and presenting it to the Duke of Burgundy, demanded from his hand the accolade of Chivalry. The compliment was equally gratifying and unexpected; for all the Sons of a King of France are reputed to be Knights from the moment of their Baptism. Philip performed the office, than which none could be more agreeable to his tastes, first to Louis himself, and afterwards to others who made similar requests "until he was weary;" he then solicited and obtained amnesty and assurance of retention in their posts for all the late King's Officers; paid homage with a right good will for the Fiefs which he held under the Crown of France, and promised obedience and service for all others even which he did not so hold *.

* Monstrelet, x. 12. Seven persons were excepted from the amnesty; "but I know not," says Monstrelet, "who they were."

On the public entry to Paris which occurred very soon after the Coronation, much pomp was exhibited by the Court, and Aug. 33 the usual pageants were displayed by the Burgesses. The reception of the Duke of Burgundy must have been more gratifying to himself than to the King, who soon manifested that, however lavish he might have been in promises of forgiveness to his enemies, he regarded friendship to the past Government as implying enmity to the present*. The Duke of Alençon and the Count of Armagnac received not only pardon, but re-instatement in favour. A new Chancellor, a new Maréchal of France, and a new Provost of Paris were substituted in lieu of the Officers who held those important Posts under Charles VII. Pierre de Brezé was stripped of all his charges, and legal Processes were commenced against Dammartin and some inferior Members of the late Cabinet.

These changes were indifferent to the People at large. But they had loudly testified gratitude for assurances that they were to be relieved from many oppressive imposts; and their discontent therefore was proportionate on finding that their burdens on the contrary were aggravated. It required but a very short experience of sovereignty to convince Louis that money was above all things necessary for the support of power; and for its attainment he evinced himself to be not less unscrupulous in breaking his engagements than he had been facile in contracting them. His personal expenses were indeed few, and his habits were niggardly and parsimonious. He was very careless in his dress, and was generally clothed meanly in second-priced cloth and fustian pourpoints, much unbecoming a person of his rank; and his cap, always distinguished from others by its shabbiness, was ornamented with a leaden image of some Saint stuck in the band, instead of the jewel or rich brooch which usually betokened a person of rank†. The sole extravagance of which he was guilty displayed itself in field-sports of which he was immoderately fond;—"To huntsmen and to falconers he was liberal enough, but to none others;"—and the jealous care with which he enacted game-laws and ordered the destruction of all nets and engines whether of Noble or Peasant, in the vicinity of the Royal residences, so as to confine the diversions of the Chase almost entirely to himself, materially contributed to increase his unpopularity. During the very first year of his reign, insurrections which broke out at Rheims, at Angers, at Alençon and elsewhere, were not suppressed without most numerous executions. In the first-named town the Royal authority did not prevail till a large armed force had entered by two or three at a time in the disguise of labourers, and full one hundred persons were

* Monstrelet, x. 13.

† Monstrelet, x. 22. Commynes, 36.

"A perjured Prince a leaden Saint revere."

Pope. *Moral Essays*. Ess. i. 89.

then delivered to the headsman*. One of his earliest measures also was the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction. A desire to strengthen himself by foreign alliances during these internal discontents, the eagerness of Pius II., a superstitious deference for external Religion excited by fear of Divine punishment, fear which always harassed Louis without preventing the commission of atrocity; and perhaps, above all, an obstinate determination to reverse his father's Decrees, induced him to inform the Pope that he restored the Holy See to its ancient prerogatives. The value of those prerogatives may be estimated by a Remonstrance which the Parliament of Paris offered in 1464, showing that during the three years which had elapsed since the abrogation of the Law, more than four hundred and sixty-five thousand crowns had been paid at Rome on account of Gallican Benefices†. Before that Remonstrance was presented, Louis had gained the point at which he had aimed by the nominal revocation, and he therefore permitted his Decree to become a dead letter.

In his estimate of Political ability, Louis possessed a rare faculty of generalizing; and the value of a service skilfully performed was unabated in his judgment, even if he himself had suffered from its performance, or rather his desire to secure the instrument for his own future benefit was increased by experience that he was endowed with the power of injury. Gaston IV., Count of Foix, was one of his father's Ministers to whose artful representations he attributed much of his want of favour during the late reign, and for whom accordingly he felt proportionate respect. In order to bind that subtle agent indissolubly to his own interests, Louis became privy to the crimes and intrigues by which he was labouring to transfer the succession of the Crown of Navarre through his wife Eleanor to his own Family. The Kings of Aragon and of Castile espoused opposite sides in this dispute; and Louis who undertook mediation, and held A. D. 1462. interviews with each of them, not only obtained for himself May 3. the important services of the Count of Foix, but managed his diplomacy with skill so consummate, that the King of A. D. 1464. Aragon, in consideration of a temporary loan of three hun- May 24. dred thousand crowns, at length ceded to France in perpetuity the Counties of Rousillon and of Cerdagne.

During a severe attack of illness under which Duke Philip laboured, the King of France thinking to profit by his weakness required him to break off an alliance with Edward IV. of England, and to permit the imposition of a vexatious tax on salt on the Flemish Provinces. Philip resisted both these arrogant demands, and despatched his favourite Minister John de Croy, the Sire de Chismay, to explain his objections. The King purposely delayed to grant an audience, but De Croy, undeterred by this want of graciousness, waited patiently at the door

* Monstrelet, x. 14.

† *Ordonnances de France*, xv. 195, 207.

of the Royal chamber, till he found opportunity to present his Credentials. "What manner of person is this master of yours?" inquired Louis sternly, "does he pretend to be formed of different metal from the other Princes of my Realm?" "Assuredly, Sire," was the resolute and most unexpected reply, "for he did that which no other Prince ventured to do, he supported you against your late father." When the Count of Dunois asked De Croy how he had sufficient daring thus to address the King, he was not a little surprised by his continued firmness. "Had I been fifty leagues off, with reason to suppose that his Majesty would have so spoken concerning my Master, I would have returned on the moment to make him the same answer *." A servant thus fearless and faithful was worth any expense of purchase; and Louis who in the first instance hastily retreated to his closet, instead of manifesting resentment at De Croy's speech, lavished favours upon him and his kinsmen. Even if he failed in corrupting the Minister's integrity, he succeeded in creating attachment, and in increasing the suspicion with which he had long been regarded by the Count of Charolois. Louis also

A. D. 1463. felt that he had established sufficient influence among the Sep. — Counsellors of Philip to justify him in attending a Conference at Hesdin where he negotiated the redemption of the cautionary Towns on the Somme which Charles VII. had left in pledge by the Treaty of Arras.

Dammartin encouraged by the lenity which the King had shown in so numerous instances to his former enemies threw himself at his feet; and when asked if he solicited mercy or justice boldly demanded the latter. "You shall have it," replied Louis, "I banish you for life from my dominions; but I give you fifteen thousand crowns to defray your expenses to Germany." Rhodes was afterwards substituted as the place of exile, and upon the inability of Chabannes to give bail for the fulfilment of his promised transportation, he was imprisoned in the Bastille †. His confinement however was but brief, for a general disaffection pervaded the Aristocracy, and a powerful League was already being concerted against the Royal authority. Both the Count of Charolois and the Duke of Bretany had various causes for anger and suspicion; and every fresh act of Louis tended to convince his Nobles how little they would be protected by lofty birth or by the customary ties of good faith, if they should happen to become obnoxious to the King and to fall within his grasp. Philip Count of Bresse ‡, fifth son of the Duke of Savoy, and therefore brother of the Queen, had manifested a turbulent disposition; but he little anticipated the breach of a safe-conduct, under the assurance of which he accepted an invitation to the Court of Paris;

* Sir Walter Scott assigns this speech to Crevecoeur, and the word of Sir Walter, like that of Shakspeare, will be received as genuine History.

† *Preface à Mems. de Ph. Commines*, 108. Monstrelet, x. 22.

‡ The small Province of Bresse now forms the Department of Aisne.

and the full treachery of his host and kinsman first burst upon him in a dungeon of the Castle of Loches. Charolais had strong reason to believe that a similar design was meditated against himself. A light galley hovered for some time on the coast of Holland with a picked crew under the command of the Bastard of Rubempré*, a leader well adapted to any desperate service, and who it was believed had been instructed to watch an opportunity for the Count's arrest. After Rubempré had been seized upon suspicion, his release was A. D. 1464. demanded by an especial embassy, and refused by the Duke Nov. 5. of Burgundy with moderation but with firmness. His reply evinced that he at least had not forgotten the good understanding which gratitude ought to have made Louis also prompt to remember. He spoke with becoming dignity of his own invariable adherence to his word, "in which," he added with a smile, "I have never failed, unless perhaps sometimes with the Ladies;" and in answer to a petulant remark made by the Chancellor Mervilliers, one of the Envoys, that a Duke was inferior to a King, he affirmed, without further explanation, that he might have been a King if he had so chosen†. The Count of Charolais was less guarded in his expressions, and taking the Archbishop of Narbonne aside, he desired him to inform his Master that, notwithstanding the good dressing which he had administered by his Chancellor, he should heartily repent his imprudence ere twelve months had passed‡.

Before the close of the year 1464, a confederacy had been negotiated among the leading Nobility, and more than five hundred of their agents exchanged mutual recognition during a Religious ceremony which permitted them to assemble in Nôtre Dame without suspicion. This association for the Public Weal (*le Bien Public*), as it styled itself, escaped detection although the chief names in the Kingdom were enrolled among its members. Some indeed might justly be reproached by Louis with ingratitude. Not only were the Duke of Alençon and the Count of Armagnac, both of whom he had released from imprisonment, in the catalogue; but so also was his brother Charles, upon whom he had bestowed the rich *apanage* of the Dukedom of Berri, and who had not any real grievance of which he could complain. The Duke of Calabria took offence at an alliance contracted with Sforza of Milan; the Duke of Bourbon, although seemingly in the King's confidence, and his

* Son of Antony II. Lord of Rubempré in Picardy.

† We are unable to explain this transaction. Charles *le Téméraire* afterwards, in 1474, obtained a promise from Frederic III. that his Duchy should be erected into a Kingdom under the title of *La Gaule Belgique*; and Frederic escaped from the fulfilment of this promise only by hastily withdrawing from Trèves on the very day before he had engaged to complete it.

‡ *Recommandez moy très humblement à la bonne grace du Roy, et luy dites qu'il m'a bien fait laver ici par son Chancelier, mais qu'avant qu'il soit un an, il s'en repentira.* Commynes, c. 2.

brother in law*, were deeply implicated in the conspiracy, on less personal grounds than its other members, and they published its first Manifesto. D'Angois, Lohéac, de Beuil, d'Albret, Tannegui du Châtel, and other prominent advisers of Charles VII., were engaged to overthrow his son; the herd of inferior Nobles was irritated by the restrictions which he had imposed upon the chase; and the enemy whom Louis hated and feared more than any who had ranked against him in earlier life escaped from the imprisonment in which he was believed to be secure. A forcible entrance was made in the base of that tower of the Bastille which enclosed Antony of Chabannes; a boat conveyed him across the fosse; and a swift horse was in waiting to expedite his farther retreat.

An opportune relapse of the Duke of Burgundy into illness too acute to permit his further administration of power transferred the virtual Government of his dominions to the Count of Charolais at the moment at which this Conspiracy was ripe for outbreak. Paris was

July 4. the main object at which both parties aimed, and Louis by promptness compelled the Dukes of Berri and of Bretany to solicit an armistice before the Burgundian levies had commenced their march. Several weeks were then passed in manœuvring,

July 16. till the two armies were in each other's presence at Montlhéry. The Battle which ensued was most complicated in its details and revolutions of fortune, and exhibited on both sides far more personal bravery than military science. The Count of Charolais, severely wounded† and cut off from his main force, passed the succeeding night in the belief that he had been defeated; and was advised at one time to set fire to his baggage and to endeavour to withdraw. But in the Royal army the discomfiture had been yet more severe, and the treacherous and cowardly flight of the Count de Maine with the entire left wing prevented Louis from following up the advantage acquired on the right by himself over the Count of St. Pôl, whom it then suited to appear under the Burgundian ensigns. Commynes, who on that day made his first essay in arms, never quitted attendance on the person of Charolais, and he has left a vivid narrative which may be read with equal confidence and interest. He modestly ascribes his own insensibility to danger to the inexperience of youth, and to the mistaken conviction which he entertained that it was not possible for any one to withstand so great a Prince as him whom he served. Yet, he adds, on no occasion, in which the Commanders on both sides remained on the field, were their followers so needlessly overwhelmed by panic. On the King's part a man of some note galloped to Lusignan without

* The Duke of Bourbon had married Jane, a daughter of Charles VII.

† He had several wounds, one especially in the throat, of which he bore the scar till his death (Commynes, c. 6.), and which, as we shall afterwards perceive, assisted the recognition of his body.

drawing bit, and a Burgundian Gentleman in like manner hurried to Quesnoy le Comté. "Of these two heroes neither could pick a hole in the coat of the other *."

One or two of the minor incidents which Commynes records of this battle are worthy of transcription. When the Count of Charolais had staunched his wounds, and was preparing to take some slight refreshment, it became necessary to clear the spot chosen for his accommodation. Two bundles of straw were spread on the ground as seats, and five or six naked corpses were removed. One of the seeming dead betrayed slight signs of animation, and in a faint tone asked for drink. A few drops remaining in the Prince's cup were poured down his throat, he was recognized as an Archer belonging to a band of distinguished bravery; and, having been delivered to the care of the surgeons, was quickly healed. "I myself," says the Lord of Argenton, "had a horse in the last stage of exhaustion after the battle. By some accident he dipped his muzzle into a wine-skin, which from mere whim I allowed him to finish. In an hour's time he had recovered his mettle, and was much fresher and more spirited than on any former occasion †."

About 2000 men had been slain on each side; but Louis was not only weakened by the abandonment of the Count of Maine, but he had received certain advices of the approach of the Dukes of Berri and of Brittany with untouched troops, and wholly regardless of the armistice which they had recently concluded ‡. Never at any time willing to encounter hazard which might be avoided by delay, he broke up a few hours after the action, and retired through Corbeil July 18. to Paris, with an escort scarcely exceeding a hundred men-at-arms. During the fortnight which he passed in the Capital his scattered troops were rallied, and he then visited Normandy in person, in order to hasten the advance of some reinforcements. The Princes after their junction occupied Etampes; and Charolais there became sufficiently acquainted with the character of the Duke of Berri to ascertain that he possessed few of those qualities which are required for the stern task of ambition. Charolais himself was utterly careless of human suffering if it contributed to his own aggrandizement; the more youthful Prince on the other hand was moved to compassion by the horrors of war which he then first witnessed. "Have you heard that

* *Ces deux n'avoient garde de se mordre l'un l'autre. Id. ibid.* Quesnoy lies twenty miles E. by N. from Cambrai; Lusignan in La Vienne is fifteen miles S. W. from Poitiers; each place is therefore more than one hundred miles in a straight line from Montlhéry.

† c. 7.

‡ On the meeting at Etampes a false alarm occurred in consequence of a squib (*fusées qui courent parmi les gens quand elles sont tombées, et rendent un peu de flamme, et s'appelloit* (the man who threw them) *Maître Jean Roulefeu, ou Maître Jean des Serpens, je ne say lequel*,—either evidently a name deduced from the occupation,) which an idle fellow tossed into the window of a room in which the Duke of Berri and the Count of Charolais were conversing. The guards of each Prince ran to arms, and some hours elapsed before the consternation subsided into ridicule. *Id., c. 9.*

"*What talk?*" observed the Count sneeringly to some of his attendants. "He is troubling his head about 700 or 800 wounded whom he has seen in the City, with whom he has no possible concern or acquaintance. If his own interests were once really touched, he would be off in a moment, and would leave us in the mire*."

The confederates, however, had at their disposal 50,000 well-disciplined troops, among whom were particularly distinguished the Italian Captains forming the suite of the Duke of Calabria; and 500 Swiss infantry in the pay of the Count of Charolais, the first of their Countrymen who served in France†. The Princes, confident in this powerful host, summoned Paris, and found the authorities very willing to treat during the King's absence. Louis, however, promptly returned to the Capital, by no means assured that he should obtain re-admission, and prepared, as he often afterwards informed Commynes, in case he should find the entrance barred against him, to seek an asylum from Francesco Sforza, whom he esteemed his best friend‡, and who at the moment indeed was making an effectual diversion by attacking the Duke of Bourbon in Dauphiné. The King's policy at first induced him to protract the campaign, in the hope of profiting by dissension, the ordinary vice of all Confederacies. Not a day therefore passed without a skirmish, unless a short suspension of arms was proposed for some frivolous negotiation. Often as Louis exhibited his close acquaintance with mankind, never perhaps was it more exemplified than in a Conference of which we possess a minute account. One morning, accompanied by a suite of not more than four or five persons, he rowed up the Seine to the Burgundian quarters. Masses of Cavalry patrolled the river-bank, but the King having first called out to Charolais, "My Brother, do you pledge your word for my safety?" on an assurance that he did so, sprang to land, and opened a conversation in a manner which he knew would be agreeable. "My Brother," he said, again addressing the Count, "you have convinced me that you are a Gentleman, and that you are of the lineage of the House of France."—"How so, Monseigneur?" inquired Charolais; and Louis then reminded him of the message which he had sent by the Archbishop of Narbonne, adding that the Count had fully kept his word much within the twelvemonth; "and with such persons," he continued, "who abide by their promises, it is my wish to deal."—"All this he said, well knowing the nature of him whom he was addressing, and how greatly he would please him thereby, and assuredly he *did* please him."§ The interview, however, proved fruitless, for although the demands of Charolais himself were graciously admitted, those of others, especially of the Duke of Berri, were rejected as exorbitant§.

The Duke of Berri proposed for himself not less an acquisition than

* Commynes, c. 9.

† Id. c. 15.

‡ Id. c. 11.

§ Id. c. 20.

Normandy, and to this dismemberment of his Kingdom, Louis would have persisted in refusing consent, if the Provincials had not unequivocally manifested their own wishes by surrendering Rouen to the troops of the Duke of Bourbon, and by taking an oath of allegiance to the young Prince who sought their sovereignty. When the King received intelligence of this great defection, he at once determined upon Peace, and appointed a field near Conflans for another interview with Charolais, to whom he was the first who communicated the news; remarking that he considered Peace to be already made; for that the Normans had extorted an acquiescence which he never would have voluntarily tendered. So deeply were both parties interested in their conversation, that having turned their steps in the direction of Paris, they were already within one of the outworks of the City, before the Count was aware of his danger. His suite consisted at the utmost of half a dozen persons, and he was completely in the King's power; but he maintained a good countenance, and whether Louis was equally absorbed with himself, whether he was touched by an unusual generosity, or whether, as is more probable than either, the occurrence was so wholly unexpected that he was by no means prepared to gather advantage from the imprudence of his enemy, he reaped the honour of avoiding the great guilt of his detention. Charolais arrived in his camp under an escort of French Cavalry, but not until his associates had been overwhelmed with consternation by calling to mind the fatal interview at Montereau, and by drawing a comparison between Louis and his father by no means advantageous to the former. The Count of Neufchatel, Maréchal of Burgundy, an experienced soldier, had harangued the Captains, and after exhorting them not to be discouraged by this rash act of a hot-brained Youth, had assured them that, even if their Prince were lost, they would still be powerful enough to effect their retreat unharmed. So far was Charolais from being offended by the freedom of these remarks when he was informed of them after his return, that he begged the veteran not to scold him for his "great folly," which he had not discovered till it was too late for amendment*.

On the following morning, the Princes being received by Louis, paid him homage in the Château of Vincennes; and the Articles of the Peace of Conflans were proclaimed in the course of the same month. Well may Commynes exclaim that the League nominally contracted for the Public Weal subsided in the attainment of Private advantage†; for the only interests forgotten in the Treaty were those of the Nation. To the Count of Charolais were surrendered the cautionary towns for the purchase of which Louis had not long since paid the final instalment, a provision being made that after the death of Charolais they might be redeemed on the further disbursement of two hundred thousand

* Id., c. 22.

† *Car le Bien Publicque estoit convertie en Bien Particulier, id. c. 20.*

crowns. Boulogne, Guines, Roye, Peronne, and Montdidier were abandoned to him in perpetuity. The King's brother received Normandy in exchange for Berri, to be transmitted as a hereditary male Fief. Some rich Governments, one hundred thousand crowns, and six months' pay for five hundred lances satisfied the scruples of the Duke of Calabria. The Duke of Bretany was well contented when Louis relinquished all claim upon the *Regale** of his Province, the original subject in dispute, added Etampes and Montfort to his dominions, and made costly presents to the Lady of Villequier, who enjoyed a pre-eminence in his household similar to that which she had lately occupied in the establishment of Charles VII. Dignities, pensions, and largesses proportioned to their several grades of rank were freely dispensed among the remaining members of the League. Saint Pôl was bribed by the Sword of Constable, and even Dammartin received a Pardon and restoration to all his confiscated property. The very nature of the concessions, and the language in which they were conveyed, might have proved to men not rendered blind by self-interest that Louis never designed their fulfilment; and there are few transactions in History more humiliating to all the parties concerned than the Peace of Conflans, whether we regard the abasement of the King before his rebellious Nobles, the prepense fraud with which he deluded them, or the price for which they sold the just claims they might have enforced for the benefit of their Country †.

Louis, pursuing his usual devious policy, endeavoured to gain that one among his late enemies, who had evinced the greatest power of injuring him. John Duke of Bourbon had not awakened any suspicion till the very moment at which he appeared in the field; he had afterwards unscrupulously violated the Armistice which the King's early success compelled him to accept; and by the influence which he exercised over the Normans, he might be regarded as the main cause of the necessity which had induced the Peace of Conflans. Louis, far from resenting the evils which Bourbon had thus inflicted, coveted the services of an instrument so active and so able; and by largely increasing his authority, by investing him with various Provincial Governments, and by adding pensions to his hereditary wealth, he effectually detached him from the Princes and secured him as an important coadjutor.

His next object was to separate his brother from the Duke of Bretany, and the grant of Normandy to the former readily furnished groundwork for disunion. In the science of engendering division Louis was in truth an adept ‡; and when he wished either to disturb the

* The paramount right of the Crown to nominate to vacancies in the Sees of the Duchy.

† Both these Treaties are given in the *Preuves aux Mem. de Commines*, pp. 20, 35 (à la Haye, 1682). That with the Count of Charolais bears date Oct. 5. That with the League in general, at St. Maur des Fosse, Oct. 29.

‡ *Il estoit maistr, en ceste science.* Commines, c. 25.

harmony between principals, or to win servants from their masters, he spared neither time, nor pains, nor money*. Subtle agents were found to excite a mutual jealousy between the Princes, which increased to an open rupture when the disposal of the Government of Rotten began to be discussed. The Duke of Brittany forcibly resented the claims advanced by Charles, marched his troops to occupy the chief towns in Lower Normandy, and entered into a Treaty with Louis at Caen, by which he solemnly renounced his alliance Dec. 23. with the recent League. We despair of copying with adequate force the simple but strong picture in which Monstrelet has exhibited the complicated diplomacy of Louis. "Many were the embassies," he says, "which came and went from both the Dukes to the King, and from the King to the Dukes, and from them to the Count of Charolais and to them from him, and from the King to the Duke of Burgundy, and from the Duke of Burgundy in return to the King. Some of these were despatched only to obtain intelligence, others for purposes of bribery† and for every sort of mischievous intrigue under the semblance of good faith." Thus, having prevented the only co-operation by which Charles could prove dangerous, the King regained the whole of Normandy without opposition, protesting before the Court of Parliament that the Treaty of Conflans had been forced upon him, and that he did not legitimately possess the power of alienating any Province which had been united to the Crown by his predecessors. The Chiefs of his brother's party were either selected for punishment, or bribed into a change of allegiance, according to the various degrees of talent which they had manifested, and Louis, pretending willingness to recompense the loss of the Duchy by conferring Guyenne as an *apanage* in its stead, adjourned even this settlement to a future day‡.

During these subtle transactions, ample employment had been found for Charolais in the insubordination of his Flemish towns; a spirit which Louis stealthily fomented for his own advantage. Liege, which in the first instance provoked his anger, finding itself destitute of the support which France had promised, submitted to acknowledge the Count as its *Main-bourg* of chief Magistrate, and his forces were then directed to the chastisement of Dinant§, at that time the second City in the Bishopric. A manufacture of copper utensils, deriving its name *Dinanderie* from the town itself, had been a source of great wealth to its inhabitants, and their presumption appears to have increased commen-

* *Le Roy Louis nostre bon maistre a mieux sceu entendre cest art de separer les gens, que nul autre Prince que j'aye jamais cogneu : et n'espargnoit l'argent, ni ses biens, ni sa peine, et non point seulement envers les maistres, mais aussi bien envers les serviteurs.* Id. c. 27.

† x. c. 26.

‡ *Preuves aux Mem. de Commines*, p. 46.*

§ The catastrophe of Dinant is related by Commines, c. 27.

surately with their riches. Relying upon the false intelligence that Charolais had been totally defeated at Monthéry, they hanged him in effigy on a gibbet near their walls, with many coarse reflections on his birth, and on the spotless honour of his mother*. The A. D. 1466. vengeance of Charles was merciless; he invested Dinant Aug. 25. with 30,000 men, refused to grant any capitulation, levelled its houses with the ground, and sold its wretched inmates as slaves.

The death of Philip the Good†, which occurred not many months after the punishment of Dinant, raised Charolais to the A. D. 1467. Ducal Throne; and an unexpected sedition at Ghent, July 15. whither he had repaired to receive homage on his accession, exposed him to imminent personal danger. Louis no doubt had secretly instigated this explosion, and, by awakening troubles in the Netherlands, he for many months diverted the attention of Burgundy from France. Even when the Duke of Alençon renewed war by openly proclaiming the right of Prince Charles to Normandy, and took the field in company with the Duke of Brittany to support this claim, a new defection of the inconstant Citizens of Liege prevented Burgundy from marching to the assistance of his confederates. Charles might have been perplexed if Louis had not tamely preferred negotiation to the sword; and the Cardinal of Ballue‡, a low-born Favourite, the son of a tailor of Poitou, whose fidelity by no means equalled his talents, but who at that time possessed unlimited influence, exceeded his powers without incurring blame from his master, by signing a Truce, which pledged the French to abstain from any military attempt during six months, and gave Charles unlimited freedom to proceed against the Liegeois. The rebellious Citizens made a bold stand in the Oct. 28. field of Brucstein, where 6000 slain attested the sturdiness of their resistance. But the Duke prevailed, numerous executions followed his victory, and the utmost clemency which could be obtained by a deputation of 300 Burgesses, who threw themselves at his feet in a state of almost nakedness§, was that their City should be spared the horrors of fire and pillage. Charles, with unusual gentleness, was satisfied by the blood of a few hostages, by razing the fortifications, by disarming the inhabitants, by abolishing their privileges, and by imposing a fine of 120,000 florins.

Charles, now disembarrassed at home, might have directed himself

* Monstrelet, x. c. 44.

† Ibid. c. 53. The Letter in which Charles announced his father's death to Louis is given in the *Preuves aux Mem. de Commines*, p. 54.

‡ John Ballue was successively Bishop of Evreux and of Angers before Pius II. elevated him to the dignity of Cardinal. So highly did he enjoy the confidence of Louis at the time of which we are writing, that he ventured to sign this Treaty upon his own responsibility.

§ *En chemise, les jambes nues et la teste.* Commines, c. 30.

entirely on France, but Louis was still willing to gain time by sacrifices, and he continued the Truce for six months longer, by agreeing to pay his brother 60,000 francs for the defrayment of current expenses, and by allowing him to bear the title of Duke of Normandy till a Congress appointed to meet at Cambrai could settle his *apanage* and adjust the terms of a general Peace. • The conduct of Louis throughout this transaction needs further explanation than we are ever likely to possess; and we know not whether to attribute his perseverance in avoiding War to constitutional timidity (not to personal fear, for he always showed bravery in battle), or to a knowledge that his resources were inadequate to a contest. It was perhaps with the design of appealing to his People against the encroachments of the Princes of his Blood that he convoked a Meeting of the States General at Tours; but A. D. 1468. although infinite pains were taken to procure the choice of April 1. Deputies known to be devoted to his will, the Assembly separated after a few very nugatory debates. A strong bias indeed in favour of Royal authority was exhibited by its Members, but the secret of the power of Representative Government had not yet been developed in any European Country, and nowhere perhaps was its progress so slow as in France. The Duke of Burgundy meanwhile thought to increase his power by a family alliance with England, July 2. and he obtained the hand of the Princess Margaret, a sister of Edward IV., who had engaged to assist the Duke of Bretany in the invasion of Normandy, on condition that he should be allowed to retain whatever strongholds were captured. While the troops of the confederates were assembling, Louis however anticipated their operations. He pretended to be wholly engaged by watching the Burgundians who were gathering at St. Quentin; but meantime two strong divisions were secretly moved upon Bretany and Lower Normandy, and before Duke Francis could even communicate with Brussels Sept. 10. he was constrained to sign a Peace at Ancenis, by which he engaged to renounce his alliance with Burgundy, and to submit the decision of Prince Charles's claims to arbitration.

The League between the malcontent Princes, which had hitherto either openly or secretly disquieted the reign of Louis XI., was dissolved by this Treaty of Ancenis; but he had still to satisfy the resentment, or to diminish the power of the Duke of Burgundy. Dammartin boldly advised recourse to arms, and he assured the King that the Liegeois, at that time again on the very edge of revolt, would co-operate powerfully with any force which he might advance into Flanders. Louis, however, still averse from War, and not unjustly confident in his peculiar abilities as a negotiator, preferred the counsel of the subtle, intriguing, and unprincipled Ballue, a Minister whose progress from a menial station to very lofty rank, and from poverty to unbounded wealth, had been achieved by craft, faithlessness, and subserviency. The King, who

understood, appreciated, and employed his talents with utter disregard for his vices and evil reputation, had obtained for him the purple which the Court of Rome was willing to accord out of gratitude for support afforded in the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction. Ballue, either suggesting the project or sagaciously discovering and seconding the inclination of his Master, strenuously recommended a personal Conference with the Duke of Burgundy; and Louis, relying upon that intellectual ascendancy of which he was conscious, and remembering with complacency the advantage similarly obtained at Conflans, believed that he might reap equal benefit from a second interview.

Charles, on the other hand, cared little for an amicable settlement. He had expended great sums in equipping his armament, and, as he bluntly expressed himself, his chief desire was to have the quarrel out at once. The King of France, however, pressed his point, tendered money for the payment of the troops raised against himself, and stated that he should be satisfied with even a parole assurance of safe-conduct. Ballue and Tannegui du Châtel, who were despatched on this mission, returned with a written assurance upon the honour and faith of the Duke, that since it was the pleasure of Louis to visit Peronne, he might come thither, stay there, and return thence freely and securely without any let or hindrance to himself or to his retinue. On this guarantee, which, if he had been the granter instead of the receiver, would have weighed as nothing in comparison with even a slight advantage, a Prince who has become a very Proverb for faithlessness did not hesitate to confide himself to the bitterest of his enemies. A slight escort of his Scottish guard and a few Knights, sufficient perhaps for display but wholly inadequate to defence if it were needed, formed his suite; and he was accompanied by the Constable St. Pol, the Cardinal of Ballue, the Duke of Bourbon and two of his brothers, the Confessor of the Household, and the Bishop of Avranches. Philip de Crèvecœur, at the head of the Archers of Burgundy, advanced to meet the

Oct. 9. Royal cavalcade. Charles himself awaited the King on the banks of the Doing, and the two Princes entered the City in conversation, which Louis affected to encourage by placing his hand familiarly from time to time on the shoulder of his companion. The Castle of Peronne was an ancient fortress, little adapted for the comfortable reception of so illustrious a visiter, and the house of one of the chief Magistrates was therefore assigned for the residence of Louis; but no sooner had he reached this abode than he received information which induced him anxiously to solicit permission to exchange it for the Castle. Of the good faith of the Duke himself he entertained undoubted assurance, but in the numerous and powerful army by which he was surrounded were many Exiles from France and other leaders of distinction complaining of personal wrongs, and, among them, Philip of Bresse, whom he had entrapped into imprisonment, and the Count of Neuf-

châtel, whom he had aggrieved by the seizure of a Fief. In order to protect himself from any vengeance which these enemies might meditate, he transferred his lodging to the Castle in which the Scottish Guards were disposed as sentinels.

The Treaties of Conflans and of Arras were proposed by Louis as the basis of negotiation which he wished should also embrace a general offensive and defensive alliance. Some heat attended the discussions, and they were abruptly terminated by the arrival of intelligence from Liege, which moved Charles to fury, and exposed his guest to jeopardy, even of life. The fickle Burgesses of that City, excited by the secret agents of France, whose instructions Louis had either neglected or had thought it unnecessary to countermand, had again risen in arms, and, having surprised Tongres by night, had captured the Bishop and Himbercourt the Burgundian Representative. In a tumult which ensued during the conveyance of these important prisoners to the Capital, some Priests had been killed; others who escaped to Peronne announced the sedition with many circumstances of exaggeration, and expressly declared that Himbercourt had been torn in pieces, and that they had recognised certain Frenchmen, whose names they mentioned, by whom the populace was stimulated to outrage*. The first effect produced upon Charles by this news was most terrific; he believed that Louis had planned the interview at Peronne in order to lull his suspicions to slumber; he swore that he would exact full vengeance for this detestable treachery, and, as a preliminary to some deed of greater violence, he marched into the Castle a garrison of his own Archers. During two whole days he remained in gloomy deliberation, and the nights were spent by him, for the most part, in pacing his chamber with a troubled step. At one time, a Courier whom he had resolved to despatch for the Duke of Normandy was already in waiting, and the arrival of that Prince would probably have sealed the fate of his brother†. On the third night, during which Charles never undressed, his choler appeared to increase, and there was one moment at which, after uttering bitter menaces, he seemed engrossed by some hideous fancy. Towards morning, his passion, which had amounted almost to frenzy, in some degree subsided, and he told Commines (who had been in attendance throughout, and who had thrown in a few conciliatory words whenever opportunity permitted) that he should be contented if Louis would swear to Peace, and would then accompany him to punish the Liegeois. The King meantime had ordered the distribution, among the Burgundian Counsellors, of 15,000 crowns which he fortunately had carried with him in his cabinet‡. He preserved deliberate calmness during this fearful interval of uncertainty, and he

* Commines, c. 35.

† Id. c. 37.

‡ Commines (c. 37) informs us that the agent employed in this matter retained part of the money for his own use, which fraud the King afterwards learned. Was it Ballue, or Oliver le Dain?

did not evince any apparent emotion even when, warned that the adjoining Keep had been employed by Count Heribert for the imprisonment of Charles the Simple. Some friend, obtained by his seasonable largesse*, informed him that the Duke was already on his way to visit him, that if he consented to the propositions then offered he would be safe, but that, if he refused, no danger could be greater than that to which he would become exposed. Charles, on entering the apartment, was so far able to exercise self-control, that he inclined himself respectfully and paid obeisance, but his following gestures and speech were rough, and his voice trembled with anger. To a brief demand whether the King would swear to and abide by the Peace as already written and accepted, a prompt affirmative was returned; and a second inquiry whether he would join the expedition to punish Liege for the treachery committed through his instigation was not less satisfactorily received. "I will accompany you," said Louis, "after we have sworn to the Peace, which I very greatly desire, with as many or as few troops as you wish should be in attendance." The Duke expressed great joy at this ready compliance, and the oath of Peace was sworn on the moment. Louis took from his coffers a relic which always formed part of his travelling equipage, and which he regarded with superstitious reverence, believing, as is averred, that the breach of any oath which it had been employed to sanction would expose the perjurer to certain death within twelve months from commission of the offence. Each Prince touched this fragment of the true Cross which had been found among the treasures of Charlemagne (the Cross of Victory as it is named by Commines, of Saint Laud as it is more generally termed from the Church at Angers in which it had been preserved), and their oaths having been attested and the Treaty countersigned in duplicate, the bells of the City announced their Pacification.

On the morrow they commenced their march to Liege. The citizens, reduced to desperation, and well aware that no place was now left for repentance, resolved upon obstinate defence, and during the first night of investment they put more than 800 of the besiegers to the sword in a vigorous sally. The Burgundians were distressed for provisions, many among them had not tasted food for thirty-six hours, heavy rains had obstructed their advance and rendered their encampment difficult, and they were encumbered by numerous wounded, among whom was not less a personage than the Prince of Orange. In another sortie the Liegeois penetrated to the very quarters of the King and of the Duke, which adjoined each other, and almost surprised both of them in bed and defenceless. The valour, and perhaps also, the shrewdness, of the Scottish Guards were distinguished in this action. "They budged not

* Perhaps Commines himself, whom there can be little doubt that Louis enticed to his service during this visit to Peronne.

a foot from their master," says Commynes, "and they shot their arrows stoutly. I know not how it was, but they wounded ~~for~~ more Burgundians than Liegois." Resistance was protracted through eight days, although the walls of the City had been levelled after a former insurrection, and the ground was too hard and rocky ever to have allowed a fosse. At length an assault was undertaken much against the opinion of Louis; and so little were the Burghers acquainted with the usages of War, notwithstanding their repeated seditions, that, believing its operations would be suspended by the return of Sunday, they had quitted their posts, and were at their morning's repast when they learned that 40,000 men were in possession of their streets. The slaughter at the moment was by no means great, for few attempted unavailing opposition; but the majority of the fugitives who became scattered over the neighbouring country perished miserably by destitution, or were surrendered by the peasants among whom they sought refuge. Charles spared no personal exertion to secure the Churches from pillage; and Commynes relates that in his own sight the Duke himself killed one of his household who had disobeyed an order to that effect. The King was loud in extolling the bravery of his ally, and he condescended to this flattery even in his presence. So unfastidious was the appetite to which he ministered, or so agreeable was the food which he prepared, that Charles banqueted upon it with greediness; and he hesitated but little* when Louis, four or five days after the assault, insinuated a wish to return to Paris in order that he might give full validity to the Treaty of Peronne by registering it in his Parliament. At parting, the King asked with a careless tone, and as if the inquiry had been merely accidental, what he should do in case his brother refused to accept the territory to be offered to him out of love to the Duke of Burgundy? "I care not what you do," was Charles's reply, "provided he is satisfied; settle it between yourselves." Louis never asked a question without having in view some well-defined object, nor did he ever receive an answer which he turned to better account than that which he had thus obtained. Oct. 31. Nov. 2.

On the King's departure, Liege was abandoned to the flames. All the Churches, and about three hundred houses reserved for the lodging of the Clergy, were spared from the conflagration, and these formed a nucleus round which the City speedily rose from its ashes. The Burgundian army wasted the Country as it withdrew; and the inhabitants suffered grievously both from military excesses and from an unusually severe winter. Commynes does not indulge a diseased taste by needlessly detailing human misery, but the brief notice which he affords of some most distressing incidents, of which unhappily he was eye-witness,

* *Toujours un petit murmurant.* Commynes, 42. But this perhaps was always his way even when best pleased.

amply proves the wretchedness which Franchemont underwent during this invasion.

There cannot be a doubt that the overweening confidence with which Louis[†] regarded his own diplomatic talents, joined perhaps A. D. 1469. to an exaggerated contempt for the intellect of his rival, had betrayed him into a gross political blunder when he rashly ventured to Peronne; but even if his presence of mind and self-possession in a moment of infinite peril, his sagacity in discovering and his dexterity in applying a remedy to a case which minds of inferior stamp might have thought beyond the reach of cure, fail to excite our sympathy and approbation, they must extort our admiration and surprise. By the Treaty just concluded he had engaged that his brother should be remunerated for the cession of Normandy by the immediate possession of Champagne and Brie. It was far from his intention to violate that Treaty to which he had sworn by the only oath which he feared to infringe; it was equally remote from his policy to surrender, especially to a doubtful friend whom the Duke of Burgundy had obliged and would control, two Provinces which opened a path from the Netherlands to the very gates of the Capital. Charles of France was a weak Prince, incapable of deciding for himself, and wholly guided by those around him; the King found means to influence a Gascon Gentleman, Odet of Aydie, who possessed his brother's confidence; and through his agency he successfully proffered the Duchy of Guyenne, an *apanage* far more considerable in territorial extent than that which he had originally named, but sufficiently remote from the Burgundian dominions to prevent all fear of dangerous union. Ballue endeavoured to dissuade Charles from this exchange; and Louis, who speedily discovered, never forgave, and unrelentingly punished the treachery of the Cardinal. His despatches were intercepted, and clear evidence of his guilt having been afforded by them, he was thrown into one of those odious dungeons which, it is said, owe their invention to himself, a cage of iron eight feet square, within which he languished during ten years at Onnain near

Blois*. The Royal brothers met on a bridge of boats near

Sept. 24. the mouth of the Sevre: the most jealous precautions were taken on both sides to obviate perfidy; a barrier separated the two midmost vessels, and a spring-tide was chosen for the interview because the waters were then highest. So powerful, however, was the ascendancy which Louis exercised over less able spirits, that but a few minutes had passed in conversation before Charles was at his feet and

* Philip de Commines attributes the invention of those engines of refined cruelty to the Bishop of Verdun, who, as a participator in Ballue's treachery, was enclosed in one of them during fourteen years. Commines speaks with entire knowledge of their dimensions, for Charles VIII. afterwards sentenced him to eight months of this confinement. It is quite needless to contract them within their real scantiness; but they are usually although falsely represented to have been so framed as to prevent the miserable inmate from either standing upright or lying at full length.

in his arms. They spent some days together in familiar intercourse; and in spite of the remonstrances of the Duke of Burgundy, who too late discovered the purport of the inquiry which Louis had made at parting, Guyenne was substituted for Champagne.

In the revolutions of the English Government Louis espoused the cause of the Earl of Warwick the King-maker, whose breach with Edward IV. arose out of the King's indiscreet violation of the nuptial contract which his Ambassador had been deputed to make with Bonne of Savoy. Louis partook of the resentment with which his Queen visited the insult thus offered to her sister; and the unsettled state of England did not afford any political reason which at that time might induce him to reconciliation. The Duke of Burgundy, on the other hand, vigorously supported his brother-in-law Edward IV. Warwick, after his defeat at Stamford, found refuge in the Court of France; and when the chances of War again became favourable to him, his discomfited adversary was received in Flanders. The decisive victory of Barnet finally established the superiority of the Red Rose; but, as we shall perceive, Louis succeeded in attaching Edward to himself, and in dissolving his alliance with the Duke of Burgundy, at the moment at which the King of England became confirmed in power.

More than usual sensitiveness to public opinion was exhibited by Louis on his return from Flanders, and if we may believe one account, his dread of ridicule was so far excited, that he directed the seizure and destruction of numerous tame magpies and starlings which had been taught to repeat "Peronne" in mockery. The story is not to be credited hastily, for it is little probable that any one would be found hardy enough to jest upon an adventure, especially a luckless one, which had befallen a despotic Sovereign*. The Police of the Kingdom moreover was administered with great vigilance and severity, by a Provost, the formidable Tristan l'Ermitet†, who was unlikely to neglect and certain not to forgive any expression displeasing to the ears of his A. D. 1470. Master. The birth of a Dauphin (afterwards Charles VIII.) June 30. must have excited considerable joy, for Louis had hitherto been unfortunate in his children, having lost two sons in their infancy. Perhaps encouraged by an event which diminished the influence of the Duke of Guyenne by terminating his presumptive heirdom to the throne, Louis convoked his *Notâbles*—that is, as November. Commynes informs us†, such Nobles to whom he expressly addressed Writs, to meet at Tours, and having laid before them the many

* The anecdote is related by the continuator of Monstrelet, xi. 9, but perhaps was invented by Jean de Troyes: yet even he is doubtful whether the proscribed word was *Péronne* or *Pérette*, the latter being the name of a low-born mistress whom Louis favoured at the time. These is equal improbability in either case.

† Tristan l'Hermitte is first mentioned as having accompanied the Constable Richemont to the suppression of some brigands at Compiègne in 1486.* M. de Sismondi, *Hist. de Fr.* xiii. 288. He distinguished himself afterwards during the expulsion of the English from Guyenne in 1451. Id. ib. 518.

† c. 45.

grievances which he had endured from the Duke of Burgundy, he received their unanimous advice that the Treaty of Peronne should be dissolved. Some of the overt acts of which Charles was accused no doubt were frivolous: that he had publicly worn the Garter and the Red Cross, Badges of England, could scarcely be considered as sufficient causes for War; but it was plain also that he had attacked the harbours of Normandy, and that in support of his alliance with Edward IV. he had not scrupled to employ troops against France. Not all of the *Notâbles* were sincere in their attachment to Louis; but even their mixture of motives contributed to unanimity. Some who held perfidious communication with the Court of Flanders looked to a renewal of hostilities as a sure cloak for their past treachery; others anxiously wished to divert the Royal attention from domestic Reforms; and the Constable St. Pôl caught glimpses of his own aggrandizement through the dissension between Princes to each of whom he owed almost equal allegiance, and hoped to enlarge his territory by putting up his faith to the best market. He represented to Louis therefore a highly exaggerated picture of the discontents of Flanders, and he assured him that the whole district on the Somme was at any moment willing to change allegiance.

Louis was deceived by these promises, and hastily plunged into War: it was of short duration, and offered no event of importance. St. Quentin and Amiens indeed opened their gates to his troops; but it was not for so inconsiderable an acquisition as that of two border-towns that he would have encountered peril and expense; and he soon became weary of the contest. No longer duped by the Constable, he

A. D. 1471. readily assented to a proposition for Truce; and an Armistice
 April 4. signed at Amiens at first for three months was afterwards extended to a much longer term, and led at Crotoy to the

Oct. 3. discussion of a Peace which neither party really designed to execute. Charles agreed to form an alliance against the Dukes of Guyenne and of Bretany, not to interfere with the vengeance which the King already meditated against St. Pôl, and to bestow the hand of his daughter Mary, the richest heiress in Europe, on the infant Dauphin: in return, the conquests made in Picardy were to be restored. Louis, in consenting to this Treaty, sought only to temporize: he had received intelligence that his brother's health was rapidly declining, and he speculated upon his approaching death as affording a pretext for a breach of any condition which might prove inconvenient. The Duke of Burgundy on the other hand had trafficked in more than one instance with his daughter's prospective marriage, and there was little difficulty in registering a new suitor who had not yet quitted his cradle. He calculated moreover that the surrender of Amiens and of St. Quentin would enable him, if he so wished, to renew immediate hostilities with advantage*.

* The mutual perfidy of the contracting parties, from which it appears that in neither Prince *n'y eust pas grande foy*, and the intrigue committed by Charles to the management of his Equerry, *Henry, natif de Paris, sage compagnon et bien entendu*, are

These perfidious arrangements were interrupted, as the King had foreseen, by the demise of Charles. The opportuneness of the event, the evil repute under which Louis suffered, certain unexplained circumstances attendant upon a Process against the reputed assassin, the frequent occurrence of similar odious crimes, and above all the rabid hatred with which the Duke of Burgundy seized and circulated the accusation, threw a suspicion upon the King which it is probable he very little deserved. The late Prince's Almoner, the Abbé St. Jean d'Angely, was named as the agent in his pretended murder, and it was said that a poisoned peach offered to Madame de Thouars was divided by her with her lover; that she herself survived three months, the Duke of Guyenne eight after the fatal repast. But the doctrine of slow poisons thus nicely regulated in effect is exploded by modern science; the Duke of Guyenne himself was free from all misgiving; and his Physicians during his long illness reported the natural progress of an ultimately fatal disease. The King immediately declared that he would not ratify the Treaty of Crotoy, and the Duke of Burgundy, frantic at this disappointment of his hopes at the very moment at which he believed them about to be realized, hurried to a renewal of war with cruelty hitherto unparalleled. Nesle in the Vermandois was the first town exposed to his fury; a presumed breach of the terms which had secured life and nothing more to the garrison, occasioned the execution of the Governor, a savage mutilation of such of his troops as the sword was too weary to slay, and an indiscriminate massacre of the inhabitants. A few Archers were permitted to retire after their hands had been chopped off at the wrists; and when Charles rode into the principal Church, the pavement of which was heaped with dead, he crossed himself and expressed satisfaction that his men had exhibited so great promptness in execution*.

The booty of Roze, which surrendered immediately afterwards, was estimated at 100,000 crowns of gold. Beauvais was defended with invincible gallantry; and during a conflict of eleven hours across a barrier formed by the ruins of blazing houses, from which the besiegers were ultimately repulsed, one of the most distinguished combatants was a young heroine Jeanne Lainée, *La Hachette*, who captured the Burgundian standard. The town was relieved after another murderous assault; and Charles, burning and ravaging all the Country which lay before him, advanced to effect a junction with the Duke of Brittany before Rouen.

clearly displayed by Philip de Commines, and may be read in his pages with the disgust which they richly merit, c. 57. 58.

* The words cited by M. de Sismondi, xiv. 360, are "*qu'il voyait mouet belle chose, et qu'il avoit avec lui mouet bons bouchers.*" The references are to J. de Troyes, 231. *Chron. des Maîtres d'hôtel de Bourgogne dans Godefroy*, tom. iii. p. 369. P. de Commines does not give the very words, but his narrative unfortunately leaves no doubt as to the extent of cruelty.

The transactions of France with Burgundy at this period are eminently ignoble, they consist of little more than Wars without a battle, Peace without repose ; and it is not easy to decide whether Louis in his caution, or Charles in his rashness, was more deeply stained with perfidy. The King of France had strong reason to believe that Charles had engaged assassins for his removal, and he had conclusive evidence of the existence of an intrigue which, so soon as opportunity permitted, was to expose him to the united attack of the Bretons, the English and the Burgundians ; nevertheless, dissembling all knowledge of this secret enmity, he sent ambassadors to Bouvines-sur-Meuse, to arrange the destruction of the Constable. It was agreed that whichever party could first arrest the prisoner, should either put him to death, or deliver him to the other within eight days ; that all his possessions both in France and in Flanders should be confiscated, and that St. Quentin, his treasure, and his rich moveables should be apportioned to Charles. Copies of this Treaty had been already signed and exchanged when the French Envoys were ordered to suspend their proceedings. St. Pôl had received warning that he was the subject under deliberation, and with the craft of a veteran in knavery, he so far worked upon the fears of Louis, as to persuade him that he had important secrets in his possession, which he was willing to communicate. A causeway by a rivulet on the road from Noyon to La Fère was named as a fitting spot for a meeting ; in which Louis, always too regardless of the salutary distinctions of rank, condescended to give audience to a rebellious subject on terms and with ceremonies similar to those which soon afterwards regulated his interview with an independent Monarch. The Constable demanded the erection of a barrier, behind which he appeared, wearing a coat of mail under his mantle. The barrier, however, was soon removed, and St. Pôl trusted himself during the night in the King's quarters ; a daring which excites the wonderment of Commynes ; a writer well acquainted with the intriguing spirit of the one, and with the habitual contempt in which good faith was held by the other. He thinks that God visited the Constable with judicial blindness, for on that day verily he encountered great jeopardy. On the morrow, however, he departed uninjured, leaving the King, perhaps with a conviction that the toils might at any moment be closed upon him, that he was destitute of all power to work evil, and that his boasted secret had already been developed.

The siege of Neuss, a town which the Duke of Burgundy had vaunted he should master in a fortnight, detained him many months ; and the bravery of the Landgrave of Hesse, the rival Candidate who opposed Robert of Bavaria for the Archbishopric, and who commanded the garrison, frustrated the best-appointed army which Charles had ever equipped. During the whole winter, he obstinately defied suffering, and persisted in attempts which the soundest military judgment pronounced to be hopeless. At length, after eleven months delay and the loss of six-

teen thousand men, he withdrew with the additional mortification of discovering that he had lost a golden opportunity of combined action with the English.

There were many reasons which induced Edward IV. of England to listen to propositions of a League against France. The claim which his predecessors had urged upon the Crown of that A.D. 1475. Kingdom was now indeed almost obsolete, but it was always popular; foreign warfare afforded employment for the restless spirits which had been nurtured in Civil conflicts and which might dispute a title established chiefly by the sword; and above all, Parliamentary aids were never granted so liberally as for the service of the field. Fifteen hundred men-at-arms with barded and richly caparisoned chargers, and many led horses belonging to each Knight, fifteen thousand mounted Archers, and a proportionate host of infantry, were assembled on the Kentish coast, when Edward despatched Garter King at Arms bearing a Letter of defiance, couched in a language and style so elegant that Commynes expresses full conviction that it did not proceed from any English pen *. Louis read the demand, which was no other than for the renunciation of his Kingdom, with self-restraint and dignity. He explained to the Herald that his Master had been deceived by the invitation of allies who were looking solely to their own interests; and by ample largesses and honourable entertainment he conciliated the messenger's good-will which he appears to have considered important.

Three weeks were consumed in the passage of the invaders from Dover to Calais; and the presence of the Duke of Burgundy was greatly needed on their first arrival. "The English," May —. says Commynes, "make admirable soldiers, shrewd and hardy, after they have been a short time in the field, but nothing can be more devoid of skill or more unhandy than they are in the beginning †." They were ignorant of the language and of the roads of the Country which they had attacked, and they needed guidance in the Continental modes of warfare; the Duke of Burgundy, instead of co-operating with a numerous army, as he had promised, arrived almost unattended; and when the King of England had been persuaded to march to St. Quentin at the invitation of the Constable, that wavering and undecided traitor turned his cannon upon him as an enemy and denied admittance within his walls.

A singular incident, which, although unexplained in some points, is on the whole very characteristic of Louis, opened a negotiation. The first prisoner taken by the English was a Valet of the Royal household, whom Edward dismissed with a present and with a commendation to his Master. The French Court was fixed at Compiègne, and Louis when seated at table appeared to reflect upon the message which had been

delivered to him, with more seriousness than his attendants imagined that it deserved. But his sagacity had received a hint which had been thrown away on the less subtle apprehension of others. So ill was the Court appointed, and so sparing was Louis in all matters connected with ceremony, that he was unprovided with a Herald*, a personage whom the manners of the times invested with a sacred and inviolable character, and through whose ministry^{all} communication between sovereign Princes was conducted. In this emergency he recollected one Merindon, a servant of some Courtier, to whom he had once happened to speak, and whose answers were delivered with good sense and address. Commynes, who knew the man and had formed a lower estimate of his abilities, was secretly instructed to propose the mission; and by dint of a good meal, the proffer of gold, and the hope of promotion, he overcame his fears, and obtained his consent. "The poor fellow," says the Historian, "when he first heard me speak was sadly frightened, and dropped upon his knees like one who believed himself to be a dead man. I named others to the King whom I thought more fit for the business, but he had fixed upon his man, and when he spoke to him he gave him more assurance by one word than I had done by a hundred." A Tabard was supplied by a Trumpeter's banner; a Pursuivant, an inferior officer at Arms whom even Nobles were allowed to entertain, afforded other insignia; and the pseudo-herald, duly accoutred and caparisoned, rode to deliver his message in the English Camp. He acquitted himself with becoming solemnity, and returned undetected after opening the way to future and more important negotiation.

Edward, indeed, by this time had sufficient reason to be dissatisfied with the engagement into which he had too rashly plunged; his allies had failed on every point, and the whole burden of War rested on his own shoulders. His first demand from the Ambassador of Louis was the absolute surrender of the whole Kingdom of France, his second that of Normandy and of Guyenne. These were formal preliminaries considered necessary to his dignity, and were treated as such by the unfastidious Louis, till the negotiation subsided into a mercantile bargain. Little to the honour of either of the contracting parties, Louis consented to pay, Edward to receive seventy-two thousand crowns of gold as an immediate indemnification. Guyenne was to be reserved as an *apanage* for the Dauphin who was betrothed to the eldest daughter of the King of

* This appears the most obvious reason for the employment of so unworthy a messenger; and indeed is favoured by the words of Commynes—*car le dist Seigneur n'etoit point convoiteux, ni accompagné de heraut ni de trompette comme sont plusieurs Princes*, c. 73. The breach of chivalric usage could not in any way be designed as an insult, for Louis evinced the greatest possible wish to cajole the English. M. de Sismondi attributes it to a subtle unwillingness that the commencement of a negotiation should be known by his own army, xiv. 446. Some stratagem no doubt was intended in this very remarkable transaction.

England*, and until the age of the two children permitted the consummation of this marriage, fifty thousand crowns were to be lodged annually in the Tower of London. The Truce, which was to continue for nine years, included the Dukes of Burgundy and of Brittany, if they should choose to avail themselves of its provisions, and the two Kings were to exchange its ratifications in person.

The Duke of Burgundy, on hearing the first rumour of this Treaty, evinced marked indignation. He rode hastily to the English camp with a small retinue, and roughly demanded from Edward whether he had made Peace. When the King explained the conditions of the negotiation, and expressed a hope that he would share in it, the Duke returned an angry answer in English, a language which he well understood. He dwelled upon the many illustrious deeds achieved in France by former Kings of England, and upon the dishonour which must accrue to Edward by this abandonment of the glorious course pursued by his ancestors. He protested that he had not invited an army to cross the Sea from any need of personal aid to himself; but on the other hand simply to re-instate an ancient ally in rights unjustly denied; and in order that he might prove his own entire independence he declared that he would not treat with Louis for any suspension of arms till three months had elapsed from the departure of the English. This idle boasting was ill received, and the Princes took leave of each other with mutual discontent†.

Louis meantime was highly delighted with his negotiation; he talked much of the hazard of the advancing season, of the disturbed state of the neighbouring Provinces in which he did not possess any strong hold for retreat, of the unextinguishable hatred of Burgundy, and of the manifest treachery of the Constable. There was nothing in the world, he said, to which he would not consent in order to procure the absence of the English unless it were territorial cession; but to *that* he would prefer any danger. With his usual insight into character, he added that Edward loved ease and pleasure, and that the promised money must be gathered and paid. He then pointed out some channels through which it might be obtained, and, among them, intimated that of voluntary contribution.

Besides the large sums openly named in the Treaty, a great expenditure was required for secret service, for plate, jewels, and pensions in hard money to the amount of sixteen thousand crowns distributed among the English Courtiers. Receipts in form were demanded as vouchers for this bribery, and in one instance only was hesitation expressed. Yet even Lord Hastings the Chamberlain, who refused to blazon his venality on the Registers of the Parliament of Paris, accom-

* Elizabeth, afterwards Queen of England, who by marrying Henry VII. united the Houses of York and Lancaster.

† Commynes, c. 75.

modated his conscience, like the sleeve of a Monk's habit, to the receipt as *tribute* of that which more properly might be named *alms* *; and drew at the same moment from the Treasuries both of France and of Bretany. Louis was displeased with the agent who failed in obtaining the acquittance; but his admiration of cunning, even when directed successfully against himself, was excited by the adroitness of Lord Hastings; "he commended and esteemed him more than all the King of England's other servants, and his pension was ever afterwards paid without acquittance †."

Nor were they the Nobles only whom Louis sought to conciliate. Fully understanding the national habits of those with whom he treated, he sent three hundred wagons stocked with the choicest wines for Edward's private cellar; and when the army took up its quarters near Amiens, he *kept open house* (for we do not recollect any expression which so completely represents his conduct) for the hungry soldiery. Huge tables were spread near the City gate, covered with an endless succession of viands, chiefly stimulant to drink, and profusely supplied with every beverage excepting water ‡. Numerous servants were in attendance, and at each board presided half a dozen persons of good family, "sleek and likely to look at §," who might increase the comfort and promote the merriment of the guests. Every Englishman who entered the town was jocosely asked "to break a lance," and this gratuitous revelry lasted through four days. "The sober habits of the French were somewhat scandalized by the Barbarian excess which seems even at this time to have characterized our Forefathers."

Louis, as we have more than once before observed, was enslaved by superstition, he was a great believer in day-fatality, the Martyrdom of the Holy Innocents was one of the celebrations upon which he considered the transaction of public business to be especially ill-omened, and he not only thus respected the 28th of December, on which the anniversary is kept, but paid equal reverence to the 28th of every month in the year ||. On one of those mornings, however, while the King was at his devotions, Commynes received advice that full 9000 English were already assembled in Amiens, that the numbers were rapidly increasing, and that from fear of tumult the Warder durst not bar the Gates. The peril appeared so imminent, that the trusty Chamberlain did not hesitate to interrupt his Master's prayers. He was agreeably relieved by finding

* Commynes, c. 80.

† Id., c. 113.

‡ *D'eau n'estoit nouvelles.* Id., c. 75.

§ *Fort gros et gras pour mieux plaire à ceux qui avoyent envie de boire.* Commynes (*ut sup.*) has given the names of some of these jovial *Croupiers*.

|| In some parts of the North of England there still remains a superstition that not only Christmas Day (*La Fête des Innocens*) but that throughout the year the day of the week upon which it chanced to fall (*Le Jour des Innocens*) is a holy day. Louis seems to have restricted this notice to one day in each month instead of in each week. If this alarm occurred in August, it was the very day before the Interview at Pequigny.

that the alarm of Louis had conquered his respect for the sanctity of the day, and that instead of receiving a grim rebuke he was immediately despatched to reconnoitre the state of the town. Having first addressed himself to such English Officers as he happened to know, and having found that, notwithstanding their promises of assistance, insubordination so far prevailed that when one soldier was sent back to his quarters twenty persevered in going on to Amiens, he entered one of the *Houses of Call*. Although it was scarcely nine o'clock in the morning, one hundred and eleven scores had already been run up; of the visitors some were singing, others were sleeping, and all were drunk. When Commynes had ascertained this last particular, he felt persuaded that all danger beyond that of a mere fray was at an end, and he warned the King of his conviction. Louis promptly introduced three hundred men-at-arms into the City, and having ordered his dinner at the Warder's residence, invited several English of distinction to his table. When Edward IV. expressed some shame at the transaction, and signified a wish that Amiens should be closed for the future, Louis replied, with a courtesy which no one was better able to assume, that he would never sanction so harsh a measure, but that if his Brother of England should please to despatch a few sentinels from his own Royal Guard, they might secure order by excluding any companions likely to be troublesome.

The continued neighbourhood of friends thus disorderly, was little to be coveted; and Louis, notwithstanding his apparent graciousness, earnestly wished for the approaching interview which was to be the immediate prelude to the return of the English. At the town of Pequigny, about three leagues from Amiens, which was prepared for the ceremony, the Somme flows in a channel not broad, but too deep to be fordable. The river is approached on one bank (that which was reserved for Louis) by a large and open plain; on the other for about two bowshots runs a causeway edged on either side by a marsh, which, if treachery were designed, might be of very dangerous passage. "But the English," as Commynes remarks, (and long may they deserve the character!) "without doubt are less knowing in these matters than the French; and whatever may be said to the contrary, they go point blank to the matter in hand; only you must have patience with them, and by no means begin with any show of passion." A bridge was thrown over at the spot, and its centre was divided by a strong wooden trellis work, "such as are seen in Lions' cages;" the apertures between the bars being not larger than was requisite for the easy passage of a man's arm. The top was covered with an awning to protect it from the chances of sun or rain, and the space below admitted about ten or twelve persons in each moiety. Louis appears to have superintended the arrangement with considerable precaution, and by a narrative of the treachery at Montereau (which there can be little doubt is the most accurate history of that lamentable event transmitted to us), to have pre-

vented the insertion of a central wicket. Had it not been for such a wicket "that *great inconvenience*," he said, "would never have occurred*."

On the 29th of August, Louis at the head of about 800 men-at-arms arrived first at the barrier. The whole English army was Aug. 29. embattled on its own bank, and made a proud and goodly show as far as eye could reach. Edward, looking "every inch a King," rode slowly along the causeway; his robe was of cloth of gold, his bonnet of black velvet looped with a Fleur de lys of precious jewelry. Although he was beginning to exhibit corpulence, his figure was still commanding and noble; for Commynes assures us, that but a few years before he never had seen so handsome a man. On approaching the trellis work he took off his cap, and inclined his knee till it nearly touched the ground, and when this salutation had been returned and repeated, the two Kings shook hands through the openings of the bars. "My Cousin," began Louis, "you are right welcome; there is not any other man in existence whom I so greatly desired to see, and God be praised that we have at last met for so agreeable a purpose!" After Edward had acknowledged the compliment, which he did in very good French, the Chancellor of England, the Bishop of Ely, noticed an old prophecy, ("a sort of ware," says Commynes, "with which his Countrymen are never unprovided,") that Pequigny should witness a great Peace between the two Nations. The Treaty was then sworn to by each King placing one of his hands on a Missal, the other on a relic of the True Cross. When this solemnity was ended, Louis gliding into his customary easy tone, and praising the beauty of the Dames of Paris, said that if his Brother would visit him there, he would name the Cardinal of Bourbon as his Confessor, who was not likely to be chary of absolution †. The King of England smiled, for he knew the reputation of the Churchman. Louis then ordered his suite to fall behind, and having exchanged a few private words with Edward, asked him if he knew Commynes, whom he at the same time introduced. Edward readily called to mind the occasions and places at which he had seen the Lord of Argenton at the Court of Burgundy; and Louis, who, as if it were by accident, had thus obtained mention of the name which he most wished should form the subject of conversation, carelessly asked what he should do if the Duke of Burgundy continued proudly to refuse accession to the Treaty? He was answered as he wished, that the business must be settled between themselves; but the reply was widely different, when encouraged by his first success, he touched upon the Duke of Brittany also. The King of England earnestly begged

* Commynes, c. 75.

† Charles, younger brother of John Duke of Bourbon: at nine years of age he was consecrated Archbishop of Lyons, to which great preferment he afterwards annexed the Archbishopric of Bordeaux, the Bishopric of Poitiers, and several rich Abbeys. He possessed the reputation of being *un bon compagnon*, and the device which he adopted sufficiently displayed his anti-ecclesiastical disposition. It was a hand bearing a flaming sword, with the motto *n'espérer ni peur*. Garnier, ix. 345.

that the Duke of Brittany might be respected, for that during his necessities he had never found so good a friend; and when again sounded on this point after the interview, he declared that he would at any time recross the Channel to assist Francis if he were attacked. Louis discreetly abstained from any further inquiry; he had gained the clue for which he sought, and although he would gladly have obtained connivance to aggression upon Brittany, he perceived that it was hopeless to urge the proposition. A few gracious words of recognition addressed personally to each of the English suite, terminated the Conference, after which the Kings mounted their horses, and withdrew to their respective quarters.

"My Brother," observed Louis to Communes as they rode homeward, "accepted my invitation to Paris somewhat too frankly. He is a very handsome Prince, and very fond of women, and our fair Ladies may make him so many pretty speeches, that if he once gets there, he may not feel an inclination to return. Heaven knows that his predecessors have been too much both in Paris and in Normandy. He is an excellent friend so long as he keeps on his own side of the water; but on *our* side I do not by any means wish for his company." The subtle King was right in his conjecture, for some English officers whom he entertained at supper gave him to understand that it would not be at all difficult to prevail upon Edward to visit Paris, where they might hold many a joyous carouse together. Louis said but little in reply, whispered to Communes that he had not been deceived in his suspicion, dipped his fingers in the water-basin set before him, in order to break up the table, and took occasion when the repast was over, and the subject was renewed, to intimate dexterously that it was requisite for him to proceed without a moment's delay against the Duke of Burgundy.

This Peace, one of the most venal recorded in History, was confidently attributed by the English to the intervention of the Holy Ghost; who they declared had visibly sate on their King's Tent on the day of Conference, in the shape of a White Dove, which no cries of the soldiery could scare from its perch. "I am inclined to believe," adds Communes with unflinching gravity, "that it was not more than a stray pigeon, which having been wetted in a shower, chose the loftiest point which it could find in the neighbourhood, in order to sun itself and to plume its wings." Louis, however, took pains to encourage the vulgar rumour; and he was especially cautious lest any chance words should escape his lips implying that the English had been over-reached. Having heard of a Gascon in Edward's train who had expressed much dissatisfaction, after abusing him as a scoundrel and a rogue whose mouth must be stopped, he invited the offender to his table, offered promotion in his own service for himself and his brothers, and presented him with 1000 crowns; while Communes was instructed to whisper in his ear, that it was hoped he would do his utmost to advance the incipient friendship between the two Princes. On another occasion, when he supposed himself to be in entire privacy, he

hazarded some jest concerning the wines and presents which he had distributed, and he was greatly confounded to perceive on turning round that a Merchant of Bordeaux resident in England had entered the presence-chamber unobserved. The Merchant was soliciting at Court freedom from certain duties, by the remission of which he expected great profit. Louis, without adverting to the past, immediately accosted him with a familiar inquiry into his private circumstances; whether he traded, and whether he had a wife in England? The Merchant replied in the affirmative, adding that he was deficient in capital,—and he was not a little surprised by receiving an order that his wines should pass duty-free, an appointment to a lucrative post in his native City, and a donation of 1000 francs to pay the expenses of his wife's journey from England. One stipulation, indeed, accompanied these marks of Royal bounty, *namely, that he himself was not to fetch his wife, but was to send a brother as an escort* *.

Intriguing with every party, faithless to each in turn, and in the end justly abandoned by all, no one had watched the progress of the Treaty of Amiens with greater dismay than the wretched Constable. Louis had obtained from the avarice or the simplicity of the English the surrender of much private correspondence which afforded legal proof of his treason, and he had also taken care to stimulate the resentment of Burgundy almost to phrenzy, by a stratagem unworthy of the lowest turnkey who ever plotted to corroborate evidence by admissions entrapped from the mouth of an accused Criminal. The Sieur de Contay, a Burgundian of note, was prisoner on parole at the time of the arrival of two Envoys despatched by St. Pôl on a private mission by which he hoped to promote reconciliation. The King, before giving audience, concealed De Contay and Commynes behind a large screen, close to which he himself was seated. Louis de Creville was the spokesman, and he gave a ludicrous account of the Duke's extreme anger at the breaking up of the coalition by the English. Finding encouragement to proceed in a similar strain, he suited gestures to his words, and mimicking some well-known peculiarities of the Duke's manner, he stamped with his foot, swore by St. George, and denounced Edward as a mere purblind driveller, the bastard of a common Archer †. Louis laughed most vociferously, and under the pretext of a slight deafness easily induced De Creville to repeat the mischievous buffoonery somewhat louder and with additional grimace. It scarcely need be added that the particulars of this interview were immediately transmitted to the Duke of Burgundy by his retainers, and that the purpose designed was fully effected. In spite of the bravado with which that Prince had parted

* Commynes, c. 77.

† This scandal was afterwards employed in a Sermon preached by Dr. Shaw at Paul's Cross in 1485, in order to facilitate the accession of Richard III., by discrediting the legitimacy of Edward IV., of the Duke of Clarence, and therefore of all their descendants. Cicely Neville Duchess of York, a woman of irreproachable virtue, was daughter of Ralph Neville Earl of Westmoreland.

from Edward IV., not a fortnight elapsed after the ratification of the Treaty of Pequigny, before a similar amicable compact was signed between France and Burgundy at Soleure. The Truce Sept. 13. was limited to a term of nine years, many Commercial privileges were interchanged, and above all, the former agreement relative to the Constable was solemnly renewed. The Duke of Brittany negotiated at Senlis about a month later, and St. Pôl was thus Oct. 9. left alone to reap the whirlwind which he had dared to sow. It was too late to fly; and where indeed could he hope for an asylum? St. Quentin was already abandoned to the King by its garrison, and Ham, the only Castle which remained in his possession, by no means afforded adequate means for resistance. As his last resource, he hoped to win upon the compassion of Charles; and it seemed not impossible that tender feelings might be awakened by a recollection of past years, and that the Duke of Burgundy might not pursue quite unrelentingly the guide and protector of the youth of the Count of Charolais. Trusting to this delusion, St. Pôl repaired with a few attendants to Mons, and there surrendering himself to the Bailiff of Hainault, applied to the Duke for a safe-conduct to his presence. But the fiery and ungovernable temper which hurried Charles to so many acts of precipitate Nov. 4. violence, was unmitigated by any touch of that generosity which occasionally extorts our admiration even for a capricious Savage. He read the letters reminding him of the suppliant's kinsmanship, of his long services, and of his ancient lineage, with brutal contempt, and verbally answering "that he had lost both his labour and his paper," he ordered him into strict custody. Nor was he more inclined to abide by his engagement with Louis than to extend mercy to St. Pôl; and knowing that however warily the King might preconcert his plans, he always pursued their immediate execution with headlong avidity, he felt that present circumstances had put it within his power to bargain for still better terms than those to which he had already agreed, and he demanded as an additional price for the sale of his prisoner, the abandonment of the Duke of Lorraine, whose territories he had long coveted. The iniquity of this transaction is heightened, if we believe with Commynes that the Duke of Burgundy had really granted the safe-conduct which St. Pôl required*.

Commynes appears to attribute an almost judicial blindness to the falling Traitor. On one occasion he manifested great delight at an expression which Louis had used in a letter; an expression which, even if the King himself had not explained its true meaning, might be thought

* Commynes states this explicitly, more than once. The Constable, he says, applied for *une sureté*—*Le dit Duc de prime face fuignet à la bailler; mais à la parfin la bailla, c. 80.*, and in another place he condemns *la faute de foy et d'honneur que le Duc commit en baillant bon et loyal sauf conduit audit Connestable et plus l'e prendre et vendre par avance. c. 91. M. de Sismondi* inadvertently refers to Commynes as proving that a safe conduct was not granted, xiv. 455.

far too oracular to be satisfactory, under circumstances of so much doubt and peril. "We are busy with divers affairs of importance, in settling which we greatly need such a head as yours;" and then turning to the bystanders, the King added in a tone which they alone could hear, as if well satisfied with his ferocious jest, "Not that we have any need of the body, the head by itself will do well enough for our purpose*." We are told also that even at Mons, the guard ~~was~~ not sufficiently strong if St. Pôl had been disposed to escape.

From these and other circumstances attendant upon St. Pôl's decline, Commynes asserted his conviction that God had utterly forsaken and given him over. After much vacillation on the part of Charles †, he was carried to Paris, and delivered to the custody of the Governor of the Bastille. Thirteen charges were exhibited against him; and it was substantiated by indisputable testimony, by letters in his own hand-writing which the King of England had ungenerously betrayed, that he besought Edward for the love of God, not to place confidence in the words or promises of Louis; but to secure himself for part of the winter at Eu and St. Valery, whence before two months were over he should be led to far better quarters. If want of money were inducing the King to listen to the propositions said to be under discussion, he offered an instant loan of 50,000 crowns, and held out other fair hopes of assistance. Defence was useless against evidence so clear, and yet the anticipations of the unhappy prisoner do not on any occasion appear to have extended beyond the loss of personal liberty. We possess a detailed account of the close of his Process, given by the Continuator of Monstrelet, and it is an interesting narrative from which we shall not scruple to draw largely.

Dec. 19. On the morning of the 19th of December, the Lord de St.

Pierre, who had been instructed to convey him before the Parliament, in order that he might hear his sentence read, on entering the prisoner's cell inquired whether he were asleep? "Oh no!" replied the miserable and misguided victim of ambition, "*it is long since I have slept*, but I am amusing myself with thinking and other fancies." He then rode on horseback to the Palace of Justice, and having been immediately conducted to the Criminal Tower, he was addressed by the Chancellor in words pregnant with inauspicious meaning. "My Lord of St. Pôl, you have hitherto been reputed a Knight of the utmost courage and fortitude, you will now have greater need than ever to display those qualities." Having kissed the Collar of St. Michael, which he was then required to surrender, he informed the Chancellor that the Sword of Constable, for which he was next asked, had been taken from him on his committal to the Bastille. One of the Presidents of the Parliament then

* Commynes, c. 78.

† Three hours after the departure of St. Pôl from Paris, a messenger arrived from Charles commanding his detention till Nancy should be absolutely surrendered to the Burgundian troops. Id., c. 82.

read the sentence, which pronounced him guilty of Treason, sentenced him to decapitation, in the course of the day, at the Grève, and confiscated all his effects and lordships to the service of the King.

This award very greatly astonished him ; he complained that it was harsh, and contrary to all which the Lord of St. Pierre had before told him would happen. He had immediate recourse however to devotion, and although the Sacrament was denied, four Priests chaunted Mass before him, and presented holy bread and holy water. Of the former he ate a few morsels, but he refused all drink from the moment of condemnation. About two in the Afternoon, he was conveyed again on horseback to the Hôtel de Ville. Having made bitter lamentations to his Confessor, and dictated a Will under the King's pleasure, he advanced on the scaffold, and throwing himself on his knees with his face towards Nôtre Dâme, he was long at his prayers, often kissing a Crucifix, and shedding frequent tears. His hands were tied with a small cord, a distressing process which he most patiently suffered, and his eyes were bandaged ; while he kneeled he requested the prayers of some High Officers of State assembled to see him die, provided that in giving them, they did nothing "in any ways injurious to their own interests." To the populace he expressed a similar wish, and while he was praying to God, talking to his Confessor, and earnestly kissing a Crucifix, the executioner's sword struck so effectual and so expeditious a blow, that the body fell on the scaffold at the same moment with the head*.

That St. Pôl richly merited punishment, no one who has traced the narrative of his actions will be prepared to deny, but the hands by which it was inflicted ought to have been less unclean than those of Louis and Charles. The Duke of Burgundy, the King of France, and the Constable were gamesters equally fraudulent ; but their game was played with unequal capital ; and the two former won while the latter lost, because his Bank was too slender to retrieve a run of ill-luck, not because he was more criminal than the others. Even Commynes, always honorably reluctant to disparage either of the Princes whom he had served, speaks of the manifest injustice which both of them perpetrated in this instance, and of the indelible disgrace accruing to Charles, the richest Prince in Europe, by the peddling bargain through which he trafficked away the life of his prisoner. The entire confiscations of St. Pôl's property scarcely amounted to 80,000 crowns ; and the Duke, who for that paltry sum had not scrupled to become a seller of man's blood, was at the time in possession of a capital of more than 300,000 crowns, and levied an annual revenue exceeding double that amount from his dominions exclusively of Burgundy†.

* Monstrelet, xi. 20.

† The treasure consisted not in coin, but chiefly in "movables, namely, jewels, plate, tapestry, books, and naper^y, more than those of the greatest Prince in Christendom." *Id.*, *ibid.*

CHAPTER XVII.

From A. D. 1475, to A. D. 1483.

The Duke of Burgundy engages in War in Swisserland—Is defeated at Granson—Richness of the booty—Louis acquires Anjou and Maine—Arrest of the Duke of Nemours—Battle of Morat—Wild conduct of the Duke of Burgundy—He seizes the Duchess of Savoy—She is released and entertained by Louis—The Duke of Burgundy besieges Nancy—Is betrayed by Campo Basso—Battle of Nancy—Defeat and Death of Charles le *Téméraire*—Louis immediately claims the Fiefs of Burgundy—He intrigues with the Flemish Nobles, and likewise with the Burghers—Obscurity of his Policy—He betrays the autograph Letter of Mary of Burgundy—Fury of the Ghenters—Hugonet and d'Himbercourt beheaded—Embassy of Oliver le Dain—Cruelty of Louis to the Deputies from Arras—Marriage of Mary of Burgundy with Maximilian of Austria—Cruel execution of the Duke of Nemours—Pacific Policy of Louis—He engages Swiss mercenaries—Renewal of the War in the Netherlands—Battle of Guinnegate—Truce with Flanders—Misery of Louis at Plessee la Tours—His first apoplectic seizure—His great jealousy of encroachment upon his power—He releases Ballue—His superstition and desire to prolong life—Death of Mary of Burgundy—Murder of the Bishop of Liege by William de la Marck—Peace of Arras—Negotiation for the Marriage of Margaret of Burgundy with the Dauphin—Consequent resentment of Edward IV.—His Death—Continued decline of Louis—His anxiety to conceal it—His passion for Relics—The Hermit Robert of Calabria—Last illness and Death of Louis XI.

THE Treaty of Soleure disengaged Charles of Burgundy from all fear of interruption by France, and he hastened with characteristic vehemence to overrun Lorraine. The Duke René, unable to oppose effectual resistance, gave way before the torrent, and, for a while, was deluded by promises which Louis never intended to fulfil. But the Duke of Burgundy's first conquest, which placed Nancy in his power, did but whet his appetite for greater acquisitions, and he pursued a headlong course which led to his ultimate ruin. One of his most faithful allies, the Count de Romont, a petty Prince of the House of Savoy, whose estates lay chiefly in the Pays de Vaud, had been engaged in perpetual troubles with the Swiss by whom he was environed; but the mutual forays of this Mountain Lord and of the neighbouring peasantry little demanded the hazardous contest in which the Duke of Burgundy involved himself. Scarcely had he mastered Nancy, before he moved to the assistance of Romont with an army shattered by the campaign of the past year before Neuss, harassed by the labours of a recent siege, and exposed in a savage Country to a most rigorous season. His avowed pretext was the relief of a partizan, but there can be little doubt that the Kingly Crown, which he had long proposed as the object of his ambition, still floated before his view, and that he contemplated a wide addition to his dominions by the conquest of Swisserland.

The Castle of Granson, on an isolated rock above the Lake of Neufchatel, arrested his progress for ten days, and cost numerous lives. On

its surrender, the garrison, about 400 men, was ruthlessly committed to the executioner. But their deaths were speedily avenged, and in a great battle which takes its name from the fortress A. D. 1476. sullied with their blood, the regularly-trained and veteran March 3. Burgundian soldiery were utterly routed by an ignoble band which they affected to despise. When the "Bull of Ury" on the one flank responded to the lowings of the "Heifer of Unterwald*" on the other, and the halberds of Berne, Lucerne, Fribourg, and Zurich, maintained an unbroken front, the men-at-arms, who had charged elate with confidence of easy success, were astonished at this unexpected firmness, and abandoned the field overcome by general panic. The carnage, however, was by no means great†, for the Swiss, wholly unprovided with cavalry, were unable to follow up their victory by pursuit. Charles appears to have marched to battle with scarcely less cumbrous and costly magnificence than that which attended the Persian Kings. The booty which fell into his enemy's hands is estimated at three millions of crowns. Besides the usual garniture of War, silver and gold-plate, embroidered tents, elaborate tapestry, and jewels of inestimable value were scattered over the field, unprized and almost unheeded by the simplicity of the conquerors. The largest diamond ever imported into Europe, and "to which hung a great orient pearl," was mistaken for a bit of glass, and tossed away under a baggage-car. It was afterwards picked up again by the peasant who had originally found it, and who thought himself fortunate in his bargain when he sold it on the field to the Priest of Martigny for a single florin. The Bernese purchased it in the second instance for three francs, and some time afterwards they disposed of it to Bartholomew May, one of their wealthiest merchants, for 5000 florins, and a gratuity of 400 more to their *Avoyer* for his good will in the transaction. The Genoese became its possessors at the advanced price of 7000 florins, Ludovico Sforza for 11,000, and on the dispersion of the Milanese treasures, Pope Julius II. gave 20,000, "in order that the most celebrated precious stone in the world might sparkle in the triple Crown of the High Priest of Christendom." "And for whose quarrel," asks Commynes, "began the War which led to this disaster at Granson? forsooth, for a lode of sheepskins taken by the Earle of Romont from a Swisser passing through his countrie‡."

* The National signals of the Peasantry, *deux terribles cornets des hautes montagnes*. M. de Sismondi, xiv. 468. How noble, how animated, how touching is this portion of the great Historian's narrative! How enviable is any Swiss writer who approaches, if it be but incidentally, to the triumphs of Granson and of Morat!

† Commynes says that only seven men-at-arms were killed, c. 85. •

‡ Commynes, c. 85. M. de Sismondi, xiv. 468, notices among the spoil the three largest diamonds known in Europe, which are now respectively in the cabinets of the Pope, of the Emperor, and of the King of France. The first is that mentioned in the text; of the others Müller gives the following account in the *Geschichte per Schweizerischer Eidgenossenschaft*. B. v. c. 1. vol. v. p. 38. One was bought by Jacob Fugger, from whom Suleyman the Great, Othman Pasha, and the Emperor Charles V. in vain sought to purchase it. Henry VIII. at length gave the desired

Louis, with his usual fraudulencé, had engaged in the most contradictory negotiations. After shamelessly abandoning the Swiss by the Treaty of Soleure, he re-engaged in alliance with them, promising a pension of 20,000 francs, and a monthly subsidy for every soldier raised in their Cantons; and he also concluded an offensive League against Burgundy with the Emperor and the German Princes. No active demonstrations indeed succeeded these Treaties, yet the chief profit of the victory at Granson accrued to France, for the King seized the opportunity to complete the subjugation of the House of Anjou, long since deprived of all other support than the frail assistance which Charles had afforded. King René declared Louis heir to his dominions. Margaret, Queen of England, René's sister, and her son Charles of Maine renounced in his favour their right of succession to Lorraine, Anjou, Maine, and Provence; and Louis in return abandoned certain pecuniary claims which, although indisputably just, and such as might have created embarrassment to Margaret and her son, were never likely to be productive to their creditors. The Duke of Nemours, who had married a niece of René*, and who was the only Prince enrolled in the former League for the Public Weal who had hitherto escaped the vengeance of Louis, was arrested about the same time and conveyed to the Bastille.

The Duke of Burgundy remained for some weeks at Lausanne, so dangerously oppressed by sickness "for sorrow of his dishonour, that I think," says Commynes, "after this Battle of Granson his wits were never so fresh nor so good as before." His numerical loss, however, was small and easily repaired, and scarcely two months elapsed before he invested Morat, a town about five leagues from Berne, with a force variously estimated from 24,000 to 40,000 men. The Confederates were joined by the Duke of Lorraine with a small company of auxiliaries only a few hours before they resolved to give battle. Fortune again proved adverse to the Burgundians, and as the Swiss Army now mustered 4000 cavalry, the slaughter in pursuit was hideous. Charles himself, with not more than a dozen attendants, found refuge at Morges on the Lake of Geneva; and De Contey, who announced to Louis the great misfortune immediately after its occurrence, admitted that his Master

price, and his daughter Mary transferred it together with her hand to Philip II., great-grandson of the original owner. It is now in the Imperial Treasury at Vienna, and probably got there through some of the numerous family connexions between the two branches of the House of Hapsburgh. The third diamond, the least valuable of all, was sold at Lucerne to Diebolden Glaser for 50,000 florins. From him it passed to the Kings of Portugal, and through Nicolas Harlai, Lord of Sancy, to the Kings of France. The History of the pawning of the *Grand Sancy*, which other authorities refer to a corruption of *Cent Six*, is given by Pierre de l'Estoile in the *Journal de Henri III.* tom. ii. p. 296, where it is said that it was afterwards bought by James I. of England. It returned to France on the overthrow of the Stuarts; we believe that it glittered in the hilt of Napoleon's sword, and that it still forms a portion of the Crown Jewels of Louis Philippe.

* James of Armagnac, Count de la Marche and Duke of Nemours, son of Pardiac second son of the Constable Armagnac, had married Louise of Anjou.

had lost 8000 "soldiers taking pay, besides the stragglers;" so that Commynes holds that report to be "not incredible" which swelled the whole number of dead to 18,000.

The conduct of Charles after this second defeat almost justified a suspicion of frenzy; he shut himself up in the frontier town of La Rivière, denied access to his person, allowed his beard to grow, and became abandoned to gloomy and indolent rumination upon the past. His diet had hitherto been most abstemious, so that, in accordance with the medical regimen of his time, on account of "his choler and natural heat*," he drank no wine, and breakfasted upon ptisan and conserve of roses. In order to regain some strength, he now, on the contrary, drank the strongest wine that could be procured unmixed with water; and he was subjected to repeated cupping, a discipline which Commynes describes in language somewhat remote from that of modern practice, and not evincing much acquaintance with the object of the remedy; "further to reduce the blood to the hart, his Phisitions were faine to put burning flaxe into boxing glasses, and so to set them on his breast near to the hart." In the blindness of his fury he seized the person of Yolande Duchess of Savoy and sister of the King of France, who came to pay him a visit of condolence and to proffer assistance for the reparation of his losses. That Princess, doubtless, partook largely of the crafty spirit of her brother, and little reliance was to be placed upon her sincerity; but even if Charles possessed absolute proof that she had been intriguing against him, the season was injudiciously chosen for the conversion of an apparent friend into an open enemy. The Duchess herself and her second son were arrested and confined in the Castle of Rouvre in Burgundy, the young Duke Philibert escaped by the dexterity of his Governor, and Louis speedily effected the deliverance of his sister. He received her at Plessis les Tours, which had already become a favourite residence; and as she alighted at his Palace gate, he welcomed her, with a smile full of meaning, as the "Lady of Burgundy." "Sir," she replied, well knowing his humour, and relieved from apprehension by his sportiveness, "I am a true Frenchwoman, and ready to obey you in all you shall command." He then led her to her chamber, and entertained her honourably and affectionately for eight days. "True it is that he desired to send her home as speedily as might be, whereof she was no less desirous than he, for she was a very wise woman, and they were well acquainted the one with the other's condition. They were both glad of their departure, and lived ever after as brother and sister even till their death†."

In order to accelerate the downfall of Charles, Louis now ventured more avowedly, although as it may be believed not more sincerely, to promise coadjutorship to the Swiss. Having received their ambassadors at Plessis, where he assiduously cultivated their golden opinions by

* Commynes, c. 90.

† Id. *ibid.*

flattery, in the administration of which he was an able proficient, he engaged to set his own troops in motion for the recovery of Lorraine, and to defray five-sixths of the expense incurred by the maintenance of 30,000 men with whom the Swiss were to invade that Country. Events, however, advanced too rapidly to need any rupture of the Truce which he had contracted at Soleure, and the final overthrow of the Burgundians saved him, perhaps involuntarily, from the guilt of this faithlessness. So actively did the young Duke René bestir himself for the reconquest of his lost dominions, that he re-entered Nancy by the first week in October. Charles was roused from his lethargy by this fresh loss; but, untutored by former calamities, instead of husbanding his diminished strength, he rashly hastened to invest the City, opened his trenches while the ground was covered with snow, persevered in the repetition of unavailing assaults, and exposed his miserable troops, regardless both of their wretchedness and their murmurs, to privation of food, the inclemency of a rigorous winter, and the perils of an unequal warfare. More than a hundred men and horses were frozen to death in a single night*; discontent was busy amid his ranks; and his chief and confidential Favourite, Campo Basso, a subtle Italian, had long meditated revenge for a personal affront. Charles one day in a paroxysm of anger had struck the Condottiere, who vowed that the offence, although dissembled for years, should be expiated only by blood. He had offered to Louis to abandon his Master on the field, or even to assassinate him if the latter were deemed preferable; but the King of France, diffident either of the traitor's power or of his fidelity, assumed a semblance of generosity, declined the proposals, and even communicated them to Charles. The general evil repute of Louis, however, deprived his assertion of credit, and the Duke of Burgundy treated it as a wily stratagem, employed to shake his confidence in a deserving Minister. "If it were really so," he said, "the King would never have advertised me thereof." Campo Basso then addressed himself to the Duke of Lorraine, by whom his offers were readily entertained; yet so near detection in one instance were the practices between them, that unless the Italian had hastened the execution of a prisoner captured while attempting to enter Nancy with advices from the Lorraine camp, Charles would have obtained incontrovertible proof of the treason which was preparing his destruction†.

Nancy was already reduced to the last extremity of famine, but the knowledge of relief in the neighbourhood so far inspirited the almost

* Müller, tom. v. p. 115.

† Commynes, c. 91. The prisoner was one Cifron, the *Hausmarshall* or *Maitre d'Hôtel* of René, the only person cognizant of the negotiation between his master and Campo Basso. The latter persuaded the Duke of Burgundy that Cifron's earnest and often-repeated desire to communicate singly to his ear intelligence of moment, was only a stratagem by which he sought to delay and perhaps to escape his punishment.

desperate garrison, as to enable it to repulse one more assault, and on the morrow Charles took the field for the last time, not without evil omens of his fate. While he was vaulting on the saddle of *Le moreau*, his favourite raven-black charger, the golden Lion which ornamented his helmet fell from the Crest. "This," he said, "is the hand of God;" nor would he suffer it to be replaced*. No sooner was his line arranged than Campo Basso with 800 lances abandoned the right wing, and, throwing off the Red Scarf and the St. Andrew's Cross, rode in friendly guise towards René. The Duke of Lorraine first consulted apart with the Swiss, and having received from them a noble answer, "that neither the custom of their forefathers, nor regard for the honour of their own arms, would permit them to combat side by side with an avowed traitor," he assigned a post which the Italian adventurer was far from loath to occupy; a ford at the confluence of the Meurthe with the Moselle, which was sure to be sought by fugitives, and which therefore promised, as indeed it afterwards yielded, abundance of spoil. The battle was not long contested, for notwithstanding Charles had selected his position ably, and defended it with his usual valour, his numbers were greatly lessened by the desertion of Campo Basso; and his Swiss opponents fought with an impetuosity not to be withstood. An unsparing pursuit continued for two hours after sunset; but neither on that evening nor on the following day were tidings heard of Charles himself, nor was his fate known till his body was found stripped and frightfully mangled amid a heap of slain, frozen into the bed of a rivulet on the edge of the field. The hand which had deprived him of life was never clearly ascertained†.

Intelligence of this great defeat was communicated to Louis with unprecedented rapidity, and on the morning of the 9th of January the event was announced at Plessis. The King of France had for many years ‡ been organizing Posts on the chief roads in his dominions; and

* Müller, v. 117.

† About 3000 Burgundians fell in the Battle of Nancy. The Duke had three wounds, a gash from the ear to the mouth, and two thrusts from pikes in the lower part of the body. One report ascribes his death to the hand of Claude of Beaumont, Governor of the Castle of St. Dier in Lorraine, who was unacquainted with his person, and being deaf, did not hear his offer of surrender; others affirmed that he was killed by some of Campo Basso's goldiers; and a third party denied his death altogether, and persisted (as has so often occurred in similar cases) in a confident expectation of his re-appearance. See M. de Sismondi, xiv. 495, and the authorities there cited. Monstrelet (xi. 22) mentions six particular marks by which his near kinsmen and intimate personal attendants recognised the corpse: 1. The loss of all the upper teeth in consequence of a fall; 2. The scar of a wound in the throat received at the Battle of Menthéry; 3. The scar of a carbuncle; 4. An issue in the groin; 5. The want of a nail on one of the toes; and 6. longer nails on the hands than were worn by any other person in his Court. We know not whether the last of these distinctions was regarded in the caprice of fashion as a mark of dignity, or whether it is to be attributed to the personal neglect by which Charles suffered his beard to grow after his first reverse. Müller repeats the above statement with a slight variation.

‡ From 1464.

although these institutions, in their infancy, were little more than relays of horses stationed at intervals of twelve leagues from each other, Government dispatches were transmitted by them with a celerity which excited astonishment. Louis was not yet quite certain of the death of his great enemy, but he did not attempt to conceal his joy at his overthrow, of which he was assured. Having heard Mass, he assembled all his Court to dinner in his chamber, and there, while he discoursed on State affairs and indulged in unusual merriment, Commynes and others "marked with what appetite those that sate at the table dined, and undoubtedly there was not one of them, I wot not whether for joy or sorrow, that ate half a meale's meat*." There can however be little doubt of the prevalent feeling. Those intimate with the character of Louis from daily observation must have entertained an appalling presentiment of his future tyranny, and of the certain peril necessarily arising from the removal of the single check by which his natural cruelty had hitherto been restrained.

His first and decisive steps were taken on the moment. The dominions of Burgundy passed by the death of Charles to his only daughter Mary, then in her twentieth year†, a Princess at that time unable to collect any armed force for her defence at Ghent, and who had no other support there than the advice of two able Counsellors, her Chancellor Hugonet and the Sire d'Himbercourt. Louis immediately directed troops upon the chief towns of the Province of Burgundy, which he claimed (in case the Duke should prove to be dead) as a male Fief reverting to the Crown. The right was contested on a plea that the succession had not been so limited by the Grant of John to Philip *le Hardi*‡; but the crafty Louis had another pretext in reserve. He declared himself to be the protector and guardian of *all* Mary's dominions, even of those which did not legally revert to him, as one near of kin, as her godfather, and as the father of her future husband, the Dauphin.

The States of Burgundy, which were altogether defenceless, submitted to the claim; and the towns of Picardy, which had been summoned in like manner, opened their gates to the French, whom indeed they acknowledged to be their native stock. Flanders and Artois were more

* Commynes, c. 97.

† Born February 13, 1467. Her mother was the second Duchess, Elizabeth of Bourbon.

‡ *Apanages* reverted to the Crown in default of male heirs, and Burgundy, it was said, was granted by John to Philip* as an *apanage*, although no such designation appears in the investiture. The Burgundian lawyers further contended that John himself possessed Burgundy, not as an *apanage* (for descendants of the first Duke were then living), but by the line of female inheritance. Mr. Hallam, from whom we derive the above statement (*Middle Ages*, i. 92, 4to.), adds an argument against Louis which seems to be quite conclusive, namely, that if Charles had conceived his daughter to be excluded from this part of her inheritance, he would have attempted to obtain a repudiation of Louis's claim, either at Compiègne or at Peronne, at both which places he treated upon the vantage ground.

backward; and, in the former Country, Louis for a while was uncertain upon which of the great parties between whom its Free Cities were divided he should chiefly rely for support. Commine, largely connected with the Aristocracy of the Low Countries, had already been employed to confer with the Nobles; and the bait by which he was instructed to allure them was the alliance of their Princess with the Dauphin. Encouraged by these hopes, the Flemish Barons despatched a secret embassy to Peronne, in which Hugonet and Himbercourt personally conveyed an autograph letter* from the Princess demanding protection from France, and announcing her design to govern by the advice of her late father's chief Counsellors. The Envoys were by no means authorized to treat concerning the marriage, to which indeed, as the Dauphin was but seven years of age, it is not likely that Mary would grant a very ready assent. Nevertheless, they signified to Louis how much such an arrangement would accord with their own wishes, and as a proof of their sincerity, they agreed to place in his power that quarter of Arras which, although not more than a fauxbourg, bore the name of *The City*, and which Louis affirmed to be immediately dependent upon himself.

The Burghers of Arras, however, were among the most vehement opponents of the French interest, and they were intimately leagued with the Citizens of Ghent, of Brussels, and of Bruges. Louis foresaw that the popular faction must ultimately prevail, and, anxious to dismember the Burgundian power, even if the whole of its separated spoils should not become his own prey, he removed Commine from the Netherlands to a distant mission in Poitou to the Duke of Brittany, and employed an agent of widely different character to nourish and to guide to his own purpose the discontent evinced by the Manufacturers. Oliver Teufel, a native of Thielt near Courtrai, by supple obsequiousness and low cunning, had so far converted to advantage his intimate access to the King's presence as to raise himself from the menial station of Barber-surgeon to that of chief confidant. It does not appear that he relinquished his attendance on the Royal person even after he was ennobled by a Grant of the County of Meulan†; and the Wits of the Court, instead of accepting the name by which the King wished his Favourite to be called, Oliver *le Dain*, literally translated his original appellation, and recognised him as Oliver *le Diable*, or the Wicked. •

The States of Flanders assembled at Ghent shrank from a prospect

* "The same letter was written partly with the young ladie's own hand, partly by the Dowager of Burgundy, Duke Charles his widow and sister to King Edward of England, and partly by the Lord of Ravastine, brother to the Duke of Cleves, and the said young ladie's nearest kinsman; so that it was written with three several hands, but signed with the name of the young ladie alone, for the other twaine set to their hands only to give it the greater credit." Commine, c. 105.

† The Letters of Nobility are given in the *Preuves aux Mémoires de Commine*, p. 191.

which involved the total loss of independence; their Charters had been enough violated by younger branches of the Royal House of France; what was likely to be their fate if the Head himself should become their ruler? Any marriage would be preferable to that with the Dauphin, which must lead to virtual incorporation with his future Kingdom. Why should not their Princess accept the hand of a son of the Duke of Cleves, who was an avowed suitor? Mary, powerless to resist, was compelled to temporize; and she assured the States of her willingness to conform in all things to their advice. The Deputies grounded upon this answer an Embassy to Louis, in which they urged upon his observance the Treaty of Soleure; a Treaty, as they remarked, not likely to be violated on their side, since their new Princess had engaged to dismiss the evil Cabinet which had influenced her late father, and to rule in concurrence with the advice of her States.

The policy adopted by Louis in this instance is by no means clear; and it is very probable that the obscurity arises from the loss of one or more links in the tangled chain of his negotiations. It appears, for aught we know to the contrary, that perseverance in urging the marriage of his son might have tended to the quiet increase of his power, by the annexation of all the Burgundian dominions. But it is idle to conjecture the reasons by which he was actuated, and we must be content to follow the tide of events without stopping to investigate the cause by which its flow was governed. He preferred the embroilment of Mary with her subjects, and for that purpose he placed in the hands of the Deputies her autograph letter. This betrayal of a private correspondence was unkingly, unknighly, unmanly. The duplicity of the Princess, or rather of the advisers under whom she acted, may admit of palliation, although we do not think it has been sufficiently condemned. All the Historians with whom we are acquainted appear so deeply impressed by the bloody and iniquitous results of Louis's treachery, that they have forgotten, or have too lightly passed over, the manifest insincerity which that treachery revealed.

The Deputies, on their return, declared in a public audience that Louis had refused their proposals, on account of an assurance given by the Princess herself that she should continue to act under Burgundian Counsellors. When Mary pointedly denied this assertion, the Grand Pensionary drew forth her letter from his bosom, and read it aloud before the assembly. The fury of the populace, which was unbounded, vented itself chiefly upon D'Himbercourt and Hugonet, and many of the Nobles most influential with the Burghers stimulated their rage from personal motives. The Duke of Cleves, who had hitherto believed the Ministers to be favourable to his son's marriage, upon being undeceived, became their mortal enemy; the Bishop of Liege and "his Minion," the Boar of Ardennes, remembered the fate of their City to which D'Himbercourt had actively contributed; and the young Count of St. Pôl panted to

revenge the death of his father the Constable, by the blood of any advisers of the deceased Charles. It was not difficult to frame an Indictment against prisoners whom their Judges had already resolved should be found guilty; nevertheless, as the real cause of offence could not be advanced against them as a crime, the accused nearly established their innocence. They disproved various charges of bribery; and it was only upon a vague averment that, in conjunction with the late Duke, they had infringed the privileges of Ghent, a town of which they were neither subjects nor citizens, that they were condemned to death. The Process lasted six days, during which they were cruelly subjected to the question. Only three hours were allowed to intervene between the sentence and its execution; "which time expired, they led them into their market-place, and set them upon a scaffold. The Ladie of Burgundy (afterwards Duchess of Austrich) being advertised of their condemnation, went to the towne-house to make request and supplication for their lives, but perceiving that she could do no good there, she went to the market-place, where all the people were assembled together in armes, and there saw the two noblemen above-named standing upon the scaffold. The said Ladie was in her mourning apparell, having nothing on her head but a kerchiefe, which was an humble and simple attire, and ought of righte to have moved them to pitie. There she desired the people, with weeping eyes and her haire loose about her shoulders, to have pitie upon these two servants, and to restore them unto hir. A great part of the people were willing that her pleasure should be done, and that they should not die; but others would in nowise give care unto her, whereupon they bent their pikes the one against the other. But those that desired their death were the stronger, and cried to them which stood upon the scaffold to despatch them immediately, whereupon both their heads were stricken off, and in this estate returned this poore Ladie to her Court, sorrowfull and comfortlesse, for these two were the principall persons in whom she had reposed her whole confidence*."

This bloody act was rightly attributed to the secret agency of France; and if Mary of Burgundy could ever have so far violated the natural feelings and dignity of her sex as to consent to a matrimonial alliance with a child sprung from the faithless Louis, her alienation became invincible when the King of France insulted her by the open mission of Oliver *le Dain* as his Ambassador. The Barber was furnished with Credentials, and instructed to demand a private audience; a demand which he reluctantly surrendered, even after having been informed that it was contrary to all National Court etiquette that an unmarried Princess should receive Envoys except in public. His ostentation gave much offence, and the meanness of his extraction having been bruited abroad, he was threatened with summary punishment. By a hasty flight to Tournai, which Town he found means to secure for the French,

he evinced his own conviction that the cry of the mob which menaced to throw him into the river was not a merely idle demonstration of popular hatred.

It seemed indeed as if Louis was intoxicated by the prospect of illimitable power which had recently opened upon him ; and so far was he from employing his usual artifices for conciliation that he rioted in acts of wanton cruelty. Some Deputies from Arras presented themselves at Hesdin and requested a safe-conduct to proceed to the Court of Ghent. The reply was so ambiguously worded as to admit of any interpretation which the granter might ultimately choose to affix ; but it was unsuspectingly accepted by the Burghers as a pledge for their security. "You are wise enough," said the King, "to determine what is most fitting for you to do." Scarcely however had the miserable Envoys proceeded a single stage upon their route before they were brought back and beheaded by Tristan l'Hermite. Oudart de Bussi, one of these twenty-three Commissioners, had recently been appointed by Louis a Counsellor of the Parliament of Paris, and the King, adding mockery to ferocity, ordered that the dead man's head should be dressed in the fur cap, *à mortier*, which belonged to his office, and be sent to the Hall of the Assembly. Arras was overcome with terror at this savage act, and the Town, as well as the City, surrendered to the yoke of the French, and was subjected to grievous extortion by Le Lude, one of the most active and rapacious officers in their service.

Carelessness in giving offence, and the avarice with which his Generals pressed for contributions in the newly-subdued Provinces, exposed Louis however to severe mortification. The rapid submission of Burgundy and of Franche-Comté was mainly attributable to the Prince of Orange ; but the Chamberlain Crâon, a favourite greedy of gain, had reaped the chief benefit from these acquisitions. The Prince, disgusted by neglect of his services, proffered assistance to Mary, surprised the French garrisons, and restored to their rightful heiress the dominions which he had but recently torn from her sceptre. The blow fell heavily and unexpectedly upon the King, and it was succeeded by another yet more severe, when Mary made a final choice from her numerous suitors. Adolphus, Duke of Gueldres, one of the most hateful pretenders to her hand, but one upon whose success the Ghenters were so resolved that they had released him from prison in order that he might obtain it, had been killed in an unsuccessful skirmish before Tournay, and the Princess esteemed the release arising from his defeat as far preferable to a victory. John, son of the Duke of Cleves, was brutal in his manners and personally disagreeable*. The Earl of Rivers, brother to the Queen of England, was considered as scarcely lofty enough in rank ; and although Margaret, the Duchess Dowager of York, would gladly have supported

* M. de Sismondi, xiv. 528, says that History records nothing more of him than that he had sixty-three Bastards !

the pretensions of her brother the Duke of Clarence, Edward IV. evinced so great jealousy of them as to render the marriage hopeless. Mary herself expressed approval of the chivalrous deportment and noble bearing of Maximilian, son of the Emperor Frederic III.; and although his niggard father refused him the sum necessary for the expense of his journey, the young Prince proceeded so expeditiously in his suit, that on the day after his arrival at Ghent the nuptials were celebrated. The Bride understood only French, the Bridegroom spoke no language but German, yet their courtship appears not to have encountered any obstacle from difficulty of interpretation.

Eight days after his marriage Maximilian applied to Louis for fulfilment of the Treaty of Soleure. The King, perceiving the danger by which he was beset, at once agreed to a precarious Armistice, which was at first limited to ten days' duration, but was afterwards indefinitely prolonged, with a proviso that each party should give four days' notice previously to resumption of hostilities. The Swiss, who attempted further mediation, were haughtily treated by the French Courtiers, and failed in repeated endeavours to procure audience from the King. In the Netherlands, on the other hand, they received assurance of the extinction of all former resentment, and of the conviction entertained by the Flemings that their late Prince had been the aggressor in the contest which had led to his destruction; and won by this liberal treatment, they frankly contracted a perpetual alliance with the House of Austria.

All the energies of Louis were now concentrated for the unworthy gratification of personal vengeance; and the domestic victim upon whom they were fatally directed in the first instance excites peculiar compassion. The Duke of Nemours, who had been seized and imprisoned during the past year, in early youth had been upon terms of intimate familiarity with Louis while Dauphin. His father, the Count of Pardiac, had been the Prince's Governor, and although Nemours had not ceased to hold correspondence with the disaffected Nobles, and perhaps was not unacquainted with their projects, he certainly had neither suggested nor assisted their execution. For many years back, he had secluded himself from public affairs, and had lived in retirement, cultivating the affection of his vassals. But the King, who never forgave, believed him to be in the possession of the confidence of a Party which he still dreaded, and he determined, at any expense of injustice, to wring their secrets from his prisoner. Nemours was enclosed in one of the fearful iron cages which we have already described, the bars of which were removed only on those occasions on which he was led to the Chamber of Torture. "Rack him," said the unpitying King, "to the very utmost." Force him to speak clearly." No admissions however were obtained even by the question, upon which a condemnation could be founded. His last effort to move compassion was a supplicatory letter signed

Pauvre Jacques, the name by which the King was playfully used to distinguish him in their days of youthful companionship. But Louis was inexorable; he attached the letter, without emotion and with his own hands, to the other documents of the Process, and having arranged a packed Court, procured a capital sentence, which was

Aug. 4. executed in the market-place of the Capital on the very day on which it was pronounced.

The Duke of Brittany was not equally within grasp; and although the King had detected a correspondence between that Prince and Edward IV. in contravention of the Treaty of Senlis, he contented himself by urging the private execution of the Secretary by whose treachery he had obtained it, and he interchanged with his Master a renewed oath of *friendship* (if it may be so called) upon the Cross of St. Laud. By this singular compact the two parties respectively engaged that during the life of each other they would abstain from any attempt at assassination or seizure, from secret personal violence, and from open War.

The Armistice with Maximilian continued through the Winter. In

the ensuing somewhat languid campaign, Louis recovered A. D. 1478. Burgundy, but, when his enemy took the field in person, he

Jan. 11. did not hesitate to sign a Truce for a Year; and his unabating anxiety to secure foreign Peace, exhibited itself in negotiation with almost every other European Power. Distrusting his own subjects more and more every day, he resolved to commit himself to the protection of foreign mercenaries. Dammartin, in a green old age of 68 years, much before he felt retirement to be necessary, received intimation that his services were not longer required; and the place of ten disbanded Companies of Ordonnance was supplied by 6000 Swiss, who, being ignorant of the language of the Country in which they served, were therefore thought unlikely to be seduced by its political intrigues, and who indeed were proverbially faithful to the hand from which they received hire, provided that hire was regularly paid.

The Burgundians, irritated by some intrigues which Louis was practising under the mask of the Armistice, broke its conditions three months before it had arrived at its close; and the King, on capturing Dole in reprisal, fired the town and butchered the inhabitants. The total ruin of Arras, which chafed under oppression, almost immediately followed; the fortifications were dismantled, and the inhabitants, to the last individual, were drafted into neighbouring towns. But the numerous privileges granted to the new Colony of *Franchise*, which Louis sought to establish in the room of the ancient City, were unavailing to produce that spirit of commercial industry, which had given wealth and distinction to its former inmates. So much more easy is it to destroy than to build up.

On the Flemish border, Maximilian prepared for the siege of Therouanne, with about 27,000 combatants, and so confident was he in the su-

periority of training in his infantry,* that he by no means declined battle when the French General D'Esquardes marched to the relief of the City, with an equal army of foot, supported by a powerful train of artillery, and a body of men-at-arms more than doubly outnumbering those of his opponent. At Guinnegate, accordingly, the French* Aug. 7. cavalry was victorious, but rashly urging pursuit too far, and employed solely in capturing prisoners who promised a weighty ransom, it was astonished at finding, that during the prosecution of this success, the comrades which it had left on foot had been totally swept away. It is computed that 11,000 Burgundians and 5000 French were slain in this undecisive engagement, in which the former retained the field, both parties claimed the victory, but neither derived any advantage. Louis was greatly enraged against D'Esquardes, who had needlessly exposed him to hazard; for his whole policy was constructed to avoid the risk of battle. Part of his disasters had arisen in consequence of the garrison of Therouanne turning aside to pillage when led to a sortie; and in order to prevent the recurrence of so fatal a breach of discipline, it was enacted that all booty, in future, should be gathered into one mass, the produce arising from the sale of which was to be divided among the whole army.

The event of Guinnegate had determined Louis to make Peace at any expense; but it accorded neither with his character, nor indeed with his interests, to demonstrate this intention too hastily. The War accordingly lingered on through another year, undistinguished by military exploits, but in too many instances polluted by cruelty. The chief obstacle to amicable arrangement was the Duchess Dowager of Burgundy, who, sharing her late husband's enmity against Louis, was unceasing in her efforts to cement alliance between Maximilian and her brother Edward IV. The English cherished an ardent desire for renewed War with France, and Edward, who chiefly hesitated from reluctance to lose his pension, as soon as the annual sum of 50,000 crowns had been guaranteed by the Flemings, signified his intention of placing 1500 Archers at the command and in the pay of Maximilian. The negotiation, however, was abruptly terminated, by an announcement of the signature of Aug. 21. a seven months' Truce between France and Flanders.

* At no former period of his reign, had the affairs of Louis been equally flourishing; his fears of rivalry from Flanders were tranquillized, and it was evident that a definitive Peace with that Country would ere long be concluded. With other Powers, his relations were most friendly, and not likely to be interrupted; and at home he had levelled and shattered to the dust the Aristocratic League, which at one time had menaced the existence of his throne. Nevertheless Louis was far from enjoying repose; a consciousness that his rule was founded upon terror not upon affection,

* The references for the residence of Louis XI. at Plessis, for his illness and relapses, are in general to Commynes, from c. 127 to the end of his Chronicle. His story presents few more instructive pages.

haunted his Imagination, and disquieted him with far more severe torments, according to the just estimate of his Biographer, than any which he caused his numerous victims to suffer. His Nobles were altogether estranged from the Palace, and the People were groaning under a taxation, which it is difficult to conceive how they could ever supply. Charles VII. had maintained but 1700 Lances, at an expence of 1,800,000 francs, the army of Louis was increased to 5000 Lances and 25,000 Infantry, and the tax levied for its support amounted to the enormous sum of 4,700,000 francs.

His abode was now fixed at the Castle of Plessis les Tours, which he had fortified with the most jealous precaution, not against any great host or army, of which he did not entertain apprehension, but to hinder his Nobles from entering "into it in the night, partly by love and partly by force to take the government upon them, and to make him live as a man bereft of his wits and unworthy to rule." Commynes, who shared this melancholy residence, has described many particulars of it in different parts of his Memoirs. Neither the Mansion nor the Park attached to it was of large dimensions. It was garrisoned by 400 Archers, the greater number of whom kept watch and ward through the day: an iron railing surrounded it, and the edges of the moat were defended by a chevaux-de-frise of many-headed spikes firmly masoned into the walls. Four strong guard-houses of iron, each capable of admitting ten cross-bowmen, were constructed to overlook the ditches, and the sentries by whom they were occupied day and night, had orders to shoot indiscriminately at every man who approached after the shutting of the gates. Peter de Bourbon Lord of Beaujeu, his son-in-law, was the only person of rank who had the privilege of lodging within the walls; and even his attendants and those of the frank and gallant Dunois, on one occasion, on their return from a State Ceremony, were privately searched, in order to obtain assurance that they did not wear concealed body-armour. The gate was never opened, nor was the drawbridge lowered till eight in the morning, when the Warders distributed their guard with as much vigilance as if they were engaged in the defence of a frontier-town. The King occasionally took exercise in a small and narrow court; and even into that area he seldom descended; for he usually occupied a gallery, and passed through the chambers instead of crossing the open court when he went to Mass in his Chapel. "Think you," says Commynes, "that he was not in fear as well as others, seeing he locked himself in after this sort, kept himself thus close, stood in such dread of his children and nearest kinsmen, and changed and removed his servants from day to day, whom he had brought up and whose good estate depended wholly upon him, in such sort that he durst trust none of them, but bound himself in these strange chains and bands?"

His passion for the chase still remained undiminished, even after he had begun to feel the approaches of bodily infirmity; and during an

excursion connected with this favourite amusement, he was attacked with apoplexy while at dinner at Forges, in the Forest of Chinon.

For a time he lost the use of speech, but the administration A. D. 1481. of fitting remedies, and the seasonable admission of fresh air March — from which he had been debarred by the ignorant anxiety of his domestics, who “(meaning all for the best) held him to the fire,” restored him in some sort to consciousness. Two days, however, passed before he conversed otherwise than by signs; fifteen before any one but Commynes could thoroughly understand him. One of his first inquiries regarded the attendants who had used bodily restraint and had closed the windows on his seizure; and these were forthwith put out of office, forbidden his presence, and banished from the Court. He “feared nothing so much as the diminution of his power”—“he stomached marvellously that he had been held thus perforce, but yet made show of much greater displeasure than he had conceived thereof. The chief cause that moved him so to do, was fear lest they should master him in all other things, especially in the expedition of his weightier affairs under colour of the imperfection of his wits.” His attention was next addressed to the transactions of his Council, and to the despatches which had been received during his sickness. Commynes read the Letters to him, after which “he took them in his hands, feigning that he himself read them, notwithstanding that indeed he understood never a word.” Immediately after his convalescence, he restored the unworthy Cardinal Ballue to liberty; and in the hope of obtaining the prayers of Rome, he purchased absolution from the Holy See, by voluntarily tendering that pardon which for fourteen years he had inexorably refused to numerous applicants. So anxious was he for the prolongation of life, that Jacques Cottier de Poligny, his chief Physician, received 10,000 crowns as a monthly stipend, exclusively of numerous occasional gratuities. The artful knave, well knowing the mind upon which he had to operate, secured his ascendancy by a threat. “I am aware,” he said, “that some fine morning you will give me my dismissal as you have done others before me; but I call God to witness, (and the oath he swore was terrific,) that you will not survive above eight days afterwards.” Reports, which we are willing to believe unfounded, were circulated respecting the remedies administered by this Charlatan. The prevalent medical theory of the times inculcated that Life was a principle inherent in the Blood; and, in order to re-invigorate the juices of his patient, it is said that Cottier ordered baths of the blood of children, and administered a similar horrible beverage as a restorative drink.* Astrologers also were entertained, with a hope that the stars might teach the secrets of futurity, and costly offerings were made at numerous shrines and altars. The disease however returned in spite of

* The report, which probably is untrue, is not mentioned by Commynes; it rests upon the authorities of J. de Troyes and of Guaguini. See M. de Sismondi, xiv. 604.

these applications to Powers whether evil or benign, and the intervals between relapse were, for the most part, devoted to pilgrimage. A. D. 1482. ages. On his return from one of these pious journeys, Louis March 14. heard the important and unexpected intelligence of the death of Mary of Burgundy; she had been thrown from a spirited horse while engaged on a hawking party; and with an overweening feminine delicacy, she concealed the consequences of the fall from the knowledge of her Surgeon, till it was too late to avert their fatal progress.

Mary, who was in her twenty-fifth year, had borne to Maximilian a son Philip and a daughter Margaret*, and the tutelage of these children was immediately claimed by the factious Ghenters, as usual dissatisfied with their Prince. The King of France, from the very birth of Margaret, had designed her marriage with the Dauphin, but the pledge which he had given to Edward IV. at Pequigny, rendered it necessary that the intention should be dissembled. Meantime the anxiety of the Netherlanders to conclude Peace was increased by a bloody event, which accelerated the nuptial contract. The Wild Boar of Ardennes, William de la Marck, was known to be in secret alliance with France, and the ferocious brigand upon a quarrel with Louis of Bourbon †, Bishop of Liege, whom he had long supported and controlled, waylaid the Prelate, murdered him with his own hand, and after throwing his corpse into the Meuse with indignity, compelled the Chapter to elect one of his own sons as successor to the Episcopal office ‡. Although evidence was wanting to connect Louis with this savage transaction, the States of Flanders more than ever desired to be relieved from his hostility, and they signified to Maximilian their determination to conclude Peace.

By a Treaty signed at Arras, which had risen from its ashes, Margaret was to be educated in France as the future Wife of the A. D. 1482. Dauphin, and the Counties of Burgundy and of Artois were Dec. 23. to form her portion. Some minor arrangements gratified the pride of the Flemings, and the sudden death of Edward IV. A. D. 1483. (attributed by Commynes to chagrin at this negotiation) relieved Louis from the single fear which his breach of promise could occasion. The English Princess had already been designated at her father's Court as Madame la Dauphine. Edward bitterly resented the dishonour to which she was exposed, and his subjects burned to avenge themselves by a declaration of War. The design was interrupted by the unlooked-for demise of the King, occasioned as is believed by an excess at table; and the disturbed state of England during

* Philip, (afterwards King of Castile by marriage with the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella,) born June 22, 1478. Margaret, born Feb. 10, 1480.

† Brother to Pierre Sire de Beaujeu, who married Anne of France.

‡ William de la Marck was captured by one of Maximilian's Officers, June 17, 1485, and beheaded at Maestricht for High Treason.

the minority of Edward V. and the usurpation of Richard III., prevented its renewal.

The World had little more of prosperity which it could shower upon Louis. At home he had triumphed over faction, abroad he had established profound peace ; and it seemed as if by this last alliance with Burgundy, he had secured tranquillity for more time than human foresight is usually able to control. Fortune smiled upon his policy, and almost anticipated his intrigues ; yet it may be doubted whether any mendicant upon the straw of a Lazar-house ever closed his eyes in more heart-felt wretchedness than that which assailed the sick bed of this most powerful King.

Of the gloom of his seclusion at Plessis les Tours we need not again speak ; the frequency of his relapses had much debilitated his frame, so that " he seemed rather like a dead corpse than a living creature, for he was leaner than a man would believe." In order to disguise this wasting away of flesh, he substituted gaudy attire for his former homely garbs, apparelling himself sumptuously, and wearing no gown but of crimson satin edged with the richest furs. He was above all things desirous to prevent any report of his sickness from obtaining public circulation, and for that purpose he employed numerous agents in foreign Countries, instructed to make costly purchases as for one whose pastimes were still prompted by vigorous and undiminished health. Horses from Naples, Mules from Spain and Sicily, Dogs for the chase from Bretany were procured at enormous prices, in many instances far exceeding the demand of their owners. His menagerie was stocked with wild beasts from the coast of Barbary, and Elks and Reindeers were imported from the frozen regions of the North. It was their possession only which he coveted, not affixing any value to the object itself, but anxious that the search for it should evince that he was still engrossed by a love of amusement incompatible with valetudinarianism ; for, as his Chronicler adds, " when all these strange things were brought him, he made no account of them, no, very seldom spake with them that brought them."

So beset was he with the idle hope of averting Death by superstitious practices, that he collected Reliques from every quarter in which he could obtain them, even on loan. From Rome he borrowed abundance of this trumpery, and among it " the very *Corporale* * upon which St. Peter sang Mass." The Ampulla, from which the Kings of France are anointed at Rheims during their Coronation, left its sanctuary in that City for the first time, and stood on a cabinet in his chamber at the moment of his death ; and the Grand Turk offered to barter all the memorials of Christianity which Constantinople afforded, for a simple promise that his brother Zizim, then a prisoner to the Knights of Rhodes, should be retained in custody. The motive for refusal is uncertain, and we know not whe-

* The Napkin spread upon the altar during the administration of the Eucharist, upon which rests the consecrated wafer, *corpus Domini*. See Ducange, *Gloss. ant. v.*

ther policy forbade the Treaty ; whether the King mistrusted the soundness of the ware thus brought into the market ; or whether he considered that its virtue would be impaired if he trafficked for it with an Infidel. But although Bajazet II. sent an especial Embassy "with a great roll of Reliques," and a "great sum of money," Louis would neither receive the message, nor indeed would permit the Envoy to advance beyond Provence.

The assistance upon which he placed most firm reliance was that of a Hermit, one Robert *, whom he had transported from Calabria, and in whose honour he founded a Church at Plessis. The Recluse had passed his life, from twelve years of age till forty-three, in the cleft of a rock near Taranto ; and during that long period had never tasted "fish, flesh, eggs, or any kind of white meat or of fat." The description of him given by Commynes is almost ludicrous from its simplicity ; and perhaps conveys to modern ears an irreverent notion widely remote from the intention of the writer, who evidently contemplated Friar Robert as an awful Being. "I never saw in my time a man of so holy life, nor by whose mouth the Holy Ghost seemed rather to speak ; for he never had been a scholar, but was utterly unlearned : true it is that the Italian tongue caused somewhat the greater admiration of him." The Anchorite having applied for leave ("which was great wisdom in so simple a man") both from the Vatican and from the Prince of Taranto, was conveyed through Italy with pomp equal to that which accompanies an Apostolic Legate. At Rome he was admitted by the Pope to three long audiences, which endured many hours together. He was allowed to sit in the presence of the Holy Father, gave so wise answers that all men wondered at them, and obtained permission to erect a new Order, called the Hermits of Saint Francis. At Naples, "he communed with the King of the affairs of the Court, as if he had been a Courtier all the days of his life." Nor did his discretion fail when he arrived at Plessis ; for when Louis, falling down before him, and desiring him to prolong his life, honoured him as if he had been the Pope himself, we are told that he "answered as a wise man should."

"But all would not help, there was no remedy, needs he must go the way his predecessors went before him." One interview, the only one he had sought for many years, he held with the Dauphin, in which he earnestly recommended the child, whom either from jealousy or from an undue regard for a sickly constitution, he had permitted to attain his twelfth year in lamentable ignorance †, by all means to adhere to the

* Garnier (x. 67.) calls him *Francis* of Martorella or Martortella, and it is probable from the Pope's boon that such was his name.

† It is said that the only sentence of Latin which Louis would permit his son to be taught, was *qui nescit dissimulare nescit regnare*. But the anecdote is improbable, it is not supported by the authority of Commynes ; and Louis, if he openly avowed such a maxim, must have ceased to dissemble. It is certain, on the other hand, that

policy which had marked his own reign, and not to change the Ministers whom he should find in office on his succession. To the adoption of a contrary system, he attributed much of the trouble by which himself had been harassed in earlier years. This promise extorted from the boy, who perhaps knew not to what he consented, and was wearied by the harangue explanatory of his father's wishes, was attested and solemnly registered in the National Archives; in which it remained as a proof, if such proof could be needed, of the futility of all instruments designed to secure posthumous obedience from an Heir.

Unequivocal symptoms of approaching dissolution at length appeared, yet Louis passed nearly a week in alternate hope and fear as to his recovery. At one time he despatched his Archers, Aug. 25. his falcons, and his hounds, (the trappings of dignity which he loved best,) to the young King, as he called him, at Amboise; and notified a verbal wish that Pierre de Bourbon should undertake his personal guardianship during minority; at another, when his spirits returned, he expressed unshaken confidence in the intercession of the Calabrian. Jealousy of that irregular practitioner induced some members of the Household to speak plainly to their Master of his condition, and "a Doctor of Divinity," and Oliver *le Dain*, informed him without reserve of his imminent peril. While still in vigour, he had repeatedly warned his servants, that whatever might be his danger, no one during illness should presume to give him notice, beyond urging the necessity of Confession, "not sounding in his ears that dreadful word *Death*, knowing that he should not be able patiently to bear the cruel sentence." Nevertheless (and Commynes implies that it was in some sort a retribution for the speed with which the executions of St. Pôl and the Duke of Nemours had been hurried on) the upstart menials, whose fortunes he had made hastily and undeservedly, took upon themselves boldly to do their message otherwise than became them; not using that reverence and humility which ought to be used in such a case, "and which would have been used by the ancient and legitimate servants of the Crown." They broke abruptly into his presence, and spoke to him rudely and in few words. Louis, dissembling till the last gasp, assumed a show of confidence which he did not feel, and answered, "I trust God will help me, peradventure I am not so sick as you suppose." He then, however, received the Sacrament, gave orders for his funeral, named the persons whom he wished to attend it, expressed a hope that Our Lady whom he had always devoutly served would release him on a Saturday, conversed tranquilly till "within a Pasternoster of his departure," and died, according to his wish, Aug. 30. "upon Saturday the 30th of August, in the year 1483, at

a Manual concerning the Art of Government was compiled for the use of Charles under the superintendence, if not the dictation, of his father. M. de Sismondi expresses very just surprise, that this MS. *Le Rosier des Guerres*, has never been published. It exists in the *Bibliothèque du Roi*, 7433, and some extracts from it have been given by Duclos. *Preuves*, iii. 382, 397.

eight of the clock at night, in the same Castle of Plessis where he fell sick on the Monday before."

CHAPTER XVIII.

From A. D. 1483 to A. D. 1498.

Death of the Queen Charlotte of Savoy—State of Parties—Anne of Beaujeu—Louis of Orleans—The Council of Regency—Punishment of the late King's menials—States General at Tours—Ascendancy of Anne—Intrigues with Bretany—Death of the Duke of Bourbon—Battle of St. Aubin du Cormier—Capture of the Duke of Orleans—Peace of Sablé—Death of Francis II. Duke of Bretany—Great peril of the Duchess Anne—Her alliance with Henry VII.—Her Marriage by proxy to Maximilian—Release of the Duke of Orleans—Retirement of the Bourbons—Marriage of Charles VIII. with Anne of Bretany, and repudiation of Margaret of Burgundy—Siege of Boulogne by Henry VII.—Ronsillon and Cerdagne abandoned to Spain—Peace of Etâples with the English—Treaty of Senlis with Maximilian—State of Italian Politics—Lodovico Sforza invites Charles VIII. to claim the Throne of Naples—Illness of Charles at Asti—Engagement at Rapalle—Terror excited by the French Soldiery—Death of Galeazzo Sforza—Lodovico seizes the Duchy of Milan—Dangerous March of the French—Revolution in Florence and overthrow of the Medici—Charles enters Florence—Discontent of the Florentines—Treaty with them—Charles in possession of Rome—Omens of the Fall of Naples—Abdication of Alfonso II.—Remonstrance of the Spanish Ambassador—Flight of Cesare Borgia—Trivulzio deserts to the French—Ferdinand withdraws to Ischia—Charles at Naples—Unpopularity of the French—Confederacy against them in the North of Italy—Retreat of Charles—Savonarola—Danger of the French—Laborious passage of their Artillery over the Mountains—Battle of Fornovo—Charles continues his retreat unmolested to Asti—Distress of the Duke of Orleans at Novarra—Treaty of Vercelli with Lodovico Sforza—Arrival and dismissal of the Swiss Mercenaries—Charles returns to France—Ferdinand reconquers Naples—Charles surrenders himself to pleasure—Treacherous design between France and Spain for the partition of Naples—Beneficial change in the disposition of Charles—His sudden death.

CHARLOTTE of Savoy survived her husband only four months. The temper of Louis had little inclined him to the society of women, A. D. 1483. and the Queen had lived in exclusion both from his Court Dec. and his affections, partly at Amboise, partly at Loches. Of the three children whom she had borne, her son, now Charles VIII., was thirteen years and two months old at the time of his accession; Anne, the elder daughter, who inherited her father's talents, was twenty-two years of age, and married to Pierre of Bourbon, Sieur de Beaujeu. Jane the younger, whom natural deformity was supposed to have rendered sterile, was the wife of Louis Duke of Orleans, to whom, although but of a collateral branch, the throne would devolve in case the new King should die without male issue. Anne of Beaujeu was crafty, energetic, and ambitious, and she sought the aggrandizement of a husband who

ably seconded her policy. The Duke of Orleans excelled in all bodily exercises, and was ardent in the pursuit of youthful pleasure; but his lofty station as first Prince of the Blood, and his proximity to the Crown, seem never to have been forgotten in any unseemly open excesses; and in his near relative, a son of the Bastard Dunois, he found an able and a most useful supporter. From unwillingness to look beyond his own life, from a jealousy of power which shrank from even its posthumous delegation, or from the entire estrangement in which he kept secluded from his Aristocracy, Louis had died without providing a Regency; and a fruitful source of dissension appeared to be thus opened between competitors whose claims were too nearly equal to permit ready adjustment. The Duke of Bourbon, Beaujeu's elder brother, was little likely to assert any claim of seniority; for the gout confined him to his chamber for more than two-thirds of the year; and yet upon this disabled valetudinarian, the Council of Princes, who, without any constitutional right, exercised a temporary authority from necessity, bestowed the command of the Army, investing him with the Oct. 23. Sword of Constable, which had been in abeyance since the execution of St. Pol. They proceeded also, as by one consent, to revoke the exorbitant Grants which Louis had made by alienation of the Royal Domains, and to disband the Swiss mercenaries; and these acts, in which the King's name and sanction were employed, were succeeded by another not less calculated to excite public applause, the disgrace and punishment of the execrable minions who had engrossed favour during the late reign. The immediate charge which brought Oliver *le Dain* and his valet Daniel to the gallows, has been repeated against other objects of popular hatred*; but without deciding upon the truth of the specific accusation, there can be little doubt that both of them had richly earned their fate by unnumbered crimes. The life of Jean Doyat was spared, but he must have coveted the axe or the rope as a relief from torture; after having been publicly whipped, his tongue was bored with a hot iron, one ear was cut off in Paris, the other, after a second whipping, in Montferrand, whence he was removed to perpetual exile†. The Physician Cottier received a milder sentence than his comrades in iniquity, and was allowed to hide himself in banishment, after refunding fifty thousand crowns from his ill-gotten gain.

The States General were then convoked at Tours, in order to obtain some show of legitimate rule. A minute account of the proceedings of this Assembly is given by more than one Modern Historian, from an

* Monstrelet, xi. 283. The accusation was similar to that which forms the plot of *Measure for Measure*, and which in our own History has been advanced against Col. Kirke.

† Henault, 467, attributes to Jean Doyat the conveyance of the French Artillery over the Alps, during the subsequent Italian expedition.

original Manuscript of its Acts * ; but although bursts of popular feeling were occasionally displayed during its sittings, especially in the speeches of Philip Poë, the Deputy from Burgundy, little or no restraint was imposed upon the ascendancy which Anne of Beaujeu found means to establish. The causes of her influence are obscure, for contemporary writers were either unable or unwilling to enter upon investigation of them ; but it is manifest, that although the dignity of President of the Council, which could scarcely be denied to his high rank, was bestowed upon the Duke of Orleans, the chief authority remained in the hands of Anne as guardian of the Royal infant's person †.

After the Coronation, she accordingly removed the young King to Montargis, under a pretext of watching over his health and studies, A. D. 1484. but in reality to wean him from a dangerous intercourse which May 3. Orleans sought to promote by introducing him prematurely to the dissipations of the Court. We need not detail the petty struggles of this minority, in which Louis found support from the Duke of Brittany and his unpopular minister Laudois ; Anne connected herself with the Nobles of that Province, who sought the overthrow of the Favourite, and with the Flemings, always discontented with Maximilian. In the hope of securing the permanent alliance of England, Laudois assisted Richard III., and the aid which Henry VII. in consequence received from the virtual Regent of France, greatly A. D. 1485. contributed to his success at Bosworth Field. The vengeance of the Bretons at length overtook Laudois, who was surrendered by his Master, and dragged, from a cabinet in the Palace in which the trembling Prince had just secreted him, to an ignominious July 14. execution. For awhile the Duke renounced all alliance which might be prejudicial to the interests of Anne, and her activity A. D. 1486. was undividedly directed against Maximilian, who, inflated Feb.— by his recent election as King of the Romans, had attacked Picardy. His success in that Province was of short duration, and when want of money compelled him to abandon the field, the French arms again found employment in Brittany. The weak and fickle Duke had gained a short respite, and the hand of his eldest daughter and heiress (who at that time was only in her tenth year) was a golden bait for the enticement of allies. Anne of Brittany had already been promised to Edward V. when Prince of Wales, but by his murder in 1483, she again became marketable ; and if even we admit that there is not sufficient evidence to prove that she was at that time in the contemplation of the

* By Jean Masselin, Official of the Archbishop of Rouen. It occupies 98 quarto pages in Garnier, x. 82. M. de Sismondi has abstracted it (xiv. 641.) in less than half that number of octavo size.

† The Chronology of events during the minority of Charles VIII. is perplexed and doubtful. Much information relative to it may be found in the *Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, tom. viii. p. 709, and in some notes by M. Lancelot, upon a contemporary Poem in praise of Anne of Beaujeu. Ibid. 386.

Duke of Orleans *, no fact is more established in History than that Alain Sire d'Albret, whose influence in Gascony made his confederation important, notwithstanding his inferiority of rank, Maximilian King of the Romans, and a son of the Viscount Rohan †, were simultaneously amused by secret hopes of marriage with her. The succour promised by Alain was for a while retarded by unexpected opposition in the Angoumois; but Maximilian, by a seasonable re-inforcement of A. D. 1487. 1500 of his best troops, enabled the Count Dunois to relieve Aug. 6. Nantes, which had suffered severely during a six weeks' siege.

When the Sire d'Albret had disengaged himself and appeared with 4000 Gascons in Bretany, the hopes of the insurgents greatly revived. The Court of Duke Francis became the general asylum for discontent, and Commynes himself, as it seems, was prevented from joining the confederacy only by a seasonable imprisonment, which A. D. 1488. although it consigned him for many months to one of the iron Feb.— cages which he has so fearfully described, perhaps contributed to his ultimate safety †. The Royal Army was preparing to invade the rebellious Province, when Anne received intelligence of the demise of the Duke of Bourbon. It was not difficult April — to put aside the legitimate claim of Charles, Cardinal and Archbishop of Lyons, who was contented to resign his right arising from elder birth by a compromise which secured revenue in exchange for dignity; and the Sire and Dame of Beaujeu, as Duke and Duchess of Bourbon, opened the campaign with great increase of power, by despatching to the siege of Chateaubriand Louis de la Trémouille who was devoted to their interests, and who, although scarcely more than four-and-twenty years of age, already gave promise of becoming the most renowned General of his time.

A single action was decisive of the quarrel. The confederation was composed of a motley herd of Bretons, Gascons, Germans, English, and Spaniards, among whom little general bond of union existed; and an open quarrel broke out between the Duke of Orleans and D'Albret, on

* Notwithstanding the opposition of two authorities so powerful as those of M. de Sismondi and the Count Daru, we do not admit that the early attachment of the Duke of Orleans and the future Queen is utterly devoid of grounds, and to be rejected altogether as a Romance. D'Albret was 45 years of age, disgusting in person, and already the father of seven children. These are stronger objections than any which have been advanced against Louis. The reasoning of the Count Daru on this point, strikes us to be especially inconclusive.

† The Sire de Léon killed at the Battle of St. Aubin du Cormier. Both the Viscount of Rohan and the Sire d'Albret were connected with the male line of Bretany, which made a marriage of either of them with Anne important to the peace of the Duchy. Their pretensions are clearly explained by Daru, ii. 109.

‡ At a Bed of Justice held in February, 1488, the Count Dunois was condemned for High Treason, and on default of appearance was sentenced to confiscation. Several minor agents were adjudged to death, and Commynes to ten years' banishment, a sentence probably commuted for imprisonment. It does not appear that the Dukes of Orleans and of Bretany were included in these Trials.

the very night preceding the battle. The former accused the Gascon Chief of a design to assassinate him; D'Albret in return loudly proclaimed that the Duke and the Prince of Orange were meditating desertion. In order to rebut this calumny the more effectually, the illustrious objects

of it took their station on foot, amid the infantry, when the July 27. two armies met on the following morning near St. Aubin du Cormier. About 700 English Archers were headed by Lord Scales, not deputed by their Government, but tendering their services as volunteers; and so highly were these troops renowned, that the Bretons mingled with their ranks, and adopted the badge of the Red Cross in order to impress the French with a false belief of the number of auxiliaries. The allies obtained an advantage in the beginning, and drove back the French van; but La Trémoille was far superior in artillery, which was very skilfully served, and upon which the fate of battles was becoming every day more and more dependent. A false movement made by a German Officer, who hoped to secure his troops from a destructive fire, occasioned an opening in the confederate line, by which the French immediately profited; the cavalry on the wings took to flight, and Lord Scales, the English and the Bretons perished to a man. Nearly 4000 killed remained on the field: D'Albret and the Count of Rieux escaped, but the Duke of Orleans was captured while endeavouring to rally the fugitives, and the Prince of Orange also was discovered among the wounded and compelled to surrender.

La Trémoille, after his victory, mastered Dinant and St. Malo, but the Burghers of Rennes couched their reply to his summons in too firm a tone to permit any hope from an attempt upon their City. By a bloody act of daring, from the responsibility of which it is probable that the Bourbons would have recoiled, he had already freed them from many enemies. On the evening of the Battle of St. Aubin du Cormier, he entertained his chief prisoners at supper, which was passed in hilarity. The Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Orange occupied the seats of honour at table, and at the conclusion of the banquet, two Franciscan Monks received an ominous summons to attend. "Over you, Princes," said La Trémoille, addressing his two most illustrious guests, "my power does not extend; neither would I exercise it, if it did so; but your followers who have broken their allegiance, and have violated Knightly honour, must atone for this Treason with their lives. If any among them have need of a Confessor, let him adjust his conscience forthwith." He remained inexorable to all supplication, and the prisoners, after a brief shrift, were led out to death. The Duke of Orleans was transferred to various places of confinement, in order that he might be kept from intercourse with the young King, who was well inclined to him personally, and the Prince of Orange was immured in the Castle of Angers.

The Breton power was irrecoverably shattered by this signal defeat, and the Bourbons strenuously urged an immediate abolition of the no-

minal independence of the Province, by its annexation to the Crown. When the project had been debated in Council, the Chancellor Gui de Rochefort boldly protested against its legality, and the great Feudatories were little inclined to give hasty sanction to a measure by which the Royal authority would be so greatly enhanced, and which, on some

future occasion, might, perhaps, furnish a dangerous precedent against themselves. A Peace was accordingly negotiated, Aug. 20. in which the Duke, still treating as a Sovereign, consented to Terms which sufficiently spoke his degradation. By the Articles accepted at Sablé Francis II. agreed to dismiss all those partizans whom the King might consider as his own enemies, and never to re-admit them into his service. He promised also not to bestow his daughters in marriage without the King's approval. The States of Bretany were to guarantee these engagements under a penalty of 200,000 crowns, and the French, retaining possession of St. Malo, Fougères, Dinant, and St. Aubin du Cormier, were to evacuate the remainder of the Province.

Scarcely three weeks, however, had elapsed from the signature of the Peace of Sablé, before the death of Duke Francis II. revived all the former anarchy in Bretany. Charles VIII. insisted that the heiress Anne should forbear from assuming the title of Duchess, till the great question of female succession should be decided; and, in order to support this decree, instead of withdrawing his troops, he spread them more widely over the interior. The danger of the young Princess was extreme; discord prevailed among those who had hitherto espoused the cause of her House, and the Sire d'Albret at length becoming convinced that her aversion from his suit was invincible, resolved upon the employment of force in order to obtain her hand. The Viscount of Rohan displayed similar violence for a like end; and her chief foreign ally, Maximilian, was engaged in a perilous dispute with his own rebellious Flemings*. One auxiliary was found among a People always ready to embark in hostility against France, in the person of a Prince whose avarice is described as inducing him to sell War to his subjects from the hope of subsidies, and Peace to his enemies as soon as they agreed to indemnify him from pretended expense†. Henry VII. of England engaged to place at the disposal of Anne, from January to November, a force of not less than 6000, nor more than 10,000 men, whose pay, maintenance, and transport were to be defrayed by the Bretons, while two of their strongest maritime Towns were to be garrisoned by the English, until they were fully reimbursed. Anne promised also that she would not enter into any negotiation for either her marriage or for Peace without the concurrence of Henry.

* The Burghers of Ghent and of Bruges had risen in February, 1488, and had detained Maximilian close prisoner till the following May, after having executed his Ministers in torture, and having frequently threatened his own person. He recovered his liberty by a Treaty, which he violated without scruple.

† Lord Bacon in *Vind.*

The English were tardy in their movements, and their arrival was preceded by that of 2000 Spaniards, despatched by Ferdinand and Isabella (who had consolidated under one Monarchy the two great Kingdoms of the Peninsula) with the hope of recovering Roussillon and Cerdagne. The petty events which ensued are very perplexed and uninteresting; a War of brigandage raged along the Pyrenees, and Bretagne was torn by innumerable Factions, A. D. 1489. and desolated by partizans chiefly avaricious of private gain. Feb. 11. In Flanders, the French suffered some reverses, and the loss of St. Omer, which the adherents of Maximilian surprised, inclined Charles to terminate a contest of which he was heartily wearied, and which threatened to interfere with far more dazzling projects. By a Treaty signed at Frankfort therefore, he abandoned the Flemish insurgents who were no longer of use to him, and he engaged to negotiate with the Bretons on the basis of the Peace of Sablé.

In order to escape the importunity of Alain d'Albret, to which Anne perceived that she must again become exposed, the persecuted Duchess finally resolved to accept a husband not much more adapted to her inclination, but whom she could at least regard without disgust. Every particular of the time and place of her remarkable marriage with Maximilian, is involved in mystery. The Bridegroom at the moment of its celebration, was occupied in the remotest part of Europe; and the acquisition of the Crown of Hungary engaged his attention while his Ambassador Wolfgang de Polhain fulfilled all the duties of proxy, and according to the rude form of German espousals, inserted his leg bare to the knee in the nuptial couch. No further details of the ceremony are known, nor was it till March, 1491, that the Duchess of Bretagne publicly assumed the title of Queen of the Romans*.

The Treaty of Frankfort, however, had not yet been executed in Bretagne. The French were still in possession of its chief fortresses: and funds were wanting for the payment of the English auxiliaries. A. D. 1491. While Maximilian neglected even to avow his Bride, Jan. 2. Alain d'Albret by an odious act of treachery sold Nantes to Charles VIII. Its price was 110,000 crowns, and the restoration of the confiscated Signory of Albret. Charles added a pension of 25,000 livres, as an indemnity for the sovereignty of Bretagne to which the Count pretended; lavished rewards profusely among his followers; and promised, either with an insincerity most detestable, or with a blindness which the event rendered most judicious, to further the wooing of Anne, which D'Albret had not yet relinquished†.

Meantime a revolution, which cannot but excite unmixed astonishment,

* A secret Instrument, in which she bears that title, is dated Dec. 28, 1490.

† He was obliged to content himself in the end with a pension of 6000 livres, for both the Chamber of Accounts at Paris and the Parliament of Toulouse pronounced that the rights which he had affected to cede were altogether invalid.

was preparing ; and from inability either to unravel its secret motives, or to note the stages of its progress, we must be content to give little more than a rapid summary of facts. Charles, who approached his twenty-first year, was perhaps willing to evince by some marked action, that he was no longer under the tutelage of his sister. For that purpose, without any previous consultation, he released the Duke of Orleans from imprisonment, entertained him for many days in the Palace, and distinguished him by proofs of especial favour. The Bourbons discreetly yielded without a struggle, which they foresaw must be unavailing, and loyally and sincerely renounced all further enmity against their brother-in-law.

But an event yet more surprising was at hand. It will be remembered that Charles, during his father's illness, had been solemnly betrothed to Margaret of Austria, the daughter of Maximilian ; who, having been educated in the Court of France, was recognized as Queen of that Kingdom. Anne of Bretany also had been married, during at least twelve months, to a husband whom she had indeed never seen, the father of the Consort of Charles. She was already a Queen, she might reasonably hope ere long to be an Empress. Nevertheless, so urgent was her present destitution, that she agreed to a contract by which she transferred both her hand and her dominions to the King of France, and became his Bride instead of his mother-in-law. Each party Dec. 6. surrendered all separate pretensions upon the Duchy, and one stipulation alone was considered requisite to secure the perpetual union of Bretany with France, namely, that in case the Queen should survive her Consort, she should not re-marry unless either with the future King, or, if that were not possible, with the presumptive heir of the Crown.

This double insult, the abduction of his wife, and the repudiation of his daughter, affected Maximilian far less sensibly than the French had anticipated. Hungary at first continued to engross his ambition, and when he at length applied to a Diet of the Empire, assembled at Coblenz, to revenge his outraged honour, he patiently submitted to its refusal. Henry VII. was forced, against his personal wishes, into a brief demonstration of hostility ; and after his Parliament had granted a large subsidy and had equipped a powerful army, he saw that it was useless to combat the National passion for warfare with A. D. 1492. France. But he purposely commenced the siege of Boulogne, Oct.— upon which town his troops were directed, at a season in which the hardships of a campaign were sure to be increased ; he took early opportunity of showing that the support to be derived from Maximilian was most scanty ; and that the six hundred auxiliary horse which had already been despatched from St. Omer comprised the entire force at the disposal of the King of the Romans ; above all, he was opportunely abandoned by allies, whose perseverance might have proved embarrassing. Ferdinand and Isabella had finally triumphed over the

Moorish Kingdom of Grenada, and Charles VIII., perceiving that they might now direct their whole force upon the Provinces which he disputed in the Pyrenees, made a merit of necessity by a voluntary cession.

He relinquished his claim to the 200,000 crowns advanced A. D. 1492 by his father, and he permitted Spanish garrisons to re-
Sept. — occupy Cerdagne and Rousillon, stipulating at the same time by a Treaty, ultimately signed at Barcelona, that he
A. D. 1493. should receive active assistance against the English and Maximilian, if they continued in warfare. Henry VII.,

who was well aware of the progress of this negotiation, represented to his Army that it was about to be exposed to danger from which he saw no means of escape, and that Charles was far from being reluctant to treat on favourable terms. The difficulties already encountered before Boulogne had cooled the first effervescence of military ardour; and the Captains, who but a few weeks before panted for glory, now unanimously signed a *Request* and *Supplication* that

Nov. 3. their King would accept Peace. The Treaty concluded at

• Etâples had probably been arranged long before, and was more calculated to gratify the avarice than to increase the honour of the chief negotiator. It was in truth a simple bargain for money, in which Charles acknowledged that his Queen and himself were indebted to England, to the amount of 745,000 crowns of Gold, which he engaged to discharge in fifteen years by annual payments of 50,000 crowns*.

Maximilian was thus left alone, and a few minor successes won by his Lieutenants, and the recovery of the town of Arras by

Nov. 4. an act of unprecedented daring†, were by no means sufficient compensations for the dissolution of the League upon which he had relied for support. He listened therefore eagerly to the first overtures made by Charles; and the restoration of his daughter Margaret and of the Provinces which were to have formed her portion as Queen of France were the chief conditions for which he

A. D. 1493. stipulated in the Treaty of Senlis. The young Archduchess

May 26. was conducted to her Parent at Valenciennes with a scrupulous attention to ceremony. In 1497 she became the Bride of John, Infante of Spain, only son of Ferdinand and Isabella, who died shortly after their marriage, and in 1501 she bestowed her hand upon Philibert II., Duke of Savoy, whom also she survived. She died in 1530, after having governed the Netherlands for many years, during her father's lifetime, with much credit for prudence, and for a devout abhorrence of the infant Reformation‡.

* 620,000 crowns due from Brittany; 125,000 from France for arrears of pension.

† A few Bourgeois attached to the House of Burgundy found means to obtain the keys of the City gates and to admit a German force by night.

‡ She was nearly shipwrecked during her voyage to Spain, and an impromptu

Thus disembarrassed from the many enemies by whom he had hitherto been beset against his will, Charles was at full liberty to indulge his long-cherished inclination, by awakening new foes in a widely-different quarter. The success attendant upon the very remarkable expedition, the fortunes of which we are now about to relate, was obtained in defiance of all human calculation; and if the King who projected and led the triumphant march to Naples and back again, had been more largely indebted to Nature for personal accomplishments, we are sufficiently warned by the whole tenor of History that neither the want of just motives for his aggression, nor of permanent result from his conquest, would have debarred him from ranking among Heroes. But, unhappily for his fame, Charles in person bore little resemblance to the Paladins whom he wished to mimic; and it is very difficult to connect chivalrous associations with a disproportioned head sunk upon a short neck, with limbs clumsily adjusted to the body, with thin lips, and with an exorbitant length of nose. Such is the portrait of Charles VIII., which contemporaries have presented to us; and no one has ever read the often-told history of his Italian glory without feeling surprised, and perhaps somewhat mortified, by the unsuitableness of the instrument by which it was achieved*.

The claims of the second House of Anjou upon the throne of Naples, however unjustly founded and unsuccessfully urged, had been considered worthy of purchase from Charles of Maine and his niece Margaret by a not less crafty Politician than Louis XI.; and if we once admit that Joanna possessed the right of transferring her Crown by the adoption of an heir, there does not seem to be any good reason why those heirs in another generation might not exercise a similar right upon receipt of what they considered adequate compensation. The question of *right*, however, when Kingdoms are the stake played for, soon becomes merged in that of *power*; and much more idle pretexts have been advanced for conquest than those upon which Charles VIII. rested his cause when Lodovico Sforza invited him to Italy†.

Lodovico the More, as he is called, perhaps from some fancied mark of a mulberry‡ (*moro*), younger son of Francesco Sforza, had long ad-

epitaph, attributed to her during the tempest, is a proof of her courage and of her keen sensibility to the hazards which she had encountered.

*Ci gist Margot, la gente Demoiselle,
Qui eût deux maris et si mourût Pucelle.*

Louis XII., as we shall perceive hereafter, had her in contemplation for his third wife.

* If any reasonable suspicion attaches to the portrait of Charles VIII. as drawn by Guicciardini, I. i. 71, that of Philip de Commines must be accepted without scruple, and it is scarcely more favourable.

† The claims of the House of Anjou are ably considered at the commencement of the xxixth Book of Gianpone.

‡ Guicciardini, lib. iii. vol. i. p. 239 (ed. Freiburg, 1775), refers the title both to his complexion and to his astuteness. His device was a White Mulberry Tree, "the wisest of plants," which neither buds nor blossoms till all danger of being nipped by winter has passed away.

ministered the government of Milan*. His weak nephew, Giovanni Galeazzo, had indeed obtained majority, but even at twenty-five years of age, both the vices and the incapacity of this legitimate Prince rendered him unfit for that emancipation from guardianship which his wife Isabella of Aragon was perpetually soliciting. Isabella was a granddaughter of Ferdinand I. †, who during a long reign had defied the Angevin pretensions to Naples. At her request the Ambassador of that King summoned the More to surrender his usurped authority, and the Regent of Milan, in order to strengthen himself by foreign connexion, then renewed with Charles VIII. an alliance which he had before contracted with Louis XI. The native Powers, as he well knew, would for the most part readily combine for his overthrow. Florence, swayed by Piero of Medici, who inherited the dignity but not the talents of his illustrious father Lorenzo, was in strict union with Naples. Sienna and Lucca were at the control of their respective paramount neighbours. Roderic Borgia, who held the Keys under the title of Alexander VI., had obtained a natural daughter of Alfonso, the heir of Ferdinand, in marriage for his son Francesco ‡. The dracod Republic of Venice had never forgiven the Family of Sforza for appropriating the sovereignty of Lombardy, which itself had coveted. The More expected that Charles, like his Angevin predecessor, would despatch a few thousand men to the invasion of Naples, and, by thus creating a diversion, would fully occupy Ferdinand in the defence of his own Crown. But Charles, although profoundly ignorant of more grave and useful Literature, had nurtured Imagination by the diligent perusal of Romance. Flatterers were at hand ever prompt to feed a belief that he might revive the legendary glories of Charlemagne; and in the acquisition of Naples, which others supposed to be the goal of his ambition, he himself saw only the commencement of a brilliant career, to be crowned by the possession of Constantinople and the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre.

Charles, indeed, appears to have thought that Victory was to be achieved by a vault into the saddle; but he had Counsellors about him

* *Perseverava nel governo, non come tutore o governatore, ma da titolo di Duce di Milano in fuori, con tutte le dimostrazioni e azioni da Principe.* Guicc., lib. i. vol. i. 4. On the marriage of his niece Bianca with Maximilian in 1493, he obtained investiture of Milan as fourth, not as seventh Duke, thus impugning the legitimate succession of his father, of his elder brother, and of his nephew. Id. lib. i. vol. i. 41. The Chancellor of the Empire declared that it was imperative on an Emperor to refuse investiture to a usurper, and therefore that Maximilian had hitherto declined all overtures made by Lodovico in favour of his nephew. The More, however, until the death of Giovanni Galeazzo, does not appear to have assumed a higher title than that of Duke of Bari. M. de Sismondi, *Rep. Ital.* xiii. 83.

† She is represented as *giovane di virile spirito* by Guicciardini (I. i. 16), who informs us in another place that the More was enamoured of her, and endeavoured by love-potions to impede her marriage with his nephew. I. i. 46.

‡ Called also Godfrey. Alexander VI. was the first Pope who had the shamelessness or the honesty to acknowledge his children. His predecessors always spoke of *nipoti*, but he at once *gli chiamava e mostrava a tutto il monde come figliuoli.* Guicc. I. i. 16.

who used greater precaution. The replies given to Envoys despatched to sound the chief Italian Governments afforded little encouragement. Venice and Florence wrapped themselves in an evasive neutrality; and, in the latter City, the hostile feeling of the Medici Faction was openly displayed. Piero, indeed, resorted to an unworthy stratagem, which derives little excuse from the precedent of Louis XI. He concealed the French Ambassador in a chamber of his Palace, and then artfully induced the Envoy of Sforza to admit that his Master had invited Charles into Italy, solely to assist his own temporary views, and that he would throw him off immediately after his purpose should be effected*. The Pope boldly protested that none but himself possessed authority to decide in any quarrel concerning Naples, a Fief of the Holy See; and as a former judgment of the Apostolic Chamber had confirmed the investiture of the House of Aragon, it was little likely that this Decree should now be reversed. Ferdinand prepared for resistance with vigour, and at the same time made overtures to the More, which might have produced an amicable result; but a stroke of apoplexy suddenly terminated his life, while they were yet pending, and A. D. 1494. Alfonso II., who succeeded, being of more fiery temper, Jan. 25. rejected all negotiation, and at once proceeded to close the chief entrances through which attack was to be apprehended. For that purpose he stationed a powerful Fleet at Leghorn, in order to intercept any attempt by Sea; he confided the passage of the Apennines to Piero of Medici; and his main Army, under his son Ferdinand Duke of Calabria, was assembled to defend Romagna and the March of Ancona, by which route the former Angevin invasion had been conducted. The force with which Charles in person broke up from Lyons, where he had consumed much valuable time and a great Aug. —. portion of treasure in very idle and licentious amusements, consisted of 3600 men-at-arms, 20,000 native infantry, 8000 Swiss mercenaries, and a very formidable park of artillery. After having crossed Mount Genève† (one of the many reputed Sept. 5. passages of Annibal), and having rested only a few hours at Turin, he advanced to Asti, in which town, belonging to the Duke of Orleans‡, Lodovico Sforza received him with a train of Italian Beauties, whose blandishments well nigh frustrated the expedition almost in its outset. At Turin and at Casale, Charles had replenished his military chest by money borrowed upon jewels which his allies, the Princesses Regent of Savoy and of Montferrat, had exhibited, with more ostentation than prudence, in order to grace his public entry, and upon each of these unexpected prizes he raised 12,000 ducats. His excesses at Asti reduced him to the very brink of the grave, and there is reasonable ground

* Guicciardini, I. i. 66, where we are told in the margin that *Piero de' Medici fa in bel modo sentir al' Oratore Francese i segreti di Lodovico Sforza.*

† Guicciardini, I. i. 71.

‡ Id. I. i. 31.

for believing that the fatal effects of that hideous malady, the name of which has since become connected as a reproach with France, were then first manifested in Europe. Charles wavered and talked of return; but the crafty More shamed him out of this infirmity of purpose, and bound him by a vow not to desist from his enterprise till he should at least have entered the gates of Rome, which might already be considered opened by the declaration of the Colonna Faction in his favour.

Some blood indeed had already been spilled. The Duke of Orleans, who was proceeding by Genoa, had disembarked near Rap-

Sept. 8. palle, where a more serious combat than any to which the Cisalpines had lately been accustomed, terminated in the slaughter of above 100 men*. The Italian troops were brave and skilful, but the battles in which they had hitherto been engaged were but a mimicry of War. The Knight and his horse, cased alike in complete steel, were seldom even wounded; and the former, if dismounted, surrendered with certainty of obtaining quarter, and of recovering liberty on the payment of an easy ransom. On the contrary, the French, and much more the Swiss infantry, never scrupled to despatch a fallen enemy if he were likely to prove burdensome, and the price extorted by them for the release of prisoners seemed not to have any other measure than their own poverty. The rapid and almost unopposed success of the invaders, in their following march, must in some measure be ascribed to the terror inspired by their ferocity in the opening skirmishes. "No people," says Commynes, "is so jealous and covetous as the Italians;" a charge which, in other and more true words, may be rendered, that they are keenly sensitive respecting the honour of their women, and by no means careless of the rights of property. That in the latter they were injured is not denied; "as touching their women, they belied us, but the rest was not altogether untrue†."

Charles protracted his stay at Asti till the end of the first week in October, and he then recommenced his course, although

Oct. 6. sickness prevented the Duke of Orleans from accompanying the Army. When he entered Pavia‡, Isabella of Aragon

* *Restando parte nel combattere, parte nel fuggire; morti di loro più di cento uomini; uccisione senza dubbio non piccola secondo le maniere del guerreggiare le quali a quel tempo in Italia si esercitavano.* Guicc. d. i. 73. The first announcement which Charles received of the Battle of Rapalle informed him that his armament had been defeated at sea. A second messenger speedily contradicted this news by stating that the Duke of Orleans had taken 40,000 prisoners; that the number of the enemy slain was too great to be estimated; that a very few had fled to the mountains; and that their Commander, Prince Frederic, was dead through fear. Monstrelet, xi. c. 44.

† Monstrelet, c. 11.

‡ Some alarm appears to have been excited by a proposal to leave Charles in the Town instead of the Citadel of Pavia. Lodovico, finding that the guards were reinforced, and that the King insisted upon removal to the Citadel, expressed indignation, so that it was plain their friendship would not be of long endurance. Id. c. 10.

threw herself at his feet, and humbly besought him to have mercy upon her father and her brother. "She was young and beautiful," says Commynes (whose insinuation, if this be one, is not free from obscurity), "and she would perhaps have succeeded better if she had solicited for herself and for her husband." Giovanni Galeazzo, who passed a life of seclusion and of imbecility in the Citadel of Pavia, died within a few days after an interview which the King of France, his Cousin german*, could not decently avoid.

The King is described as having been moved to tears "without any dissembling†" by this intelligence. Vehement suspicion of poison attached to Lodovico, who hastened back to Milan in order to set aside the claim of an infant son of his late nephew, and to obtain his own recognition as Duke. The disturbed state of Italy required the administration of a vigorous hand, so that the Usurper accomplished his object without difficulty. He pretended indeed that some sacrifice of his feelings was necessary, and that he yielded to an act of private injustice induced by an overpowering consideration for the public weal. Having exhibited this necessary display of humility and reluctance before the Council, he accepted their election, and assumed the insignia of Ducal power, completing his duplicity by a secret protest that he claimed only under investiture from the Emperor‡. The French by no means dissembled their disgust; they unsparingly condemned this perfidious attainment of sovereignty, and although they continued to traverse the dominions of the More as allies, it was manifest that reliance was no longer placed by them on his professions.

At Pontremoli, Charles took leave of the Milanese dominions, and his march lay through a narrow strip of rich country, flanked on one side by the Apennines, on the other by the Mediterranean. This tract, the *Lunigiana*, is productive of the Olive and the Vine, but utterly destitute of grain. In many spots the narrowness of some mountain-pass, or the extent of marsh to be penetrated only on a causeway, gives entire mastery even to a petty fortress if it happens to overhang the path; and little military skill is required to entangle, to detain, and to annihilate a superior hostile force while threading this labyrinth. But even that little was wanting in Piero de' Medici. He appears to have been overwhelmed with terror at the savage butchery of two Florentine detachments which the French surprised at Fiuzzano and at Sarzana; and instead of interposing the force with which he had been intrusted for the defence of the Capital of Tuscany, he tamely delivered up his garrisons, and hastened

* Bonne, mother of Giovanni Galeazzo, and Charlotte mother of Charles VIII., were sisters. Guicciardini speaks unfavourably of the *imprudenza e impudici costumi* of the former. i. i. 4.

† Monstrelet, xi. 46.

‡ Guicciardini, i. i. 81.

back to advise surrender. The Florentines indignantly spurned the suggestion, and so fierce was the tone assumed by the Populace, that

Piero thought it discreet to seek personal safety, first at
 Nov. 8. Bologna, and afterwards more remotely at Venice. In the latter City he became for a time reduced to utter destitution, and he complained to Commynes of having been refused credit by one of his former Faction for the paltry sum of 100 ducats, which he solicited to provide clothing for his brother and himself. Yet a single day's plunder of his Palace in Florence had amounted to upwards of 100,000 crowns*.

Charles, unacquainted with the real state of feeling which his approach excited, conceived that absence of resistance implied voluntary submission, and mistook the anxiety with which the Pisans† threw off the yoke of Florence for eagerness to adopt that of France.

Nov. 17. Indulging this delusion, he entered Florence with great military splendour and with almost triumphal pomp, ten days after the flight of Piero. It was from ignorance rather than from presumption that he inquired, in reply to the complimentary address of the Governor Capponi, whether he should issue ordinances in his own name, or in that of the Medici; or whether, instead of either, he should annex a Committee of French Lawyers to the existing Signory? Nothing could be more unexpected than this demand. The Florentines had long panted to overthrow the despotism of the single family to which they had been subjected for more than half a century, and the preaching of an Enthusiast, Savonarola, to whom we shall presently have occasion to advert more fully, persuaded them that the King of France was designed by Providence for their deliverance, and that his invasion was to be the signal of freedom. "If it be indeed so," said the astonished but undaunted Governor, and, while he spoke, he rent into shreds the parchment of instructions offered to him, "sound your trumpets, and we will ring our Bells‡." The French Council perceived and hastened to repair the danger to which the King was exposed by this indiscretion; and the Florentines, although prepared to encounter any suffering in preference to an abandonment of independence, were by no means anxious blindly to encounter a struggle which they might avert by reasonable compromise. They agreed therefore to furnish a subsidy of 120,000 florins, at three instalments, and to permit Charles to retain, till the close of his expedition, the fortresses which Piero de' Medici had too hastily surrendered.

* Commynes, c. 13.

† Guicciardini, i. i. 92. Monstrelet, xi. 49.

‡ Guicciardini, i. i. 98. Capponi met with a fate little deserving his eminent qualities. He was shot through the head by a musket ball in an obscure skirmish in 1496. Guicc. i. iii. 270.

A Treaty to that effect was published, and the Royal army continuing to advance by Sienna, Montefiascone, Viterbo, and Nepi, united itself under the walls of Rome with another division, Nov. 28. which, having descended by St. Bernard and the Simplon, had penetrated Romagna, under Everard d'Aubigny, of the Scottish House of Stuart. Prince Ferdinand of Naples retired before him, and quitted Rome by the Gate of San Sebastiano at the moment in which the French entered that of del Popolo*. The language employed by Charles towards the Pontiff wore all the decency of profound submission. He had full power to force an entry if he so pleased, and he by no means dissembled his consciousness of possessing such an ability; but he was desirous, as he stated, not to fail in that personal reverence which was due to the Holy See from every Monarch in Christendom, and which his predecessors, the eldest sons of the Church, had always been foremost in tendering. Alexander had taken up his abode in the Castle of St. Angelo, when the French army entered the Eternal City towards nightfall and partly by torchlight, with a display of military show equal to that which had marked its recent occupation of Florence. The King marched at its head, in complete armour, and with his lance in the rest. Upon the very detailed account which Paulus Jovius has given of this spectacle† we need not pause, and it may be sufficient to say that he (who probably was an eye-witness) appears to have been deeply impressed by a remnant of Barbarism distinguishing the French Cavalry at that time, who cropped the manes‡ and the ears of their horses from a belief that this mutilation gave the animals a fiercer appearance. He was astonished also at the dexterity and rapidity with which their field-artillery was manœuvred. The park consisted in all of more than thirty-six pieces on carriages§; the heaviest cannon were eight feet long, and admitted a ball equal in size to a man's head; they were mounted on four wheels, and could be driven on tolerably level ground with a speed fully equal to that of light Cavalry. Besides these, was ordnance of greater length and smaller bore (culverins and falcons), and some which carried bullets not bigger than an orange. It is evident, even from this succinct and imperfect description, that the French had cultivated the Science of Gunnery with not a little diligence and apparently with no mean success||.

Peace was negotiated with Alexander in ten days, and was ratified at the Vatican, where Charles and his chief Nobles performed the customary humiliating ceremonies, and received from the Sovereign at whose feet they were personally

A. D. 1495.

Jan. 11.

* Guicciardini, i. i. 104. Giannone, tom. iii. lib. xxix. p. 501. † Lib. ii. f. 24.

‡ *Jubis auribusque desecatis*, id. *ibid.*, inadvertently rendered by M. de Sismondi, *Rep. It.* xii. 184—*on leur avoit coupé la queue et les oreilles*.

§ *Tormenta curulia supra triginta sex*. P. Jovius, *ut supra*.

|| Guicciardini, i. i. 75, expresses high admiration of the French improvements in artillery.

abased substantial testimonies of non-resistance. The Pope placed Cività Vecchia, Terracina, and Spoleto at the disposal of the French while they remained in Italy; he named his son, Cæsar, Legate*; he pardoned all his subjects who had espoused the cause of the invaders, and he admitted two French Ecclesiastics to the purple†.

Our estimate of the progress of the human mind at any given period is to be formed quite as correctly, if not more so, upon a knowledge of prevalent follies as on that of boasted wisdom; and the Italians do not appear to have been less deeply impregnated with superstition during this invasion by the Gauls fifteen hundred years after our Saviour's birth than they were at the first inroad of the same People about four Centuries before that Æra. Livy has not recounted more legendary prognostics of the advance of Brennus than are related of that of Charles. Astrologers babbled of strange changes or rare accidents about to be; Three Suns were visible during a cloudy midnight in Puglia; at Arezzo, the Heavens swarmed with squadrons of cavalry completely armed, mounted on gigantic horses, and marshalled under drum and trumpet; Statues sweated; monstrous births announced a derangement of both human and bestial nature; and surprise was afterwards expressed that a Comet, the long-accredited harbinger of Fate to Nations, should alone be lacking among so many less ordinary Prodigies‡.

That a strong Party existed at Naples in the French interest, and anxious to work upon the popular mind by terror, cannot be doubted; and this recollection may perhaps furnish a key to at least one of the marvels recounted, which need not therefore be sceptically neglected as altogether incredible. It was said that a certain Priest of good repute had more than once been visited in his dreams by St. Cataldo, a Prelate who had held the Bishopric of Taranto, a thousand years before, with great reputation for holiness, and whom the inhabitants of his town still venerated as their patron. The object of these nightly warnings was to disclose the spot in which a Manuscript was concealed, written by St. Cataldo's own hand, and containing revelations as to the existing state of Politics, which the defunct Bishop wished to be laid before the King. The Priest, however, disregarded or forgot his dreams; and the Saint, thinking that an absolute vision might prove more efficacious than an incidental admonition during slumber, appeared before his waking senses one morning while he was alone at matins, and denounced

* Bastards were excluded from the College of Cardinals; but false witnesses had been procured by which Cæsar Borgia was declared to be the son of a Roman Citizen. Guicciardini, i. i. 47.

† Briçonnet, Bishop of St. Malo, and Philip of Luxemburg, Bishop of Mans. Commynes, c. 19. Briçonnet was originally a Merchant, and then Farmer-General, i. e. Superintendent of Finances, in Languedoc; whence he is frequently described as the General. He was married, and obtained the Sees of Meaux and of Lohévi for two sons who served him as Deacon and Subdeacon. Daru, *Hist. de Venise*, iii. 243.

‡ Guicciardini, i. i. 67.

a heavy punishment unless the book should be disinterred and carried to the King on the following day. A procession was accordingly made to the spot signified, and a roll, wrapped in lead and bearing marks of very remote antiquity, was there found containing signs of woes and lamentations, and prophecies of the downfall of the Kingdom. The Manuscript was entitled *The Truth with its secret counsel*, "and there were only three persons besides the King who saw it, for immediately after he had read it he threw it into the fire*."

The reign of the deceased Ferdinand had been oppressive, but his son and successor, Alfonso II., is described as a tyrant whose evil qualities were unredeemed by even the equivocal virtue of personal courage†; and many acts of cruelty, of injustice, of perfidy, and of violence, must have thronged upon his recollection and awakened his remorse during a season of disaster. When to this appalling consciousness of crime was added the fearful jugglery of Ghosts and Visions which he had neither sagacity to detect nor courage to defy, we can be little surprised that the pillow of the tyrant became disturbed. It was rumoured (says Guicciardini‡, with a becoming caution which leaves his own wiser opinion indisputable) if indeed we must not altogether despise such relations, that the Spirit of the late King Ferdinand had appeared on three or four nights to James, the Head Surgeon of the Court, and had urged him, first with entreaty, afterwards with menace, to announce to Alfonso that he should not any longer resist the King of France, for that the Aragonese dynasty was at an end. Many enormities, it was added, had gradually conspired to provoke this judicial sentence from Heaven; but the one which the King would most forcibly call to mind was an act which he had perpetrated in the Church of St. Leonard in Chiaia on his return from Pozzuoli. It was believed that Alfonso had privately put to death four-and-twenty Barons who had for many years been detained prisoners in the Convent thus mysteriously named. Be this as it may, the King, either stung by bitterness of heart or desperate of support from his subjects, resolved to abdicate in favour of Jan. 23. his son Ferdinand. "Do you not hear them?" was the wretched man's unceasing question. "The French are coming; the very trees and stones cry out France§." He hastily embarked all the treasure on which he could lay hand, and set sail with four galleys for Mazara, a Fief of Sicily, which he held under the Crown of Aragon. In this seclusion he lived during ten months, devoted to penance and mortification, and died after long martyrdom to the agonies of a cruel disease||.

* Commines, c. 17. Alexander ab Alexandro, *Geniales Dies*, lib. iii. c. 15.

† The language of Commines relative to Alfonso is unusually strong. *Nul homme n'a esté plus cruel, mauvais, ni vicieux, infect, ne plus gourmand que lui.* c. 17.

‡ I. i. 107. § Commines, c. 17.

|| Id., ibid. Giannone, lib. xxix. tom. iii. p. 503.

Charles received the news of this abdication at the moment at which he was quitting Rome; and the retirement of the new King Ferdinand upon his Capital, in order to mount the vacant Throne, rendered his advance almost unopposed. The route which he took by Ceperano and Aquino is more distant from the Sea than that ordinarily followed. On his arrival at Velletri, the Spanish Ambassador, Fonseca, who accompanied his Court, presented a strong remonstrance against the invasion of Naples, and stated that Ferdinand and Isabella had consented to Peace solely from a belief that Charles was about to direct his arms against the Turks. The announcement was received disdainfully by the Nobles present at this audience; and so highly was Fonseca irritated by their words and demeanour, that he tore in pieces before the King's eyes the Treaty which had been signed between France and Spain, and threatened two Spanish gentlemen in the service of Charles with the penalties of Treason unless they should abandon their commissions. It was at that moment also that the Cardinal of Valenza fled the Camp, and the hostility of the Pope became undissembled.

Only two fortresses, however, that of Monte-Fortino near Palestrina*, and of Monte Giovanni not far from Aquino, attempted resistance, and the inhabitants of the villages which had fled to them for protection, as well as the garrisons themselves, were ruthlessly put to the sword after their storm. Not less hatred than terror was excited by this savage military execution, which in its immediate effect, however, was useful to the French. It led to the abandonment of a strong defile in which Ferdinand had concentrated his troops at St^o. Germano, and to their tumultuary retreat upon Capua.

In that City, covered in front by the Voltorno, a river too deep to be fordable, and the bridges over which had been carefully destroyed, Ferdinand might perhaps have maintained himself successfully, if the good faith of his officers had at all equalled his own courage. But the unruly populace of Naples had already manifested symptoms of revolt; and Ferdinand was sufficiently acquainted with the fickleness of their disposition to know how greatly his own presence might contribute to suppress sedition in its outset. For that purpose, he left the command with Gianjacopo Trivulzio, a noble Milanese adventurer and Exile, who, it is supposed, speculated upon the chance of obtaining the Crown of his native Duchy as a reward from the Party in whom he believed its disposal would ultimately be vested†. The service of himself and his followers which Trivulzio offered to Charles was immediately accepted; and Ferdinand on his return had the mortification of finding that the lapse of a few hours had dissolved his army. He rode within two miles of his former quarters before he learned that part of his troops was in-

* Gommies extenuates the first of these cruelties by saying that the village had revolted, but even this futile excuse is not advanced for the similar massacre at Monte Giovanni, c. 19.

† Guicciardini, i. i. 112.

creasing the ranks of his enemy; that the more faithful had disbanded, and had retired among the mountains with Virginio Orsini and the Count Pitigliano*; and that the French standard was already waving on the ramparts of Capua.

It was not without difficulty that he regained Naples, in which Metropolis the temper of the inhabitants was unequivocally displayed by the plundering of the Royal stables. Hopeless of support from his own subjects, and perceiving, as he imagined, signs of disaffection among the 500 German mercenaries by whom Castel Nuovo was garrisoned, he opened before the latter with his own hands some of the rich Cabinets in which his treasure was contained. While each man was securing to his own use as much of the booty as he could Feb. 21. appropriate, the Prince gained the harbour by a postern; manned about twenty galleys, in which he embarked with his uncle Frederic, the aged Queen the widow of his grandfather, his aunt Joanna, and their respective equipages; and, in order to escape pursuit, having disabled such vessels as he could not occupy, he weighed anchor for the volcanic rock of Ischia, about seven leagues distant. As he watched the receding towers of Naples, he repeated with a loud voice a verse of the CXXVIIth Psalm, "Except the Lord keep the City, the Watchman waketh but in vain." But his perils had not yet ended: the Governor of Ischia refused him admission to that Island if accompanied by more than a single attendant; and it was not until the King had laid his hand upon his sword, and had menaced instant death, that he succeeded in obtaining entrance†.

Charles occupied Naples in triumph on the day after the withdrawal of his competitor. So rapid had been his progress, that, notwithstanding much time consumed in pleasure, only Feb. 22. "four months and nineteen days had elapsed since his departure from Asti. An ambassador would have been almost as long in journeying thither." The Milanese Historian, Corio, indeed relates a popular belief that in decision he rode a mule and used wooden spurs, a notion which seems to have arisen from a *mot* of Alexander VI., who, in order to describe the peaceful advance of the invaders, used to say that they came with wooden spurs, and harbingers carrying chalk in their hands to mark out their lodgings‡. The French were received by the acclamation of a populace drunk with the fumes of Revolution and idly imagining that any change must be improvement. Nor was it the Metropolis only which declared in their favour, and the Historian has but an easy debt to discharge when he enumerates the few towns which

* Who were afterwards attacked and taken prisoners at Nola.

† Guicciardini, i. i. 116. Paulus Jovius, f. 30, says that the guards of the Governor (Justus) were panic-stricken by the superhuman light which always in all fortunes shines forth from the eyes of a King!

‡ Commynes, c. 17, from whom we derive this anecdote, mentions the wooden spurs as a proverbial expression.

remained faithful to their exiled Prince. In Puglia, Brindisi, and Gallipoli; in Calabria, Reggio continued inviolably firm; and, after a few days of apostasy*, Turpia and Manzia also returned to their former allegiance. Both the Castles in Naples itself (the modern building of St. Elmo without the walls did not yet exist) held out for a few days; but their short defence was perhaps concerted in order to save the appearance of direct treachery; and certainly was not protracted beyond the term which military etiquette demanded. Charles, we are told, repaired to the batteries after he had heard Mass and had partaken of dinner, in order to amuse himself with the siege. On the surrender

March 3. of Castel Nuovo†, D'Avalos, Marquess of Pescara and uncle to the fugitive King, with such of his followers as he could still command, determined to share the fortunes of his abdicated Master, and, as Ischia no longer afforded sure protection, Ferdinand

March 8. removed to Sicily. The French, meantime, after subduing Castel del Uovo, which held out five days longer, were engaged in festivities; and to this unlimited indulgence in pleasure has been attributed the rapid decline of their first ascendancy, which may more correctly be assigned to the inadequate means they possessed for its maintenance, to the powerful combination by which it was menaced, and to the revulsion which sooner or later is necessarily consequent upon every great Political movement.

Little blame surely can attach to the youthful conqueror for seeking relaxation in the amusements befitting his time of life and rank, in Justings and Tournaments; for visiting the chief objects of curiosity in which the neighbourhood abounds; for inspecting the natural phenomena of Posilippo, Solfaterra, and the Grotto del Cane; or for gazing with awe and ignorance, which he shared in common with the wisest of his times, over the yet undetected juggle of the congelation of the Blood of St. Januarius. His Coronation exhibited great pomp;

May 12. and it was remarked as ominous of his future intentions that he affected an Oriental more than a European costume in his robes, and that he adopted the Imperial style of Charles Cæsar Augustus‡. Among other acts of Royalty, he officiated at the Maundy supper, he repeatedly touched for the Evil, and he coined money; and, during his short reign, the Neapolitans were substantially indebted to him for the remission of annual imposts amounting to 200,000 ducats§. Nevertheless, want of urbanity among the French became a subject of general complaint. The native Barons were deprived of personal intercourse with their Sovereign, and found difficulty in obtaining audience. No distinction was made between the opponents and the partizans of the Aragonese dynasty; or if any such difference were shown, it was in favour of the latter, in the hope of conciliating their future good will||. Every

* Guicciardini, i. ii. 136.

† Monstrelet, xii. c. 1.

‡ Id. c. 2.

§ Guicciardini, i. ii. 141.

|| Communes, c. 20.

man (as is the case in every Revolution) could bring forward some service which he had afforded to the State, and which remained unrequited; for rewards, it was said, had been confined solely to the French, and the high offices and the Grants of domain had been distributed as prizes among the conquerors. The few Neapolitans who had laboured for the overthrow of the late Government from a disinterested hope of ameliorating the condition of their Country were perhaps silent; the many who had been disappointed in views of private rapacity expressed clamorous discontent. In this temper of the public mind, it was utterly impossible that Charles should pursue the visionary designs upon Greece which he had originally contemplated; and a League, which was constructed in the North of the Peninsula, so far aggravated his peril, as to render even his safe return to France (the only termination for which he now durst hope) an enterprise of considerable difficulty.

The reasons for the change of policy which Lodovico Sforza had adopted, and which placed Charles in this great jeopardy, are sufficiently obvious. The Duke of Milan, even when inviting the French into Italy, by no means sought to establish their independence in Naples; but looked only to their affording him some counterbalance against the pressure of the Aragonese. The unexpected and complete triumph of Charles had substituted a far more dangerous Government in the room of that which had been expelled; and exclusively of the control to which the More might be forced to submit by a permanent French dynasty, the very existence of his usurped Crown was threatened by the Duke of Orleans, who retained command of an army in Lombardy, and who was prepared to assert the claims of his House upon the Duchy of Milan, derived from the marriage of his grandfather with Valentina Visconte. Trivulzio, upon whom Charles now reposed intimate confidence, was Sforza's avowed and mortal foe, proscribed as a Rebel from Milan; and the Principality of Taranto, which had been promised to the More as a reward, was still detained from him without sufficient pretext for delay.

Among the other Confederates, the King of Spain felt a very natural anxiety for the security of his own Sicilian dominions, and was indignant at the overthrow of Ferdinand *. The restlessness of the Emperor Maximilian always prompted him to any new enterprise, especially if it afforded hope of gratifying the hatred which it was little likely he should ever cordially suppress against the French as a nation, or against Charles himself personally; and the cautious Signory of Venice, after long dissimulation and temporizing, was now sufficiently alarmed by the conquest of Naples, to share openly in a coalition which promised to assemble 40,000 men on the Lombard borders of Italy, in order to intercept all communication between the King of France and his native dominions. When Charles, apprized of his peril, determined upon retreat, he allotted the conquered territory to different Commanders, nominating as his Lieu-

* His illegitimate Cousin.

tenant Gilbert de Bourbon, Count of Montpensier, an Officer who appears to have had few recommendations for the post beyond those of family connexion and of merely physical courage. "He was a valiant and hardy Knight," says Commines, "but of no great sense, and so careless that he kept his bed every day till noon *." Ferdinand had already crossed with a few troops from Sicily to Calabria, and a Ve-

May 20. netian armament was hovering off the coast of Puglia †; but Charles wisely disregarded these attempts at diversion, and marched at once upon Rome. Half his army was necessary for the occupation of the Neapolitan conquest, and the force which accompanied him amounted only to 7000 mercenaries, and about 1500 gentlemen, with which little band he was to traverse more than two-thirds of the Peninsula, and perhaps to fight his way through an army sixfold exceeding his numbers, whenever he should arrive in the North. The Pope on his approach fled first to Orvieto, and then to Perugia, with the intention of making Venice his last asylum in case of necessity.

Charles halted only ten days in Rome, and pursuing his course through Sienna, he there gave audience to Philip de Commines, who had been Ambassador in Venice during the last eight months. The veteran diplomatist more clearly foresaw the gathering tempest than did his Master, who, partaking the light spirit of his youthful followers, treated the threats of the Signory with disdain, and asked, "somewhat merrily," whether Commines really believed that the Venetians would send to stop him on his way? The Lord of Argenton expressed himself as free from all doubt that they would do so, in case the French should invade the Milanese territory; still he appears throughout to have been deeply impressed with a conviction, which he more than once indeed unequivocally avows, that a special Providence superintended the enterprise, and would guide it to a safe conclusion. This belief had received strong confirmation from the assurances of Savanarola, an Enthusiast of noble Ferrarese extraction, who at that time was regarded at Florence as a Saint, and who, not long afterwards, expiated at the stake his opposition to the Franciscans and his precocious attempts at Ecclesiastical Reform. "I asked him," says Commines, "whether the King should pass out of Italy without danger of his person, seeing the great preparations the Venetians made against him? whereof he discoursed perfectlier than myself who came from there. He answered me that the King should have some trouble on the way, but that the honour thereof should be his, though he were accompanied but with a hundred men; and that God, who had guided him on his coming, would also protect him on his return." "Thus

* Commines, c. 24. Guicciardini, i. 436, mentions a rare example of filial attachment in the death of one of Montpensier's sons from grief, on visiting his father's tomb. The matter-of-fact commentator on this touching incident doubts its physical possibility; *molti vogliono che per dolore non si possa immediatamente morire.*

† Guicciardini, i. ii. 143.

much have I written," adds Commynes after some attempts to interpret in detail Savonarola's general prophecy, "to the end it may yet more manifestly appear, that this voyage was indeed a mere miracle of God *."

While Charles was still threading the Apennines, the Confederates might easily have overwhelmed him. "A handful of footmen," says Commynes, "might have defended the strait between Lucca and Pietrasanta; one cart set overthwart the way, with two good pieces of artillery, and but a handful of men might have stopped our passage, had our force been never so great." The King moreover unadvisedly diminished his army, originally much too small for the hazards of his enterprise, by ordering a considerable detachment to assist in the reduction of Genoa. If a battle were to be fought, that City would fall of itself after victory, and in the case of defeat, its conquest would be an embarrassment rather than an acquisition. Nevertheless Charles was persuaded to detach 120 Lances and 500 Infantry, which could ill be spared from his army, and which were led by the Genoese emigrants to whose sanguine hopes they were confided only to discomfiture. But the Confederates were slow in assembling, and, even after assembling, were undecided in their policy. The Van of the French during five days lay full thirty miles in advance of the main army. Their artillery was entangled amid "huge and sharp mountains" never before passed by a train so cumbrous, and the troops were almost famished from want of supplies; but this opportunity, so precious, was neglected; and the Marquess of Mantua †, to whom the allies had entrusted the chief command, permitted a junction which in the end cost him dearly.

The Swiss, during their advance in the preceding summer, had lost a few of their comrades, put to death by the villagers of Pontremoli, in reprisal for some outrage. They had vowed revenge if opportunity should ever present itself, and in spite of a capitulation which Trivulzio had signed, no sooner had these marauders entered the town, than they massacred the wretched inhabitants and set fire to their dwellings. Huge magazines perished in the conflagration at the very moment in which want of provisions began to be felt; and the peasantry, whose confidence had been destroyed by the recent breach of faith, forebore from bringing food to the Camp. In some measure to atone for this great calamity which their want of discipline had occasioned, the Swiss volunteered their services for the transport of the ordnance, which the French were about to spike and to hurl down the precipices; and companies, of one or two hundred men each, coupling themselves with strong ropes, succeeded, after incredible labour, in dragging to the summit of the mountain-range fourteen heavy guns, and a proportionate number of pieces of

* Commynes, c. 25.

† Francis of Gonzaga, born 1466, died 1519, *tutto fatto a Condottierie*. Sforza himself was watching the Duke of Orleans, whose conduct began to excite suspicion, at Asti.

smaller calibre. The chief difficulty, however, seems but to have commenced at this point; the rock was nearly perpendicular, scarp'd by nature and unmitigated by any toils of art; horses and men were now as much employed in retarding as they had hitherto been in accelerating movement. Every man at arms bore some burden with him on his saddle; La Trémouille, who commanded the operation, carried two bullets weighing fifty lbs. each; and by thus partitioning the implements of gunnery, the descent was accomplished on the fifth evening*.

To a negotiation attempted through the agency of Commynes, when the French had fixed their head-quarters at Fornovo, the
 July 5. Venetians replied, that War had been virtually declared against the Duke of Milan by the seizure of his barrier town Pontremoli. The want of food was still severely felt, the bread was black and of exorbitant price; three parts out of four in the mixture sold as wine proved to be water. An unfounded suspicion, moreover, had arisen, that even these scanty supplies were poisoned; and the discovery of two dead Swiss in a cellar (in which they had perished probably from intoxication) increased this painful misgiving. The King, on his first arrival at Fornovo, alighted and partook of some slight refreshment, but the majority of his followers passed twelve hours, from noon till midnight, before they could overcome their repugnance. "The horses (the wiser of the two) then began first to feed, and afterwards the men, and then we refreshed ourselves well." Commynes largely shared the general apprehension, but he adds with ingenuousness, "I must here speak somewhat to the honour of the Italian nation, because I never found in all this voyage, that they sought by poison to do us harm; yet if they would, we hardly could have avoided it†."

The hostile armies were encamped on two ridges parallel to each other on the right bank of the Taro, a river flowing from the Ligurian mountains into the Po, which it was necessary that the French should cross in order to continue their retreat. The position chosen by the Marquess of Mantua was about two miles below that of his enemy; covering the approach to Parma, a town of which the fidelity was reasonably suspected; and the intervening valley was thickly spread with low wood. The river, unless when swollen by rain, was almost every where fordable, but even after it had been passed, the only practicable route lay immediately along its left bank, within easy cannon-shot of the Venetian Camp. The numbers in the two armies were widely disproportioned; the Marquess of Mantua brought into the field, exclusively of Infantry, at least 20,000 horsemen, one fourth of which consisted of Stradiots, a light-armed Cavalry levied in the Morea and in Albania, distinguished alike for hardihood and ferocity. Their habits were semi-barbarous, they neither gave nor received quarter, and they carried the heads of their slaughtered opponents as trophies on the points of their spears or the bows of their

* Commynes, c. 28.

† Id., c. 31.

saddles*. An experienced military eye considered the fighting men of the French not to exceed 9000, those of the allies to be at least four times that number†.

The French passed a disturbed night, partly from marauding attacks made by the Stradiots and the effects of a heavy storm, and partly (as may readily be imagined) from gloomy apprehensions of the morrow. Early in the morning, they moved onward in three July 6. battalions. The Van, led by Trivulzio and the Maréchal de Gié, escorted the artillery, and as upon that division the brunt of battle was expected to fall, it was composed of the *Elite* of the army‡; 350 French Lances, 100 more belonging to Trivulzio himself, 3000 Swiss, and a few cross-bowmen of the Royal Guard formed its allotment of Cavalry. On foot were Engilbert brother of the Duke of Clèves, and the Bailiff of Dijon, 300 dismounted Scottish archers, and almost the entire Infantry. The main battalion followed after a short interval; in the centre rode the King in complete armour and a gorgeous surcoat of white and violet semé with Jerusalem crosses; his helmet was profusely plumed\$, and he was mounted on "Black Savoy," a charger which, although blind in one eye, was of distinguished breed and power, caparisoned in its Master's colours, and named after the Duke who was its donor. The Count of Foix brought up the rear; and behind the whole military array followed a huge train of baggage, lading above 6000 beasts of burden, protected by an inadequate guard, either from want of numbers or, as was said, designedly, in order, by alluring the rapacity of the Stradiots, to divert them from fighting. Charles, although fully prepared for battle, did not omit the single chance which remained for negotiation; and without much hope of success either on his own part or on that of his Envoy, at the moment in which he commenced his march, he despatched Commynes to endeavour to open a parley with the Venetian *Provveditori* who followed the allied Camp, and with whom the Lord of Argenton was personally acquainted. Long however before the diplomatists could enter upon pacific discussion, a skirmishing engagement had begun, and Commynes, not without some danger, rejoined his Master. As the French divisions successively passed the Taro, the Confederates poured out of their Camp, and formed on the right bank before their tents. The Marquess of Mantua putting himself at the head of his 600 choicest men-at-arms, and a large

* They carried off forty heads in a skirmish before the Battle of Fornovo, and since they received a ducat for each head from the *Provveditori*, they were not always very nice in selection. *Quidam eorum ne vacuus ex prælio redire videretur, obtruncato crudeliter cujusdam incolæ de quo statim conquestum est militum ordini se adjunxit.* The Latin of Benedictus, originally most barbarous, is moreover greatly deformed by the Printer.

† So the Count Pitigliano told Commynes.

‡ *Che erano il nervo e la speranza de quello esercito.* Guicc, i. ii. 67.

§ This is Brantome's account of Charles's attire (*Hommes Illustres*. Disc. I. vol iv., p. 11. ed. 1787) and it is more in accordance with his character than the very plain dress which Paulus Jovius assigns to him. Benedictus (83), however, agrees with Jovius.

squadron of Stradiot and other light-horse, ordered his reserve to come up at the moment at which its services should appear to be most needed, and directed the remaining Stradiots partly to make a flank movement, partly to cut off the baggage. Four hundred men-at-arms and two thousand Infantry crossed at the same instant to engage the French Van, and a large body was left wholly unemployed, to sentinel the *Provveditori* and the Camp. The King, perceiving that his rear was likely to be overwhelmed by a superior force, hastily galloped back to its assistance; and notwithstanding the remonstrances of his suite, he made so good speed, that when the assault commenced, he was found in the front rank of combatants. The battle now soon became general; and was fought not according to the customary Italian manner, in which squadron succeeded squadron, and each drew off when tired, perhaps without the loss of a man, but hand to hand in a bloody and vigorous mêlée. When the lances were shivered and many a Knight was unhorsed, the Infantry broke in, and with their heavy maces battered and despatched the fallen and helpless Cavaliers. The Marquess of Mantua performed all the offices of a valiant soldier, and the French, giving way before a cloud of enemies, for a while left the King exposed to peril from which he was rescued more by his own bravery and by the strength of his horse, than by a vow of pilgrimage which it is recorded that he made to St. Denis and St. Martin*, or by the aid of his immediate followers. Matthew, the Bastard of Bourbon, was wounded and taken prisoner by his side, after a gallant resistance; and the fortune of the day continued doubtful till Ridolfo of Gonzaga, an uncle of the Marquess of Mantua, and a brave Condottiere, having raised his vizor for breath, was struck in the face by the staff of a spear, and rolling under his horse's feet, was trodden to death or suffocated before he could be rescued. He was a brave Knight, whose loss was greatly regretted on both sides; by his own men as it deprived them of an able General, by the French because he was known to be inclined to Peace, and to have dissuaded his nephew from the very battle in which he lost his own life. His fall also decided the combat, for to him was entrusted the responsibility of ordering the reserve to advance, and the concerted signal not having been given, the troops destined for that service remained motionless. The division of the Marquess of Mantua was not only left unsupported in this its greatest need, but it became gradually diminished, owing to one of those accidents against which no prudence can guard when it has to manage a half-disciplined force. The French baggage fell an easy prey to the Stradiots who were commanded to intercept it; and their comrades, who had been ordered to charge in flank, preferring the certainty of plunder to the hazards of action, instead of obeying their instructions, galloped off to enrich themselves by the booty. This example was followed by many of the regular

* An account of the fulfilment of this vow, which was made an excuse to cover an intrigue with one of the Queen's Maids of honour, is given by Guicciardini, i. iii. 247.

troops already engaged; so that the advantage of numbers unexpectedly changed to the side of the French, and the Marquess of Mantua perceived no hope but in regaining his own bank of the Taro*. Even flight however was difficult, for the stream, like all mountain-torrents, after a few hours' rain had become so elevated in height as to be passable only at certain spots. The French thundered behind in pursuit, and by the ominous cry of "Remember Guinnegate†," testified that quarter was not to be expected. Prisoners indeed would have been an incumbrance with which no retreating army could venture to burden itself, and the sword therefore unsparingly mowed down all who were overtaken.

Meantime, while success had been thus doubtful in the centre, the advanced guard had won an easy victory; and the Italians, struck with terror at the firmness of the French charge, had given way at once and had recrossed the Taro. The Maréchal de Gié forbade pursuit; and although in so doing he acted the part of a prudent General, mistrusting the tactics of his enemy, ignorant that they were defeated in his rear, and well knowing that they largely outnumbered him, he was bitterly condemned for want of spirit, and the event might probably have justified him in greater daring. At the moment all was confusion in the allied Camp, and many of those who had been only spectators of the disastrous combat, instead of attempting to redeem it by succouring their defeated companions, were flying or preparing to fly to Parma. But confidence was in some measure restored by the appearance of the Marquess of Mantua, and yet more perhaps by that of the Count Pitigliano, who, escaping from his sentinels during the tumult of engagement, reported that the French were in far greater disorder than were the allies, and offered to renew the action by leading fresh troops to the charge.

When Charles regained his Van, pursuit, if it had ever been advisable, was manifestly no longer in his power, and he, perhaps not unwillingly, advanced to Medesana, a rising ground about a mile from the scene of his remarkable victory. The French had lost not quite 200 men; of the Italians full 3000 had fallen, many of whom were personages of distinction, and at least a tenth were men-at-arms. The battle, including the pursuit, endured for little more than an hour‡, and was.

* Monstrelet, xii. 5. describes the flight vividly; "the best piece of all their armour was the point of their spurs," words which are employed in like manner by Bayard's Secretary and Chronicler in speaking of the Marquess of Mantua: *ses esperons luy ayderent bien et le bon cheval sur quoy il estoit monté.* c. 11. Bayard charged with the Sire de Ligny, and had two horses killed under him. The King presented him with 500 crowns, and the Knight in return laid at the Royal feet, a guidon of horse which he had captured in the pursuit.

† The Battle of Guinnegate was lost by too great avidity for prisoners, or rather for ransom. It must be distinguished from the *Battle of the Spurs*, in which the English obtained a bloodless victory upon the same spot in the reign of Louis XII.

‡ Guicciardini, i. ii. 176.

rather a series of single combats than a combination of manœuvres*. The great disproportion between the numbers of the killed, and the unimpeded progress of the march of the French, were substantial proofs that success belonged to them. Yet the pride of the Italians found compensation in the attainment of plunder. The Royal tents and baggage were ostentatiously displayed as trophies†, and public rejoicings were ordered in the chief Cities of the League, especially in Venice, for the Victory at Fornovo.

The Italians, although still greatly superior in numbers, were dispirited and ill inclined for pursuit; and they rejoiced that the continuance of rain swelled the Taro, and prohibited their advance. Charles, after passing the night in much destitution and alarm‡, rested the whole of the following day at Medesana; and without awaiting the return of Commynes, whom he had sent back with propositions, he broke up at nightfall, leaving his watch-fires burning, in order to deceive the enemy; and by gaining the advantage of several hours' march, he removed all hazard of pressure from pursuit. Three hundred Swiss sufficed to repulse the desultory attacks of the Stradiots, who from time to time hovered on his rear; and eight days after the battle he found himself secure under the walls of Asti, without the loss of a single

July 30. cannon. On one night of the march, a sudden rise of the Trebia intercepted all communication between the main body which had crossed its channel and the artillery which was preparing for transport, and if the enemy had been sufficiently on the alert, the triumph at Fornovo would have proved barren.

On gaining Asti, Charles sought remuneration for his recent hardships by a more than usual addiction to pleasure; and the attractions of Jane de Solari, to whom he devoted himself, induced him to forget the pressing wants of the Duke of Orleans, who was enclosed in Novarra

* Monstrelet, xii. c. 5, mentions that the French artillery did great mischief, and killed one of the enemy's principal cannoneers. Bembo, lib. ii. p. 62, says that, after one volley, which passed for the most part overhead, the rain made it unserviceable.

† The account given by Benedictus of this plunder which he saw, is curious. *Ex regio apparatu abacus omnis ex auro argentoque cubiculi, scrinia rapta sunt in quibus vestimenta, stragula, peristromata et vasa convivialia quæ Reges longæ imperiî possessione cumulaverant, sacelli sacri, libri pretiosi, tubella gemmis ornata et sacris veneranda, annuli præterea gemmis pretiosi. In ipsâ prædâ librum vidimus in quo pellicum variae formæ, sub diverso habitu ac ætate, ex naturali depictæ erant, prout libido in quâque urbe ac resanus amor eum traiecerat, eas memoriæ gratiâ pictas secum deferrebat.* 80. We need not follow this writer into his disgusting and horrible details of the Field of Battle. But it appears from his narrative that the first despatch relative to victory transmitted to the Signory of Venice was sufficiently ambiguous. Bembo, considering the office which he held, tells the story very fairly. lib. ii.

‡ The picture of distress given by Commynes, whose cloak had been oorrowed by the King, c. 34, is most vivid. Bembo sums it up in a few terrible words; *magno cum timore, sub dio, sine tabernaculis, sine castris*, lib. ii. p. 64. To which ought to be added constant apprehension of attack from an enemy known to be superior in numbers and not known to be defeated.

with a starving garrison. Orleans, as will be remembered, had been left behind at Asti, on the advance to Naples, in consequence of illness : and he had recently accepted an invitation June 11. from the chief gentlemen of Novarra, who, throwing off allegiance to Lodovico Sforza, admitted the French within their gates. His troops, swelled by the reinforcements which were marching to the assistance of Charles, but which he invariably detained for his own service, amounted to 7500 men, an army for the support of which the magazines of Novarra soon became inadequate ; and Sforza, warned of this deficiency, invested the town with his own Milanese, and prevailed upon the Venetians to turn aside from the pursuit of Charles to a more promising enterprise.

The Duke of Orleans estimated the generosity of Charles too highly by believing that he would make an early effort for his deliverance ; and, under that conviction, he remained with his troops in their extremity, notwithstanding that more than one occasion presented itself on which he might personally have withdrawn. The King, however, was otherwise engrossed, and the supplies which he attempted to throw into the garrison, being inadequately guarded, almost invariably fell into the hands of the besiegers, who established themselves in all the strong holds of the neighbourhood. Sforza, who never moved his Court without the permission of Astrologers, exerted himself to the utmost to rally the spirits of his soldiers by the invention of favourable omens ; and on one occasion when, during a Review, his horse slipped on all four feet, and the Camp was struck with melancholy at so unhappy a presage, he adroitly converted the accident to his own purpose, by declaring that it was the last ill which would betide him in the War*. Nor was he deceived in his prognostication, for Charles at length consented that the town should be evacuated, and having made a vain attempt to save his honour by proposing to deliver it to the Imperial Officers, he ordered that it should be surrendered to Lodovico, with whom he had opened Conferences. It was to be garrisoned by its own Citizens, who were to receive supplies day by day from the Milanese Camp, and thirty Frenchmen were to remain in possession of the Castle till the negotiations were concluded.

It seemed little likely that any impediment should now arise to obstruct Peace with Sforza. His object was gained whenever the King should recross the Alps, a consummation for which Charles himself expressed the most unbounded anxiety. Such a step must of necessity produce a revulsion at Naples, and the Sovereign of Milan little wished to aggrandize the power of Venice in Lombardy, already too great for

* Benedictus, p. 92. The Astrological observation which foreboded good and decided Sforza upon quitting Milan was as follows : *Jove in Librà, Lunà in Leone, ac Mercurio in Librà pariter sextili contuitu Marte quoque cum Lunà ad trinum, aspectu in Sagittario prosperos eventus significantibus.* Id. p. 98.

his safety. A separate Treaty was accordingly signed at Vercelli with Sforza, by which he recovered entire possession of Novarra, Oct. 10. and the virtual sway of Genoa, still to be nominally reputed a Fief of France. The Duke, on the other hand, promised general amnesty and the restoration of Trivulzio in particular to his forfeited estates and honours. He abandoned his alliance with Spain, and he pledged himself to join Charles against Venice, in case that Republic should defer Peace after the lapse of two months. The Terms wore a fair appearance, and Charles too eagerly accepted them without guarantee. A small fortress in Genoa, the only security offered, was to be delivered not to the French but to the Duke of Ferrara, who engaged in turn to surrender it to Charles, in case Sforza should demur about the fulfilment of these conditions. But the More had married a daughter of the Duke of Ferrara, who, exclusively of this bond of union, was wholly without power to control his ally.

One obstacle, however, had nearly prevented this Peace at the very moment of its signature. The Bailiff of Dijon had been instructed to levy 5000 Swiss mercenaries for the relief of Novarra, but so popular had campaigns in Italy become among the mountains, so dazzled were the peasants by the display of booty which their Countrymen who returned home from them exhibited, that they thronged almost unbidden to the Standard under which they expected to achieve the conquest of a region presenting not less treasure to their Imagination, than did the *El Dorado* of after-years to that of the Spaniards. Twenty thousand men accompanied the Bailiff on his return, and it became necessary to bar the frontiers of Piedmont in order to prevent a yet larger influx. There can be little doubt that if Charles thus unexpectedly strengthened had broken his negotiation, and had marched at once upon Milan or Pavia, he would (at least for a season) have established his dominion in Italy; and the Duke of Orleans employed all his influence to produce such a resolution. But Orleans personally had little weight with Charles. The Court advisers had not forgiven his deep engagement in the Civil Wars of the Minority; and Trivulzio, who shared the King's intimate confidence, had more scope for his ambitious views if the government of Milan remained in possession of Sforza than if it were transferred, as it probably would be, to the hand of so vigorous a rival as Louis, supported by the whole power of France. The Nobles were fatigued with War, and panted for return to their estates; pains therefore were taken to create jealousy of the mercenaries. It was declared to be highly impolitic that the King should trust himself to the guardianship of troops who had often before shown symptoms of insubordination. The junction at Vercelli, of a second body, of equal numbers, which was preparing to unite itself with the ten thousand Swiss already encamped under the walls, was prevented, and unfounded terror of the very auxiliaries who ought to have inspired confidence was awakened by count-

less absurd reports. The chief difficulty was the want of funds; Charles at first offered a month's stipend, which would not have defrayed the expenses of their march. At length, on the promise of three months' pay (to which they were entitled by former Conventions with Louis XI.), the Swiss agreed to return to their mountains; and for that sum they received hostages and paper securities. The King, leaving 500 Lances with Trivulzio at Asti for the protection of the passes into Italy, turned his course homeward; and quitting Turin on the 22nd of October, crossed the Alps with so great rapidity, that in five days he reached Gr  noble.

The throne of Naples may be considered as lost to France at the moment at which Charles commenced his retreat. Ferdinand II., in conjunction with a Spanish force under Gonzalvo of Cordova, whose brilliant services at Grenada had deservedly obtained for him the name of the *Great Captain*, landed at Reggio early in the summer. Monopoli, on the coast of Puglia, was pillaged with great cruelty by the Stradiots in a Venetian fleet; and the French avenged themselves by a fearful massacre at Gaeta, in which, as a June 24. punishment for insurrection, almost the entire population was butchered. The Neapolitans had not yet acquired courage to withstand their invaders in the pitched field; and Ferdinand and Gonzalvo were totally defeated by scarcely one third of their numbers under d'Aubigny when they ventured to give battle at S  minara. After a short repose in Sicily, Ferdinand however again repaired to his Capital; the Citizens received him within their walls on the day July 7. after the Battle of Fornovo; while Montpensier was engaged in a sortie; and the French, on their return, found that no more than the Castles remained in their power. After many months' siege, and the endurance of hardships from which they despaired of relief, Montpensier agreed to a capitulation, the conditions of which he afterwards shamefully violated by withdrawing Dec. —. at night with nearly 3000 men who ought to have been considered prisoners. The War was languidly conducted A. D. 1496. during the early part of the ensuing year, till Montpensier, weakened by the insubordination of his mercenaries, and by disagreement with his colleagues, shut himself up in Atella. Ferdinand discreetly resorted to blockade; and the want of provisions soon compelled the French General to accept Terms which involved not only the surrender of his own immediate garrison, but the evacuation of every town in the Kingdom of Naples which held under him. Five thousand men laid down their arms on the ramparts; and July 20. so fearfully did the summer-fevers rage among those unhappy prisoners who were detained in cantonments between Baise and Pozzuoli, that scarcely a tithe presented themselves for embarkation at

the term stipulated for their release.* Montpensier himself was among the victims of the epidemic.

Charles, after his return, fixed his residence for the most part at Lyons, and became a slave to habits of dissolute pleasure. Three heirs with which the Queen presented him (the first before his Italian expedition) died successively in their infancy; and it is said that some unreasonable gaiety exhibited by the Duke of Orleans, in the hope of removing Anne's grief at the loss of her first-born, occasioned great offence, and led to the temporary retirement of that Prince from Court*. The disasters in Italy grieved the King, who more than once resolved upon some personal exertion to retrieve his fortunes and expended much treasure in preparation. But he was unable to arouse himself from his voluptuous trance; he grudged the time which necessary audiences abstracted from frivolous amusement; he executed no business by his own hand; and Commynes more than implies that he was betrayed by the Ministers to whom he entrusted State affairs. "Whereby it manifestly appeared that God had altogether withdrawn His Grace, which on his going to Naples He had poured down so plentifully."

Amid this uncertainty of counsel it cannot astonish us that whatever enterprises were undertaken failed, and the want of success attendant upon the operations which Trivulzio continued in Italy is to be attributed mainly to his contradictory instructions. On the A. D. 1497. frontiers of Spain, War was waged with equal languor; and Jan. 17. after the signature of a Truce, Ferdinand and Isabella proposed or accepted a treacherous offer for the partition of Naples. Under cover of their existing alliance, the Spanish Monarchs could garrison Frederic's † chief towns at pleasure, and by turning their arms against him suddenly, they might overthrow his government, and transfer it to the French in exchange for the Throne of Navarre, the cession of which entire Kingdom they coveted far more than a divided sway in Naples. The execution of this nefarious plot was interrupted by the unexpected death of the Infante John ‡, which postponed it however but for a short period.

Towards the close of 1497, Charles transferred his Court to Amboise, the place of his birth, which he always regarded with especial affection, and where he commenced the erection of a sumptuous Palace. The Castle, as we shall presently have occasion to show, certainly admitted much improvement as a Royal abode; and the King had brought from

* Commynes, c. 45; a better authority than Brantôme, who probably only gossiped from hearsay. *Dames Illust.* Disc, i.

† Ferdinand II. died Sept. 7, 1496, and was succeeded by his uncle Frederic.

‡ Married, as before stated, to Margaret, the daughter of Maximilian; died October 4, 1497. The succession devolved upon the eldest daughter, Consort of two consecutive Kings of Portugal. Upon her death, August 24, 1498, Jane the Simple (*la Folle*), second daughter, and Consort to Philip son of Maximilian, became heiress of this vast inheritance.

Italy a taste, or at least a fancy, for Architecture. We are told also that he had discovered the futility of dissipation; that he at length perceived how little repose could be secured by indolence, and how greatly pleasure is dependent for its full zest upon previous toil. He thought seriously upon the affairs of Italy; he planned financial reforms and the reduction of public imposts and Court expenditure. He gathered Religious men about his person, and he laboured much, but fruitlessly, for the abolition of Ecclesiastical Pluralities. Alms were bestowed by him in abundance; and, however doubtful it may be whether he possessed sufficient energy to persevere in his new and beneficial course, it is certain, upon the testimony of Commynes, that he had begun to tread it in earnest. "He had built a public audience-chamber, where himself heard the suits of all men, especially of the poor, and despatched many matters. Myself saw him in the place two hours together but eight days before his death, which was the last time that ever I saw him. No measure of great importance was despatched there, but by this means he held many in fear, especially his officers, some also of the which he dismissed for exorbitance and bribery."

But this goodly career was too soon fatally interrupted. On the Eve of Palm Sunday, the King, in company with his Consort, attended upon a match at Tennis played in the Castle ditch. A. D. 1498. In order to obtain access to this spot, it was requisite to pass April 7. through a filthy corridor, the laystall of the Palace, called, from a Warder who once had the care of it, the Haquelebac Gallery. The entrance was so low, that the King in passing under it (notwithstanding his diminutive stature) struck his forehead against the archway; but the accident was too slight to draw attention; he looked at the players for a long time, and he conversed freely with the by-standers. The Bishop of Angers, his Confessor, was among the spectators; and Charles, perhaps led by his presence into reflections of a higher tone than were likely to be suggested by the scene before him, had just expressed to that Prelate a hope that his future life might be unstained by any mortal sin, when he fell back and lost his speech. The fit commenced about two in the afternoon, and although he thrice recovered some power of articulation and commended himself to the Virgin and his Patron Saints, removal was considered hazardous. An old straw-mattress was provided for his support; and in this wretched out-house of his magnificent Palace, a thoroughfare dedicated to ignoble purposes and whose shattered entrance exposed him to public view during his last agonies, he lingered for nine hours. He expired about eleven at night, in the twenty-seventh year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign; leaving behind him a reputation which, if it fell short of a very high standard in talent and in virtue, was still not without considerable value in the station which he filled. Commynes pronounces him to have been "the most courteous and gentle Prince that ever existed*."

* For the reform and death of Charles VIII. see Commynes, c. 52, 53.

CHAPTER XIX.

From A. D. 1498, to A. D. 1515.

Accession of Louis XII.—His Divorce and second Marriage with Anne of Brittany—Conquest of Milan—Return of Lodovico Sforza—His betrayal by the Swiss at Novarra—Captivity and Death—Treacherous conquest of Naples—Expulsion of the French by the Spaniards—Illness of the King—Treaty of Blois—Recovery of the King—He is saluted "Father of his Country" by the States General—Insurrection in Genoa—League of Cambrai—Battle of Agnadello—Death of the Cardinal d'Amboise—Continued hostility of Julius II. against France—His personal service at Concordia and Mirandola—Failure of the pseudo-Council of Pisa—The Holy League—Gaston de Foix killed at the Victory of Ravenna—The French again expelled from Italy—Dissensions in the Holy League—Defeat of the French at Riotta—Restoration of Maximilian Sforza to Milan—Descent of Henry VIII. on Picardy—Battle of the Spurs—Capture of Théroanne—The Swiss invade Burgundy, and are bribed into retreat from Dijon—Capture of Tournai—Death of Anne of Brittany—Re-marriage of Louis XII. with Mary of England—His Death.

Louis XII. Duke of Orleans, upon whom the Crown devolved, a grandson of a brother of Charles VI. was in his thirty-sixth year, A. D. 1498. of an active disposition, and, as our narrative has evinced, had seen great varieties of fortune. He confirmed the chief Ministers of his predecessor in their several appointments, bestowing however his principal confidence on a long-trying retainer of his own, George of Amboise, Archbishop of Rouen. La Trémouille, Chamberlain of the late King, had reason to apprehend some displeasure, for he had commanded at the Battle of St. Aubin, in which Louis had been made prisoner, but the new Monarch relieved his fears by a generous speech, which has deservedly become familiar, "A King of France has nothing to do with the enmities of a Duke of Orleans;" and he despatched him on an honourable mission to convey the remains of Charles to St. Denis for interment. The grief manifested by the widowed Queen was far greater than was expected from the slender attention she had received from her late Consort; yet it by no means impeded strong measures for the assertion of the independence of her Ducal rights in Brittany. She visited the Province, issued Edicts, coined money, and convoked the States at Reims; till either alarm at a political separation, or, as some have said, a revival of early tender feelings, induced Louis to resolve upon offering her his hand.

A Divorce from his present wife was a necessary preliminary. Jane, youngest daughter of Louis XI., had been married to him from nine years of age; and although deformed and lame, she had proved an affectionate and faithful wife, from whose influence, in many troubles during a union

of a quarter of a century, he had derived protection. But Louis undeterred by gratitude, and strongly influenced by motives of State, applied to the Court of Rome, and made his bargain with the mercenary Pontiff who then held the Keys. Alexander stipulated for the immediate payment of 20,000 ducats, and for the Duchy of Valence * with a pension of 20,000 livres for his son Cæsar Borgia, who wished to renounce the Cardinalate and to re-enter upon a secular life. To these requests was added one other for the aid of 100 Lances to assist in the subjugation of Romagna. In return he engaged to sanction the Divorce by the authority of the Church, to bestow a Cardinal's Cap upon George of Amboise, and to forward views which the King of France entertained for the conquest both of Milan and of Naples; views which he avowed, by assuming on his accession, in addition to the title of King of France, those of Duke of Milan and King of the two Sicilies and of Jerusalem.

Jane herself was less tractable. There were circumstances, however, attendant upon her Process which grievously outraged feminine delicacy, and the unhappy Princess, resisting these unseemly demands, made her final appeal to the oath of her husband. Louis either falsely swore, or permitted others to register an oath under his hand, that consummation had been physically impossible. The Court accordingly pronounced for the Divorce, and the repudiated Queen secluded herself during the remaining seven years of her life, in a Convent which she had founded at Bourges. After an attempted subterfuge on the part of Cæsar Borgia, who endeavoured to procure from the King A. D. 1499. a larger reward than that for which he had stipulated, the Jan. 7. requisite Bulls were delivered, and the new marriage was celebrated at Nantes, exactly nine months after the demise of Charles VIII.

A year was occupied in preparations, in securing tranquillity at home, and in cementing alliances abroad, before the King crossed the Alps. Besides the alliance of Alexander VI., he had treated for that of the Swiss and of Venice; and the latter Republic having engaged to co-operate with a powerful army, required only the Cremonese as her share of spoil. Sforza meantime was destitute of support; his nephew in law Maximilian was occupied in a ruinous and unnecessary struggle with the Swiss; Frederic of Naples, who had promised assistance, was scarcely able to maintain his own authority, and the Sultan Bajazet, with whom the More always kept up a strict alliance, and who was most faithful to his engagements, could operate only by diversion upon the Venetian territory in Greece.

By midsummer, Louis had assembled nearly 25,000 men at Lyons, under the command of D'Aubigny, of Trivulzio, and of the Count of

* Cæsar Borgia was Cardinal Bishop of Valenza, in Spain: his temporal title, derived from the Duchy of Valence, in Dauphiné, was Duke of Valentinois.

Ligny. Before the middle of August, they had crossed the mountains, while the Venetians, by a simultaneous march, approached the eastern frontier at Caravaggio. The French men-at-arms, and more especially the Swiss, evinced great ferocity during their advance, and the Italians everywhere gave way without a blow. Lodovico found that even his personal safety depended upon rapid flight, and withdrawing with his treasure and his children by Como and the Valteline, he sought refuge with Maximilian at Inspruck.

After a short visit paid to the new conquest which he had thus acquired in less than three weeks, Louis returned to France, leaving Trivulzio Governor of Milan. The austerity of that Lieutenant
 A. D. 1500. rendered him unpopular, and the inhabitants soon discovered that they had by no means attained freedom by their recent
 Feb. 6th. change of masters, so that the More found but little difficulty in regaining his Capital. With 30,000 Swiss, whom the
 March 22. preservation of his treasure had enabled him to enlist, he invested and took Novarra. But no sooner did these mercenaries, who had unconditionally accepted his pay, perceive that the ranks of the French General also were chiefly filled with their own Countrymen, than they refused to perform the service for which they had been hired. La Trémouille, who had been despatched against them, readily allowed them to retire. A safe-conduct was granted for themselves and their baggage, but no stipulation was made for the Lombards or for the Stradiot Cavalry, who served under the same banner. The mutineers refused to deliver Sforza himself into the hands of his enemies, but they consented to an arrangement by which his escape became almost impossible. The Swiss, after laying down their arms, were to pass two by two through the French lines, and if the More were recognized, there were no means by which his arrest could be prevented.

The Lombard Cavalry which issued from Novarra, was for the most part either put to the sword, or made prisoners. Of the
 April 10. Stradiots, pushed on by the Swiss pikes in rear, and cut down by the French in front, some few, owing to the speed and strength of their horses, gained and swam the Tesino. About 20,000 Swiss then remained, each of whom threw down his halberd, as he advanced to the French lines for inspection. Nearly a moiety had already passed, and Sforza was still undiscovered. La Trémouille threatened to charge, unless the illustrious prisoner were delivered; but his troops refused their support, and circumstances appeared critical till two Swiss soldiers bargained to point out their leader, on the payment of 200 crowns. He was detected in a very miserable disguise*. His brother, the Cardinal

* There is considerable difference respecting the disguise under which Lodovico Sforza attempted escape. Guicciardini says, iv. 1, 405, *Mescolato nello squadrone camminava a piede, vestito e armato come Suizzero*. Bembo mounts him on a lean horse *travestito da villano*. La Trémouille in his *Mémoires*, affirms that he took him with

Ascanio, who was soon afterwards delivered up by the Venetians, was confined vigilantly at Bourges; and captivity, indeed, indiscriminately awaited every descendant of the great Francesco of whom Louis could obtain possession. The More himself, after close seclusion in other dungeons, was transferred to the hateful Tower of Loches; and lingered there till his death, during ten years of absolute solitude, in which his sufferings were heightened by a refusal of even the companionship of books*.

Odious as were the crimes by which Lodovico Sforza had attained elevation, no surer means of rendering him an object rather of compassion than of abhorrence could have been found than were furnished by the treachery of the Swiss and the severity of Louis; and perhaps there is not any individual whose memory is more indebted to his fall, and for whom misfortune has stood more in the stead of virtue. Scarcely any act indeed is recorded by History, which reflects greater National disgrace upon its perpetrators, than the desertion at Novarra. A Soldier must recoil from it as a violation of honour, a Trader as a breach of compact; nevertheless it was committed by men who affected to unite the pursuits of Commerce with those of the Sword. Unwillingness to shed the blood of a fellow-countryman is a natural and a praiseworthy feeling; obedience to legitimate government is a virtue; but if the Swiss were justified in declining combat with each other, (and we are far from thinking that they were not so,) they were at least bound by ties not less strong than those which knit them to their brethren, to ensure the safety of the Prince upon whose bread they were feeding, and with whom they had voluntarily contracted service; and although an Edict of the Cantons had summoned both parties indiscriminately to their homes, they had set at nought similar Edicts before, when it suited their interests to enlist†.

‡ Milan redeemed herself by the payment of 300,000 crowns, and by the delivery of some of her chief Citizens to the executioner; and the Cardinal of Amboise disposed of the troops which he no longer needed, and which therefore were becoming burdensome, by placing them partly at the disposal of the Florentines, partly of Cæsar Borgia. Each measure was calculated to occasion a just outcry. The first involved Pisa in disaster, notwithstanding France had engaged to protect her independence; the second gave a bloody triumph in Romagna to one who has been

his own hand, that he was dressed as a Cordelier and badly mounted, in order that he might pass for Chaplain to the Army. Jean d'Anton attributes his discovery to the Count of Ligny, and dresses him, so far as we understand the words, in the habit of a Swiss pikeman, *à tous ses cheveux troussés sur un coiffe, une gorguette autour de col, un pourpoint de satin cramoisi et des chausses écarlates, la hallebarde au poing.* M. de Sismondi (from whom we derive the quotation) adopts La Trémouille's account in the *Rep. Ital.* xiii. p. 64; d'Antons, in the *Hist. des Français*, xv. p. 317.

* Paulus Jovius, lib. xiv. *ad fin.*

† The levies of the French were publicly authorised by the Helvetic Diet; those of Sforza were made by himself privately. M. de Sismondi, *Hist. des Fr.*, xv. 312.

charged with every crime which disgraces human nature. But a yet greater sacrifice of good faith to ambition was offered when A. D. 1500. Louis ratified the Treaty of Grenada with Ferdinand and Nov. 11. Isabella. Its conditions were very similar to those which we have already detailed as proposed a few years before to Charles VIII. The Neapolitan Monarchy was to be dismembered, and the Abruzzi, the Terra de Lavoro, Gaeta and the Capital were to become the spoil of Louis as King of Naples and of Jerusalem*. The long-disputed sovereignty of Rousillon and Cerdagne was to be conceded to Spain, who was to annex also to her territory the Duchies of Calabria and of Puglia.

Against the force of an open enemy and the falsehood of a perfidious ally, Frederic, King of Naples, was unable to offer any effectual resistance. The Pope issued a Bull depriving him of his Throne, and Gonzalvo of Cordova took possession of his chief strong-holds, under the A. D. 1501. pretext of rendering them secure. Capua was the only town July 25. which checked the advance of the French; it was sacked while treating for capitulation, and after a series of murderous combats, the victors glutted themselves with both pillage and massacre. All the treasure of the neighbourhood had been conveyed within its walls, as to a *depôt* which offered safety; and 7000 of the inhabitants were put to the sword, in order to gratify the licentiousness, the fury, or the avarice of the invaders.

When the French, unimpeded in their progress, took possession of Naples, their Commander d'Aubigny assented to the retirement of Frederic to Ischia, on which rock he was to be allowed a six months' armistice for the adjustment of a definitive Treaty with Louis; but no sooner had Philip of Ravenstein, who commanded the Spanish Fleet, warped his squadron into the harbour, than he declared this long suspension of arms to be dangerous and unnecessary; since Frederic was already subdued, and nothing remained for him but submission to the mercy of the conquerors. The Prince was deprived of choice, and having Oct. — accepted a safe-conduct, presented himself before Louis at Blois. He was received with graciousness; a pension of 50,000 livres was allowed for his maintenance, on condition that he should not again quit France; and sentinelled by a nominal guard of honour, he survived during three years of gentle detention in the Province of Anjou.

Ravenstein proceeded onward with his Fleet upon an expedition against the Turks in the Archipelago, which was unfortunate in its results. The influence of the French in Naples very rapidly diminished; and when Louis d'Armagnac † Duke of Nemours arrived as Viceroy, he found himself in command of a force little adequate to preserve the

* Guicciardini, i. 4, 422.

† Son of the Duke beheaded by Louis XI. in 1477.

conquest, and placed over the heads of veterans who were not unjustly jealous that the harvest should be gathered by one who had not shared with them in the toil of reaping it. This weakness and these dissensions were soon apparent to the vigilant eye of Gonzalvo de Cordova, who had been employed in the more slow but more certain reduction of Puglia and Calabria. A pretext for quarrel with the French was easily furnished by the indistinct wording of the Treaty of Grenada, and by the incorrect definement of the boundaries of the Neapolitan Provinces. The French military arrangements required the occupation of Atripalda, a Town in the Basilicata, from which they were forcibly expelled by the Spaniards who also asserted a claim to it. After a Conference between the Duke of Nemours and Gonzalvo, the ultimate question was left to the decision of their respective Governments; but mutual confidence appears to have been at an end from the moment of this seizure. A favourite project of Anne of Bretany, to which she obtained the consent of her husband, was the contract of their infant daughter Claude with Charles of Luxemburgh, a son recently born to Philip Arch-duke of Austria, who governed the Netherlands for his father Maximilian. Upon this couple it was proposed to settle the Duchy of Milan, an investiture to which after some difficulty the Emperor Elect consented in a Treaty signed with the Cardinal of Amboise at Trent, and which was further confirmed by the Arch-duke, during a visit which he paid soon afterwards to the Court of France at Blois.

A. D. 1501.

Oct. 13.

Dec. 12.

But Ferdinand of Spain, although seemingly a party to this arrangement for his grandson, never for a moment suspended the project which he was maturing for the establishment of single dominion in Naples; and Louis was awakened from dreams of negotiation at Blois by the announcement of positive hostilities in Italy. Whether the first acts of aggression were commenced by the French or by the Spaniards appears uncertain, and is of little moment. When the pile is raised, any accidental spark easily kindles it, and the spirit of each People was equally ready for inflammation. The War was uninteresting, although distinguished by many acts of individual bravery, and when Louis arrived in Genoa, D'Aubigny had obtained some success in Calabria, and Nemours had been less fortunate in his Puglian campaign.

A. D. 1502.

Aug. 26.

Louis however, still blindly relying upon the Treaty of Blois, countermanded his orders for active hostilities; and was not a little astonished to learn that his troops had suffered two heavy defeats. D'Aubigny was overthrown at Séminara, a spot on which he had won a battle seven years before; and the Duke of Nemours lost both his army and his life on the Friday following at Cérignola, whither Gonzalvo de Cordova had repaired after disengaging himself from a long blockade at Barletta, a town about three miles distant. Hénault mentions the recurrence of

A. D. 1503.

April 21.,

April 28.

defeat on the same day in two consecutive weeks, as the origin of the "fatality" which condemns Friday as ill-omened*. Those who derive greater pleasure from the contemplation of strength than of weakness in the human mind, will gladly turn their attention from this superstition to the address with which the Spanish General converted to his account a disaster which might have been attended with evil consequences, by dispiriting his soldiery. Early in the action some random shots set fire to the tumbrils laden with his ammunition. "It is a happy presage," cried Gonzalvo, on hearing the explosion; "the victory is our own, we have no more need for powder †."

Notwithstanding this undisguised violation of the Treaty of Blois, Louis still allowing himself to believe that the Arch-duke Philip Dec. — was sincere in his desire of executing its conditions, entertained him with distinguished magnificence at Lyons on his return from Spain, and there received a renewal of his promises. Neither Gonzalvo however, nor the King his Master, recognised this Treaty; the former occupied Naples, the latter repulsed attacks directed A. D. 1503. against Rousillon and Fontarabia. In Rome, the French Aug. 18. interests were materially injured by the sudden death of Alexander VI. and by the subsequent disasters of Cæsar Borgia. The policy of Julius II., who succeeded to the Vatican ‡, was altogether warlike: and the French, after undergoing a signal defeat near Gaeta §, were compelled to abandon the Neapolitan territory, without any stipulation in favour of their adherents.

Thus terminated the short-lived rule of the French in Naples; and Louis, far from idly attempting its re-establishment by arms, showed that he would be content to disengage himself from the struggle, if he could so do without positive dishonour. Yielding therefore to the importunity of Anne, whose whole views were concentrated on the aggrandisement of her daughter Claude, he proposed that on her union with A. D. 1504. Charles of Luxemburgh, she should receive not only the Sep. 22. Duchy of Milan, but also the Royal Crown of Naples. It is not easy to unravel diplomacy so far as to ascertain the motives for this Treaty, by which, if it had been really executed, the bridegroom, the future Charles V., would have obtained almost universal dominion in Europe. By descent he possessed Spain, Austria, Bohemia, Burgundy, and the Netherlands, territories which made succession to the

* Tom. ii. p. 489. Aubrey, an admitted authority on such matters, says, that "Friday was observed to be very fortunate to the great renowned Captain Gonsalvo, he having on that day given the French many memorable defeats. *Miscellanies*, p. 18. If the allusion here be to the Battles of Seminara and Cérignola, it may be remarked that the former was *not* won by Gonsalvo.

† Guicciardini, i. 5. 491. Paulus Jovius, lib. ii. p. 516.

‡ Pius III., who immediately succeeded Alexander VI., reigned from only Sept. 22, to Oct. 18.

§ December 27.

Imperial Throne but little doubtful.* By the proposed marriage, he would add to this vast rule the two Sicilies and Milan; and the fate of the remainder of Lombardy was decided by a secret Treaty concluded at the same moment, which bound the contracting parties to attack Venice, (at that time in alliance with France,) and to despoil her of all her dominions on Terra Firma. What barrier, it may be asked, was likely to preserve the independence of France itself against a Power thus colossal whenever it should please to demand this sacrifice?

Yet in constructing such a Power, Louis assisted with his own hands; and the single apology which has ever been offered for his political blindness is ill-health, which it is said had reduced him altogether to the control of Anne. Certain it is that, in the Spring of A. D. 1505. 1505, the Queen, well knowing the unpopularity in which April — she would become involved on the disclosure of this probable future dismemberment of France, had made preparations for a hasty retreat, at whatever moment her sick Consort might expire. Her treasure was embarked upon the Loire, and vessels were provided for the conveyance of herself and the Princess Claude to Brittany; but the vigilance and firmness of Pierre de Rohan*, Maréchal of Gié, detected and frustrated the project. To that Nobleman had been consigned the education of Francis Count of Angoulême, the heir presumptive; and foreseeing the danger to which his illustrious charge might become exposed, he doubled the garrison of the Castle of Amboise, in which the Prince resided, in order to prevent any hazard of his abduction, and he placed under embargo the ships which Anne had laden.

The King unexpectedly recovered, and Anne retained sufficient influence to procure the disgrace of De Gié, whom she pursued with the most unrelenting hatred. "I am satisfied," is said to have been her remark, on hearing a most unjust sentence which she had bribed the Parliament of Toulouse to award; "I seek not his blood, rather may he continue to live as abased and as lowly as he has heretofore been great! may he linger on in pain, sorrow, and remorse, a hundred-fold worse than death itself!" For the sake of charity, and for the honour of human nature we rejoice to be able to consider this anecdote as apocryphal †.

But although thus basely abandoning a faithful and devoted servant to the revenge of an imperious woman, Louis arose from his bed of sickness with an unshaken resolution to terminate, at every risk of danger and even of dishonour, a Treaty, which he now felt must compromise the

* Pierre de Rohan was an old opponent of the Duke of Brittany, and a reputed lover of Louisa of Savoy. Whatever might be his ruling motive, he saved France on this occasion.

† We believe that the speech does not rest on better authority than that of Brantôme, whose words possess untranslatable strength. *Car étant mort il seroit trop heureux, mais elle vouloit qu'il vécût bas et ravalé, ainsi qu'il avoit été paravant grand; afin qu'il vécût en marissons, douleurs, et tristesses, qui lui feroient plus de mal cent fois que la mort même.* *Femmes Illust.*, Anne de Bretagne.

independence of his Country. He had learned enough of the alarm with which France contemplated the execution of the Treaty of Blois, to render him as desirous for its breach, as he had ever hitherto known himself for its completion. Isabella of Castile was already dead, but the provisions of her Will were likely to afford fertile grounds for dispute between her widowed husband Ferdinand and the Arch-duke Philip; for by one clause she invested the former with the Regency of Spain, until Charles of Luxemburgh should attain his one-and-twentieth year, provided either Philip or Jane should prove incompetent to the task. Rumour had already declared the unhappy Princess to be a lunatic; and Louis took all pains to foment the dispute which he foresaw must consequently arise between the Arch-duke and his father-in-law. In the very face therefore of the

A. D. 1505. Treaty of Blois, he secretly ceded all his claims on Naples

Oct. 12. to Ferdinand, upon his accepting the hand of Germaine de Foix*, a niece whom the King of France thus richly dowered

A. D. 1506. in order to promote discontent; and he employed the many

Jan. April. months during which the avarice of Henry VII. retained Philip as a virtual prisoner in England, in negotiations which might give him strength to avow his ultimate design.

At length when his preparations were fully matured, he summoned the States-General to Tours. The Kingdom at the moment was in profound tranquillity; and the laudable economy with which the revenue had been administered, even during preceding seasons of less repose, made any new impost unnecessary. Conjecture therefore exercised itself fruitlessly in divining reasons for this most unexpected meeting. The Deputies waited upon the King at Tours, and instead of presenting a Remonstrance or an Address concerning Grievances, documents with which for the most part they had been in the habit of approaching the throne of his predecessors, they enumerated the great benefits which France had derived from his sway, the suppression of military licence, the careful expenditure of the finances, and the equitable distribution of justice which had distinguished his reign; and on these accounts, in the name of their colleagues they hailed him "Father of his Country." The new Titus received with tears this mark of National applause; and it might have remained doubtful whether the former part of the scene were the result of pre-concertment, but for the peroration with which the chief Deputy concluded: "Sire, we have come hither, under your pleasure, to urge a request for the general good of your Realm; and your servants in all humility beseech you that you would confer your only daughter in marriage upon Francis Count of Angoulême here present, who is in all respects a staunch Frenchman." Louis pretended surprise, and answered, through his Chancellor, that the proposition

* Sister of Gaston de Foix, daughter of Jehn de Foix and his third wife Mary of Clèves, sister of Louis XII.

was entirely new to him, but that he would discuss it with the Princes of his Blood, and would act according to their advice.

The consultation with the Princes was not long protracted, nor was the announcement of its result tardy. Louis replied to the Estates, that he condescended to grant their request, and that, May 22. the betrothment should be celebrated immediately. Within two days, indeed, the Cardinal of Amboise pronounced the blessing *. Philip was too deeply engaged in Castilian politics to resent this breach of contract at the moment; and, before the close Sep. 25. of September, a pestilential fever, contracted at Burgos, terminated his life at the early age of twenty-eight years, and left the wrong unavenged.

It was from Italy that the first interruption of tranquillity was to occur to France; and the turbulent Julius II. (a ruler far better adapted to the helmet than to the tiara) not long after his attainment of the Papal throne, determined upon the reduction of all the Feudatories who had defied the authority of his predecessors; a step which he considered preparatory to his secretly cherished design of the expulsion of the Barbarians who had intruded within the Alps. Perugia and Bologna were the first objects upon which he successfully directed his attempts, and there can be little doubt that an insurrection, which for awhile menaced the French predominance in Genoa, was aided, if not caused, by his emissaries. The new masters had not borne themselves meekly in that city, and they had supported the Nobility altogether against the Plebeian interest, among which Julius had large family connexions.

An act of aggression, by one of these licensed oppressors A. D. 1506. occasioned a popular tumult; and the lower Orders were July 18.

for the most part successful in a series of struggles, in which they were headed by one of their own class, who, according to established custom, filled the office of Doge. This silk-dyer, Paolo di Novi, is represented to have been a man of courage, of abilities, and of integrity; and his progress so far alarmed the King of France, that he determined to confront him personally. The Citizens * A. D. 1507. were too rich, too commercial in their habits, and too divided April 29. in their opinions to make any long or effectual resistance, and

after a few slight skirmishes, Louis entered the walls in triumph †, and pardoned the rebels. But from the provisions of the Act of Grace, seventy-nine persons were excepted; Novi himself was seized and executed a few months afterwards in Corsica; and a mulct of 300,000 florins was imposed upon the inhabitants to defray the expenses of the War. The

* Francis was only twelve years of age; Claude but six.

† *Entro in Genova la persona del Re, con tutte le gente d'arme e arcieri della guardia, ed egli a piè, sotto il baliaorchino armato tutto di armi bianche con un stocco nudo in mano.* Guicciardini, ii. 8. p. 125. M. de Sismondi, *Rep. It.* xiii. 572, refers to this passage among others, and inadvertently states that Louis made his entry *à cheval*.

impossibility of raising this levy, amounting to a moiety of the taxation of all France, was the single motive which induced Louis to accept one-third of it in commutation; and having bridled * the City by the erection of a strong fortress, and by the curtailment of several municipal privileges, he disbanded his army, and returned to celebrate some fêtes at Milan.

May 14. Louis was scarcely disengaged from the chastisement of Genoa, before he joined one of the most remarkable confederacies presented by Modern History, whether we consider the versatility of the chief contracting parties, or the false policy and perfidious nature of the object which France proposed to herself. With the single exception of the short campaign of Charles VIII. preceding the engagement at Fornovo, thirteen years before, Venice had been the professed and faithful ally of France. She had assisted in the conquest of the Milanese in 1599, and yet later she had drawn down upon herself an attack from Maximilian by refusing a passage through her dominions which A. D. 1508. might facilitate his views upon Lombardy. She had rejected June 7. an overture for separate Peace offered by the Emperor, and it was not till he had included France in the negotiation that she consented to a general Truce in all Italy for the next three years.

Louis indeed affected some resentment that the Duke of Gueldres, who was engaged in a petty war with Maximilian and whose cause the French therefore espoused, was not invited to share in this Treaty; but the Venetians justly replied, that the Duke of Gueldres was not *their* ally, and that existing compacts bound them only to the protection of the Milanese. The great wealth, the large possessions, the unbroken prosperity, and the consummate prudence of the Signory had long awakened universal jealousy; and the hereditary Monarchs of Europe were mortified whenever they found themselves in contact with the Merchants of the Adriatic, who exercised the power without bearing the title of independent Royalty. In the XVIth Century immediate gain formed the wisdom of Statescraft; and we look in vain for that sounder policy which foresees and averts prospective danger. Louis had already lost Naples; and unscrupulous as to means of indemnification, it appeared to him far more easy to enlarge the Milanese, which he still retained, than to recover the conquest which had been wrung from him. To despoil an ancient ally for his own advantage was in his eyes no breach of public virtue; nor did he perceive the folly of effecting that purpose by entering into new engagements with those who had hitherto been his enemies, and who doubtless would again become so whenever the bond was removed which linked them in temporary union. While the Veronese and Friuli remained as a barrier in the hands of Venice

* *La quale perché può offendere tutto il porto e parte della Città è non immeritamente chiamata la Briglia.* Guicciardini, ii. 8. 126.

supported by France, the Milanese was impregnable from Germany; and it seems to have required but little sagacity to perceive that if the Barbarians were once admitted to a share of those fertile plains, they would in time possess themselves of the whole.

The experience purchased by the results of the Treaty of Grenada was lost however upon France; and Louis proposed a Conference between his Minister the Cardinal of Amboise, and Margaret the widowed Duchess of Savoy, who governed the Netherlands for her father Maximilian. The adjustment of the quarrel with Gueldres was the nominal object of discussion, and both the Pope and the King of Spain were invited to send Envoys to the Congress. Before the arrival however of Plenipotentiaries from either of these Powers, the vigorous diplomatists of France and Germany had proceeded to a definitive Treaty, and assuming the consent of the absent parties; they had Dec. 10. signed the celebrated *League of Cambray*. Without touching upon the feud with the Duke of Gueldres, or the disputed Regency of Castile, Maximilian, in a Protocol which was immediately published, renounced the claim of his grandson to the hand of the Princess Claude, and granted to the French King a new investiture of Milan upon the receipt of 100,000 crowns. Far more important terms were contained in a secret document which, after a disclaimer on all hands of any alliance with Venice, revived the Articles formerly arranged at Blois. Louis engaged to attack the Republic in the ensuing Spring, and to continue the War until he had mastered Brescia, Crema, Bergamo, Cremona, and la Ghiarra d'Adda, or the *gravelly* district bounded by that River. Within forty days from the movement of the French, the Pope was to excommunicate the Doge and Signory, to seize Ravenna, Cervia, Faenza, Rimini, Imola, and Céséna, and to summon the Emperor Elect to his assistance as Advocate* of the Church. Padua, Verona, and Vicenza were to fall to Maximilian as the share of the Empire; Roveredo, Trevisa, and Friuli as that of Austria. The King of Aragon might, if he so pleased, possess himself of maritime Puglia; and the Regency of Castile, remaining in abeyance till six months after the conclusion of the War, was then to be decided by umpires. Minor baits were at the same time thrown out by which the Kings of Hungary and of Cyprus, the Dukes of Ferrara and of Savoy, and the Marquess of Mantua, were allowed to join the mighty host thus iniquitously arrayed for the destruction of an unoffending Power†.

Julius II., notwithstanding his hatred of Venice and the impetuosity of disposition which betrayed him into frequent acts most unbecoming a Spiritual Prince, was not without a dogged sense of justice, which in the first instance revolted from the disgraceful part assigned to him by this Treaty; nor was he altogether satisfied that the Cardinal of Amboise had thought fit to pledge him without direct authority. When the Venetian

* See Note ‡, p. 40.

† Guicciardini, l. viii. tom. ii. p. 180.

Resident therefore had neglected some indirect communication made to him by the Pontiff's desire, Julius invited him into his own barge, under the pretext of a water-excursion, and then laid before him a Copy of the League, at the same time offering to renounce all connexion with it provided the Senate would restore Faenza and Rimini. The proposition was received coldly. Venice, although surrounded with so great a throng of foes, felt confidence in the justice of her cause and prepared for defence, resolved not to surrender without a struggle that which it must cost a victory to win from her. Perhaps she mistrusted the sincerity of the Vatican, and her politic statesmen fully appreciated the want of tenacity which rendered the dissolution of the League certain unless it succeeded in its first attack.

The French army amounted to about 30,000 men, more than two-thirds of which were infantry, great part of them levied for the first time among the native Peasantry, and officered by gallant Knight adventurers, by Bayard, Molart, Richemont La Crote, Odet d'Aydet, and others of equal distinction in the Military Chronicles. The opulence of Venice enabled her very rapidly to assemble a force superior in numbers, and formed of the best *condottieri* whom Italy supplied; and she quartered upon the banks of the Oglio 2500 lances, 1500 light-armed horse, 1800 Stradiots, 18,000 mercenary infantry, and 12,000 militia. This great army was headed by two Generals of widely different temperaments. Bartholomew of Alviano impetuously, panted to chase the invaders altogether from Lombardy; Nicholas Pitigliano was content with defensive measures, and with the occupation of an intrenched camp until the French should be exhausted by the siege of fortresses on the Adda.

In consequence of this backwardness, the middle of May arrived without the French having been able to provoke a Battle, which Louis for his own glory was anxious should occur before he was A. D. 1509. joined by his allies. The Pope had already issued his Bull April 27. of Excommunication, in which, after the Venetians had been fiercely denounced as usurpers, traitors, and perpetual enemies of the Christian name, all the Faithful were invited to confederate for their destruction, to share in the confiscation of their existing property, and of whatever produce might hereafter be derived from the sale of their persons as slaves.

Both armies were encamped on the left of the Adda, the passage of which river Trivulzio boasted to Louis was equivalent to a victory; the Venetians within lines near Triviglio, which the French were unable to force, and in connection with their Magazines at Crema. Louis marched upon that town by a circuitous road, which led along the river—May 14. bank through Rivolto and Agnadello, the Venetians took a much shorter but a more difficult route along the heights of Vailà. A ravine thickly planted prevented all sight of each other until that village was gained; and it had already been left behind by Pitigliano

who commanded the van, when d'Alviano, in debouching upon it with the rear, became engaged with the advanced guard of the French. D'Alviano requested his colleague to halt for his support, but the elder General, who knew how much his brother commander desired an action, resisted the application as a stratagem, and continued his onward march. Thus, while the French were increasing in numbers by the advance of the main body, the Venetians were proportionately diminished. D'Alviano, however, took what advantage the ground afforded, and disposing his infantry among some vineyards, and his artillery upon a dyke formed to stem a torrent at that time dry, gallantly maintained an unequal combat for more than four hours. At one time the French men-at-arms were broken, but they were rallied on more open ground by Louis in person, unmindful of the danger to which he became exposed; nor was it till d'Alviano himself had been severely wounded in the face, 8000 of his choicest foot slain, and twenty cannons had fallen into the hands of the enemy, that he consented to surrender. A band of 6000 infantry levied in the Romagna, and bearing the name of Naldo de Brisighella, by whom they had been trained, fell to a man in this most bloody contest, and the loss of this division alone was more than double that of the numbers killed in the entire French army.

Louis followed up his victory with consummate skill and great rapidity; he mastered Bergamo, Caravaggio, and Peschiera in a few days, but unfortunately he sullied his success by egregious cruelty, putting both the garrisons and the inhabitants for the most part to the sword. In fifteen days he conquered that share of Lombardy which had been assigned to himself by the League of Cambray, and added a yearly revenue of 200,000 ducats to the Treasury of Milan. Some accounts* affirm that having penetrated into Mestre, he discharged five or six hundred shots from a battery raised at Fusina, in order that he might make the idle boast of having bombarded Venice. Daru, however, maintains that the French never advanced beyond Verona.

Meanwhile the confederates were not wanting in their respective quarters; and the Pope, the Duke of Ferrara, the Marquess of Mantua, and Ferdinand of Aragon were alike successful in the districts assigned to them. Maximilian alone was absent: he had spent his subsidies, and when his vassals at last began to assemble, it was at their own expense. Louis was deeply offended by the Emperor's failure at a Conference appointed to be held at the Castle of Guarda, and he returned to France after disbanding his army, and leaving not more than 500 lances to act as auxiliaries under La Palisse. The chivalric Bayard, with 200 gentlemen volunteers, annexed himself to this force; but in spite of their gallantry and of the enormous host, exceeding 60,000 men, which the Emperor at length gathered before Padua, he was Oct. 3. compelled to raise its siege and to abandon his enterprise.

* Brantôme, Louis XII.

The vengeance of Julius II. was now fully gratified; he had recovered the lost Fiefs of the Church in Romagna, and with all his faults he was free from nepotism. Not seeking therefore for the aggrandisement of his own family, he easily perceived that the destruction of Venice would weaken his favorite project of expelling the Barbarians. Reverting to this design, as the French had invited first the Spaniards, and afterwards the Germans, with the French he resolved to begin.

With this view he published a Bull reconciling Venice to the Church, and on the remonstrance of Louis that such a step was a breach of the League, he not only pleaded the right of the A. D. 1510. Feb. 24. common parent of Christendom to pardon repentant sinners, but he also accused Louis of having first violated the League by protecting the Duke of Ferrara. He made overtures to Henry VIII. of England, who had recently ascended his father's throne, and he presented him with the Paschal Rose* as a mark of especial favour. But it was in Switzerland that his intrigues were most successful; and by the agency of the Cardinal, Bishop of Sion in the Valais, he prevented a renewal of the ten years' Truce with France which had just expired, and for the purchase of which an increased price was required by the mountaineers.

During these intrigues, the King of France lost from his councils the most able and the most confidential of his Ministers. The May 25. Cardinal of Amboise expired at Lyons, burthened with years and with riches: his coffers contained eleven millions of livres; and all his relations had been elevated to lucrative offices. Louis himself assuming the reins of government, renewed the campaign with vigour, and largely reinforced the Imperial army to the great detriment of the Venetians, who, on the death of Pitigliano†, were but languidly commanded by their new General, Baglione. The cruelties perpetrated by the Germans during this campaign were so horrible, that we gladly avoid any mention of them.

Julius, pursuing the system which had hitherto been so successful, granted the investiture of Naples to Ferdinand the Catholic July 7. in the course of the summer; and he arranged that at the same moment a Venetian fleet should excite insurrection by appearing before Genoa, 15,000 Swiss should descend upon Milan, and the Papal troops under his own nephew the Duke of Urbino, supported by a Spanish corps, should enter the Ferrarese. Want of concert in the execution, which so frequently is the bane of detached movements, frustrated this well-conceived project, so that each of the diversions proved only partially successful. Louis, not less anxious for spiritual than for

* The Popes were in the habit of consecrating a richly-perfumed Golden Rose every Easter, which they sent as a mark of especial favour to some sovereign Prince.

† He died at the end of February in this year, in consequence of fatigue endured during the siege of Padua.

military support in a War which brought him into direct collision with the Head of Christendom, threw himself upon his clergy, and convoked an assembly of the Gallican Church at Tours, Sept. 14. which authorized him to make war upon the Pope, in defence either of himself or of the Duke of Ferrara, and to break all temporal relations with the Vatican. Julius in return issued a Bull of Excommunication against the chief Commanders of the French army, whom he specified by name. Chaumont, however, undeterred by this spiritual artillery, advanced upon Bologna, a City little capable of defence, and in which the Papal Court lay unprotected by troops. The near approach of a hostile army struck terror into every breast except that of the intrepid old man; but Julius, though confined to his bed by a severe attack of fever, partly by stimulating the sluggishness of the Venetians, and partly by amusing the French with a show of negotiation, obtained a timely succour which enabled him to defy Oct. 13. attack. The Pope on his convalescence personally invested Concordia and Mirandola*, the first of which towns surrendered by the middle of December. Mirandola, far stronger of the two, offered a more protracted resistance, and the opening days A. D. 1511. of the new year exhibited the unseemly spectacle of the "Vicar of the Prince of Peace" directing a battery with his own hands. So careless was Julius of the fire of the garrison, that two of his domestics were killed in the quarters which he commonly occupied. So little did he regard his own personal safety, that it was only the accidental delay of a few minutes opportunely occasioned by a snow-storm which saved him from being cut off by an ambuscade, which "the Knight without fear and without reproach" had laid for him in one of his reconnoissances†. On the surrender of Mirandola, he mounted the breach by a ladder, and entered the town at the head of his conquering troops. Chaumont, who received instructions to March 11. stem this victorious course, died from vexation at his want of success, and was succeeded in command by Trivulzio, who for a time attempted negotiation.

In the Congress which assembled at Mantua for the adjustment of a general Peace, France perhaps was the only Power sincere in the intention of terminating the War; and the wild and April 25. impetuous demands of the Pope soon rendered the meeting unproductive. The recapture of Concordia, and an advantage obtained over the Papal army at Casalecchio proved May 21. fruitless owing to the supineness of Maximilian; and Louis, perceiving that he was ill seconded in the field, disbanded his army. *

He next attempted to meet the military Priest, not by martial but by sacerdotal weapons. Five discontented Cardinals had taken refuge in

* Concordia and Mirandola belonged to the little territory of Luigi Pico, who, having married a daughter of Trivulzio, was in the French interest.

† *Hist. de Chev. Bayard*, cap. 43.

Tuscany, and their agency was employed to summon an Œcumenical Council to meet on the next first of September at Pisa. The experiment failed altogether. Both Ferdinand of Spain and Henry VIII. of England signified disagreement. The Clergy of France received the proposition with coldness. The Pope issued a Bull for the Convocation of a General Council at the Lateran in the ensuing year, and when the schismatic Cardinals met at Pisa, they were compelled to disperse with ridicule. Julius meantime had succeeded in consolidating what he termed a *Holy League* in defence of the Church, in which the chief parties were himself, the King of Spain, and the Republic of Venice. A menaced descent of the Swiss upon the Milanese, from which they were bribed to desist by ample payment, for awhile arrested the prompt movements which Louis had designed on receiving intelligence of the signature of this League; and the Spanish General Raymond de Car-

Feb. 15. dona effected a junction with the Papal troops under Bologna before he could be confronted by Gaston de Foix, Duke of Nemours, and nephew of Louis, who, although only in his twenty-second year, had evinced the most brilliant military qualities.

The relief of Bologna was the first exploit in the short career of this gallant young leader. A spirited assault upon Brescia, which the Venetians had surprised during his absence, is chiefly remarkable on account of a severe wound which for a time deprived the French of the services of the Chevalier Bayard; and the sack of the town, which followed after a bloody carnage, tended greatly to impair the discipline of the French army.

Henry VIII., meantime, allured by the hope of recovering Guyenne, and yielding to the persuasions of the King of Spain, his father-in-law, declared his accession to the Holy League; and it every day became more evident that the wavering conduct of Maximilian would end in a total withdrawal from alliance with France. Gaston de Foix indeed received certain intelligence that a Truce had been already signed, and that a courier was on the road to order the retirement of the Germans, who formed at least one-third of his army. Stimulated by this information, by the instructions of his Court, and by the natural ardour of youth, he earnestly sought battle, which Cardona as ear-

April 11. nestly declined. The skilful manoeuvres of Gaston, how-
Easter-day. ever, brought on a murderous engagement under the walls of Ravenna. The army of the League was wholly broken by the superiority of the artillery of the Duke of Ferrara which enfiladed its line*; not however until 38 out of 40 Captains commanding the French and more than 2000 men had been slain by a vigorous fire from the confederate entrenchments. The Spanish Infantry, however, which

* The Duke of Ferrara's cannonade swept to the opposite flank of the French, whose line was arrayed semicircularly. Alfonso strenuously denied to Paulus Jovius (*Vita*, p. 831) a calumny which accused him of saying that it was of no consequence whether his bullets killed French or Spaniards, since both alike were Foreigners, Barbarians, and Enemies

had been ordered at first to lie flat on the ground, still resisted. They were the most distinguished soldiers in Europe: employing muskets intermingled with halberds, and, heavily armed in complete mail, they threw themselves with sword and dagger upon the unwieldy pikes of the German Landsknechts*. It was not till the French men-at-arms concentrated themselves for a final charge that the Spaniards began to retire, and even then they withdrew slowly and in good order. Many leaders of distinction were slain in the pursuit; Lautrec was left for dead with twenty gashes, and the brave Gaston was killed. It is recorded of him that, for the love of his mistress, he wore his arm without mail from the elbow to the wrist, and that after shivering the first lance which was broken on this day, he rode about the field giving orders, and not reserving to himself any particular position; he was unhorsed in the pursuit, and the cry of his comrades declaring his name, and urging the Spaniards to give quarter to the brother of their Queen, was unheard or unregarded by some unknown and obscure enemy, who plunged a sword into his bosom. Among the distinguished prisoners captured by the French was the Legate Cardinal John of Medici. The field was covered with dead; and Guicciardini, whose computation is much lower than that of other Historians, names 10,000 men, one-third of whom belonged to the conquerors. The loss was not a little enhanced on both sides by the high rank of most of the killed†.

The illustrious birth, the military skill, the chivalrous qualities, the brilliant success, and the early death of Gaston de Foix have deservedly given him a high rank in the catalogue of heroes, and the day of Ravenna, although tarnished with grief for his fall, is still among the brightest epochs of French glory. But Glory was the only produce reaped from this blood-sodden field. Reinforcements were denied to La Palisse who succeeded to command, and the parsimony of the Commissaries disbanded the greater part of even the National troops which remained to him after the Germans had withdrawn according to the orders of Maximilian. That restless and vacillating Prince not only dissolved his alliance with France, but he permitted the Swiss to pour an overwhelming Body of mountaineers over St. Gothard into Lombardy. An insurrection at Genoa commenced almost simultaneously, so that, notwithstanding the brilliant opening of the Campaign, before the close of the year the French were compelled to abandon the whole of their Italian conquests, and the dynasty of Sforza was restored at Milan in the person of Maximilian, a son of Lodovico the Dec. 29. More, under the protection of the Swiss and of the Holy League.

* These pikes were from sixteen to eighteen feet in length. *Landsknechts* must be carefully distinguished from *Lanzknechts*. The former means country-folk, i. e., men of the open country, not mountaineers.

† Guicciardini, lib. x. tom. ii. p. 467. The 54th chapter of the *Hist. de Chev.* Bayard gives a very confused account of the battle.

The Holy League, however, was ill compacted for long duration ; and the very success which attended its outset contributed to accelerate its decay, on account of the extravagant pretensions advanced by the contracting parties. To reconcile the opposite claims of the Swiss, of the Pope, of Ferdinand, and of Maximilian, was by no means an easy task ; and Louis, after a vain endeavour to procure reconciliation with the Helvetic Cantons, was on the eve of again confiding in the Emperor and the Venetians, when these contradictory negotiations were A. D. 1513. interrupted by the unexpected death of Julius, his chief Feb. 21. enemy. A slight fever accompanied with dysentery brought to their close the days of a Pontiff who, notwithstanding the unbecoming vehemence with which he pursued his designs, has had few who can compete with him in ability, and in earnestness for that which he considered to be the legitimate aggrandizement of the Holy See.

The Cardinal of Medici, who succeeded under the title of Leo X., and who had been made prisoner at the Battle of Ravenna, had escaped from captivity on the evacuation of the Milanese by the French. So strongly was he impressed by a remembrance of his misfortunes, that he chose for his Coronation the anniversary of the Battle, and rode to the Lateran on the very horse which had carried him on that fatal day. Louis earnestly desired reconciliation with the Holy See, and it was with reluctance that he was again forced into hostilities. The March 23. diplomacy of this period is most complicated, but it may suffice to say that Venice became the ally of France, and April 5. that by a Treaty signed at Malines, the Emperor, the new Pope, the Kings of England and of Spain were leagued in opposition. No sooner had La Trémouille descended the Alps, than the fickle Lombards and Genoese revolted in his favour. Milan, dissatisfied with the experiment which it had made of Swiss mastery, expelled Maximilian Sforza, who took refuge in Novarra ; and on the same spot which thirteen years before had witnessed the discomfiture of his father, the son was attacked by the same General, and protected by the same friends.

La Trémouille accordingly, and apparently with just confidence, anticipated a result very similar to that which had attended his former enterprise, and he was prepared to make new disbursements for the purchase of a captive. But the motives of the Swiss who had betrayed Lodovico and of those who now espoused the cause of Maximilian were widely different. The former had served only as mercenaries, and they considered honour as a not less marketable commodity than life. The latter were volunteers, armed in behalf of a Prince whom they had chosen, and whose success they identified with the glory of their Country. Such were the feelings with which they marched upon the Camp near Riotta, stormed its batteries which they turned against the French themselves, repulsed the men-at-

arms by their forest of pikes, and, after mowing down 10,000 infantry (half of which were German landsknechts whom they regarded with peculiar bitterness as supplying their own place), returned in triumph to Navarra, unable to follow up pursuit, on account of their total want of cavalry.

Pursuit however was quite needless, since, in spite of the remonstrances of the Venetian *Provveditori*, La Trémouille, without attempting the defence of Piémont, instantly recrossed the Alps. France, indeed, wanted all her soldiers for the protection of her own frontiers, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the funds requisite for her safety were provided by increase of taxes, by voluntary donations, and by mortgages of the Royal domains.

The most serious attack was made by the English. Henry VIII., indignant that his father-in-law Ferdinand had entered into a secret Convention with Louis, projected a combined invasion with Maximilian and the Swiss. The former applied to his own use the hundred thousand crowns transmitted to him as a subsidy, and then flattered the idle vanity of the young English Monarch, by stating that he disdained to serve in the same ranks with peasants, and that he would place himself under the orders of the King, at a pay which he fixed at a hundred crowns per day. Henry received this despatch on his arrival at Calais, and enjoyed the empty gratification of counting the first monarch in Christendom among his hired soldiers.

Térouanne, the City which he resolved to besiege, was defended by a garrison of 400 men, and although strongly fortified, was badly provisioned. The army despatched for its relief received positive orders not to fight, which it obeyed too strictly on one occasion, when the chances were greatly in its favour*. The Commander of the garrison found means to signify that his stores were nearly exhausted, and the French Generals wishing to divert the attention of the English while they threw in supplies, directed 1400 men-at-arms on the heights of Guinegatte, while a body of light cavalry was instructed to approach the ditch of Térouanne, into which each man was to toss from his horse's head a barrel of salted meat, and another of gunpowder. The latter part of the enterprise was successfully conducted; but the destination of the men-at-arms became known to the enemy, and on arrival on the heights the French were surprised by finding arrayed against them 10,000 English Archers, 4,000 landsknechts, and eight pieces of Artillery. The confusion was immediate and general, and each man fled for his life. The few Captains who gallantly attempted resistance were taken, and if the English had possessed cavalry, the whole Body must have shared their fate. Among the prisoners were the most illustrious of the French War-

* *Hist. de Chev. Bayard*, cap. 57.

rions: the Duke of Longueville*, La Palisse, Bayard, La Fayette, Clermont d'Anjou and Bussy d'Amboise. The day received its name, the *Battle of Spurs*, from the only weapon which the French

Aug. 22. Soldiery actively employed; and Téroüanne, hopeless of succour, surrendered to Maximilian, who razed it to the ground †.

Meantime, the Swiss with a formidable band of 20,000 men had made an irruption into Burgundy, and had already effected two breaches in the old and crumbling walls of Dijon. La Trémouille, who commanded, knew the mercenary nature of the enemy against whom he had to act; and having bribed the chief officers, he concluded a Treaty

Sept. 13. which he must have foreknown Louis would refuse to ratify, but which succeeded in inducing the army of Zurich to return to its Canton. The Peace stipulated that the King should immediately restore any possession belonging to the Holy See which he might then occupy, that he should evacuate the Citadels of Milan, of Cremona, and of Asti, and respect the independence of the Duchy of Milan as now re-established. It was agreed also that, exclusively of private gratuities, 400,000 crowns should be paid to the Diet. The King was indignant when he received intelligence of this degrading contract. La Trémouille endeavoured to appease him by pleading constraint, and Louis, by temporizing, evaded payment, but encountered the lasting resentment of the Swiss. After the surrender of Téroüanne, Maximilian and Henry directed their arms against Tournay. That ancient town was proud, among its other privileges, of exemption from a garrison, and when Louis had offered to provide for its defence at the opening of the campaign, he received a punning reply, "That *Tournay* never had *turned* and never would *turn* †." A few hours' cannonade, however, compelled the

Sept. 24. burghers to lower their boastful tone, and they capitulated to Henry, who, having concerted a renewal of the campaign

Oct. 17. in the ensuing Spring, returned to England, well satisfied with his essay in arms.

During the winter, however, an event occurred productive of much change in general politics. Anne of Bretany, who exercised
A. D. 1514. great control over her husband, and who had always evinced
Jan. 9. marked dislike to any rupture with the Pope, expired at Blois after a long illness, and Louis, still anxious for a male heir, determined to renew the nuptial contract. One of the immediate consequences of the death of the Queen was the union of
May — Francis d'Angoulême, Duke of Valois, and heir-presumptive, with the Princess Claude, to whom he had been betrothed

* Husband of Mary of Guise, future Queen of Scotland.

† The Secretary of Bayard says that it was dismantled by Henry VIII., in violation of the Terms of surrender. Cap. 57.

‡ "Que Tournay n'avoit jamais tourné, ni encore ne tourneroit." *Mémoires de Fleuranges*, 151, cited by M. de Sismondi, xv. 654.

eight years; a marriage, the completion of which had been prevented by the speculation which Anne continued to cherish of obtaining the heir of Austria as her son-in-law; and by her hatred and jealousy of Louisa of Savoy, mother of the Duke d'Angoulême. The Austrian party still hoped to provide Louis himself with a bride from that House which they favoured, and they suggested first Margaret, Regent of the Netherlands, for whom the King had already shown some symptoms of inclination. But that Princess, although she had been twice married, was childless by each husband, and Louis hearkened with greater readiness when her niece Eleanor was proposed, the acceptance of whose hand would bind him closely to Ferdinand and Maximilian. The Duke of Longueville, however, who during captivity in England, since the Battle of the Spurs, had contracted great familiarity with Henry VIII. *, negotiated for Mary, a younger sister of that King, who had long since been betrothed to Charles of Austria; and Louis, who preferred the alliance of England to that of the Empire, anxiously urged on the Treaty. The dower of the Princess was to be 400,000 crowns, but Louis renewing the terms of the Treaty of Etaples, engaged to pay the King of England a sum of 100,000 crowns for ten years, a payment which was variously described as a tribute, and as a Treaty. The marriage was Aug. 7. celebrated at Greenwich, where the Duke of Longueville officiated as proxy. The bride soon afterwards embarked, Aug. 13. and was received by her expectant husband at Abbeville. The union terminated a dangerous War with England, but Oct. 11. the disproportion of years between the contracting parties, and the change of habits which it brought to the King, soon hurried him to the grave †. After a round of Fêtes and Court Ceremonies, to which he had been little accustomed, he expired at Paris, worn out with debility, on the first of January, 1515; and his A. D. 1515. young widow, who had either surrendered her private inclinations to ambition, or had been compelled to sacrifice them Jan. 1. to State policy, within two months after his death became the willing bride of her favoured lover, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.

* Henry was in the habit of playing tennis with the Duke, and on one occasion purposely lost to him his ransom of 50,000 crowns.

† Brantôme, whose authority is not worth much whenever a Lady's reputation is at stake, speaks very slightly of Queen Mary. The Secretary of Bayard (cap. 58) says that Louis had no great inclination to the match, but that "like a pelican" he sacrificed himself for the good of his People.

CHAPTER XX.

*From A. D. 1515 to A. D. 1529.

Accession of Francis I.—The Ministry—Renewal of the War in Italy—Battle of Marignano—Capture of Milan—Bourbon appointed Governor—Concordat with Leo X.—Francis returns to France—Accession of Charles V.—Charles V. and Francis I. Candidates for the Empire—Success of Charles V.—Interview of “the Field of the Cloth of Gold”—Treaty between Francis and Leo X. for the partition of Naples—Treachery and death of Leo X.—Misfortunes of Lautrec—Battle of Bicocca—Execution of Semblançay—Disgrace and revolt of the Constable Bourbon—Expedition of Bonnivet to Italy—Death of the Chevalier Bayard—Bourbon invades the South of France—besieges Marseilles—his retreat—Francis invades Italy—Siege and Battle of Pavia—Captivity of Francis—Energy of the Queen Mother—Transfer of Francis to Madrid—Ungenerous conduct of Charles—illness of Francis—his interview with Charles—reception of Bourbon—Francis threatens to abdicate—is released by the Treaty of Madrid—Violation of its terms by Francis—The Holy League—Storm of Rome by Bourbon—his death—Unfortunate campaign and death of Lautrec—Doria and the Genoese renounce alliance with France and engage with the Emperor—Francis challenges Charles—the French defeated at Landriano—Peace of Cambray.

FRANCIS I., Count of Angoulême, was in his twenty-first year when he ascended the throne. His chief confidence was given to A. D. 1515. his mother, Louisa of Savoy, and her principal agent, Antoine du Prât, whom he created Chancellor. Charles, Duke of Bourbon, was appointed Constable, and Philip Chabôt, Lord of Brion, and Anne of Montmorenci, who had enjoyed the King’s boyish favour by having been educated with him, were admitted to his inmost counsels.

It was not likely that a young and ardent Prince, eminently distinguished by those personal qualities which for the most part seem requisite for the acquirement of military glory, would long abstain from war, after he had once felt that he possessed means for waging it with success. Having accordingly renewed alliances with England, with Venice, with Genoa, and with Austria, Francis prepared for the recovery of the Milanese, in which dominion Maximilian Sforza was supported by the favour of Rome and the arms of Swiss mercenaries. Many foreign officers of distinguished merit engaged as volunteers in this expedition, and among them may be selected for mention a brave Spaniard, Pietro Navarra, who, having been taken prisoner at the Battle of Ravenna, had been neglected by his master, Ferdinand the Catholic, and offered himself to the service of France with 6000 Basques and Gascons, whom he had trained after the model of the Spanish infantry. The Queen Mother was appointed Regent, and Francis having assembled in the neighbourhood of Lyons nearly 60,000 men, and a proportionate

train of artillery, commenced his march to pass by Nice and the sea-coast through the Marquisate of Saluzzo. The Constable went in advance with three days' provision, and engaged himself in a pass of the Alps hitherto unpenetrated by any great army, to the left of Mount Génèvre. The Swiss employed in the defence of the Milanese were completely baffled by the unprecedented daring of this brilliant attempt. Part of them surrendered, and part negotiated for retreat, upon the payment of a certain sum of money. While this bargain was yet pending, a re-inforcement of 20,000 of their compatriots descended from the mountains, and indignant at the proposed terms, persuaded their Countrymen to endure the hazard of battle. The advanced posts of the French were scarcely a league distant from the gates of Milan, and the head-quarters of Francis were pitched at Marignano, about ten miles from that city. The Swiss, unsupported by their allies, who were far too distant to assist in the attack, poured out Sept. 13. of Milan about three in the afternoon, and advanced straight forward with a ditch on either side, and without any attention to tactics. The King, who was sitting down to table at the moment he received intelligence of the attack, ordered up about 9,000 landsnechts to harass the flanks of the Swiss beyond the ditches, while his artillery mowed them down in front. The Battle, however, continued to rage with violence, and apparently without advantage to either side till the setting of the Moon involved both armies in darkness, under cover of which the Chevalier Bayard effected a most hazardous escape. His horse had carried him away across one of the fosses through the first line of the Swiss, and was already approaching the second, when his rider finding means to dismount, and disencumbering himself from the heaviest parts of his armour, lay concealed, till nightfall enabled him to creep on his hands and feet unperceived to join his comrades*.

The King passed the night on the carriage of one of his cannons, and the only refreshment which he could obtain was some water dabbled with blood, brought him in a helmet from a neighbouring puddle. In the morning the attack was renewed by the Swiss, but they were alarmed by the arrival of some Venetian columns, which they mistook for the whole army of the Republic; and after a short skirmish they effected their retreat upon Milan in good order, and defying pursuit. Twelve thousand of their number and about half as many of the French had fallen, and among the latter are mentioned several names of distinction. The Duke of Chatelleraut, Imbercourt the Count of St. Cyr, Bussy, Talmond, La Meilleraye, de Roye, and the young Count of Pitigliano. The prize of valour in the two days' combat was assigned by universal consent to the Chevalier Bayard, and Francis honoured him accordingly by receiving knighthood from his sword†. "Heretofore," remarked the veteran

* *Histoire de Chevalier Bayard.* Chap. 60.† *Id., ibid.*

Trivulzio, "I have often fought with men, but the contest of Marignano must be considered a Battle with Giants*."

Pietro Navarra pushed on to Milan, and Sforza, abandoned by the Swiss, surrendered his Castle and retired into France on
 Oct. 4. an allowance of 30,000 crowns, from the bounty of the King.
 During the winter the King of France negotiated very leniently with Leo X., and arranged a Concordat in a Conference at Bologna, which was highly advantageous to the
 Dec. 10. Church. In the following Spring, after returning to Lyons, he disbanded his Italian army, leaving Milan to the defence of the Constable de Bourbon.

An attempt upon Lombardy tardily made by the Emperor Maximilian scarcely deserves notice. The death of Ferdinand the Catholic had already placed his Grandson, Charles of Austria, in possession of his Spanish dominions, and the Emperor was at length persuaded

Dec. 4. to accede to a Treaty originally signed at Noyon August 13th, by which were concluded the numerous Wars arising out of the unnatural League of Cambray. Various other negotiations also with England, with Switzerland, and with Venice, appeared to ensure the repose of France. Henry VIII. consented to restore Tournay on the payment of 600,000 crowns, more than half which sum was to be assigned as a portion to his daughter the Princess Mary be-
 A. D. 1518. trothed to the Dauphin. But the unexpected death of the

Oct. 4. Emperor Maximilian removed all these fair appearances of A. D. 1519. tranquillity, and when the Kings of Spain and France

Jan. 11. offered themselves as rival Candidates for succession to the Imperial Crown, it was manifest that seeds of much future contest would be scattered abroad. Bribes were lavishly dispensed by each of them. The Elector of Mayence espoused the cause of Charles, the Archbishop of Treves that of Francis, but the harangues which they respectively delivered in behalf of their Favourites tended more to awaken the fears of the Electoral College as to the danger which was to be expected from the success of either party, than to confirm the pretensions which they were intended to support. The Crown accordingly was tendered to Frederic, Elector of Saxony, and when he prudently and magnanimously declined the glittering but perilous offer, and gave his suffrage for the King of Spain, a unanimous vote called

July 5. Charles V. to the Throne, after a discussion which lasted during five months and ten days. Francis received the announcement of his failure with considerable dignity, and observed to the Spanish Ambassadors "that a disappointed suitor in Ambition, as well as in Love, never ought to cherish resentment if he were dismissed by his mistress †."

* The Battle of Marignano is related by Guicciardini, lib. xii.

† Guicciardini, lib. xiii.

Notwithstanding this specious appearance of self-control, Francis was bitterly mortified by his rejection, and he accordingly sought to strengthen alliances which might sooner or later enable him to take up arms. The avarice of Wolsey was always accessible by gold, and he had already been gained to support Charles by a pension of 7,000 ducats secured upon two Spanish Bishopricks, and an assurance of prompt assistance on the next vacancy of the Popedom, the well-known ultimate object of his ambition. Wolsey therefore had contrived a meeting, as if by accident, between the Emperor and his Master, while the latter was awaiting embarkation at Calais, for a much more A. D. 1520. formal interview with Francis, on that which from its magnificence has been denominated "the Field of the Cloth of Gold*," between Ardres and Guines. The chief houses of those towns were set apart for the Ladies of the two Courts, the Princes themselves occupied a temporary encampment, if wooden residences may so be called, which were distributed into three stories of apartments, saloons, and galleries, and in the Courts of which numerous fountains welled out Wine, Water, and Hippocras. The Lords on either side vied with each other in ruinous gorgeousness of equipage, and many Courtiers, as we are assured by a contemporary authority, bore on their shoulders their forests, their granaries, and their meadows†. Francis was soon wearied by the sombre etiquette which had thrown round all intercourse the nicest barriers, and without communicating his intention, he rose betimes one morning, and accompanied only by a single Page and two gentlemen as attendants, he rode before day-break to the English lines. Two hundred Archers who guarded the Royal tent were astonished at this apparition, but Francis demanded immediate admittance to their Master's pavilion. There, undrawing the curtains, he awakened Henry, who received the confidence thus bestowed upon him with a fitting acknowledgment, and after a mutual exchange of courtesy and of rich presents, and the return of a similar visit from Henry on the following morning, a most unreserved communication was established between the two Camps. Jousts, Tournaments, and athletic sports formed the occupation of the day, under two artificial trees, each twelve feet in height, their leaves composed of green damask, their branches and stems of cloth of gold, bearing silver flowers and fruits, a hawthorn and a raspberry, which were erected on a hill, as symbols (we know not why) of England and of France.

The English seem to have been particularly distinguished as Wrestlers. On one occasion, indeed, it is said, that Henry seized his Brother King by the collar and challenged him to a fall. Francis, who had the advantage in age and agility, overthrew his opponent, and when Henry •

* Fleurauges, p. 268.

† Bellay, I., p. 86.]

demanded his revenge, the by-standers discreetly interfered. These rude amusements were succeeded by balls and banquets, in which the ladies performed their parts also, and the Courts separated after three weeks of festivity, with evident demonstrations of affection and satisfaction, but with no real progress in the State business which had ostensibly brought them together.

The territory of Navarre was disputed between Henry II., a youth in his fourteenth year, Son of Jean and Catherine d'Albret, and Charles V., who claimed it as a descendant of Germaine de Foix. Henry was educated in the French Provinces, which were the only portions of his heritage remaining to him, and the first show of hostility towards Charles V. on the part of the King of France was, by his appearing as an auxiliary in an unsuccessful invasion projected for the recovery

A. D. 1521. of the dominions of this minor. But a more grievous source

June. of quarrel was opened in Italy by the very Power which ought most to have laboured for the continuance of Peace, and

Leo X. almost at the same moment signed Treaties directly contradictory of each other with the Courts of Paris and of Madrid. The Pope engaged himself to Francis to assist in the conquest of Naples, in the partition of which all the districts southward of the Garigliano were to fall to the share of the Church, the remainder was to be erected into a Kingdom for the second Son of Francis, under the tutelage of an Apostolic Legate until he should attain his majority. With Charles the wily Pontiff stipulated for the expulsion of the French from Italy, after which Milan was to be restored to Francesco Sforza, second Son of Lodovico the More, and Parma, Piacenza, and Ferrara were to be annexed to the Holy Sec. This traitorous double negotiation was discovered by Lautrec, the French General, on whom the command had devolved, and who represented that 400,000 crowns were requisite for the defence of the Milanese; the poverty of the Exchequer, or an intrigue of Semblançay, Intendant of the Finances, directed by the Queen Mother, to whom Lautrec was personally obnoxious, as brother of the favourite Royal Mistress, Madame de Chateaubriand, prevented this necessary supply. After a disastrous

• campaign, Lautrec abandoned Milan, and the three Cities coveted by the Pope fell into his possession. The joy of the Pontiff was

A. D. 1521. excessive, and he died so suddenly after the receipt of the in-

Dec. 1. telligence, as not to leave his unexpected removal entirely free from suspicion of poison, an imputation frequently attached

with insufficient grounds to the last hours of the Great.

• The unruly Swiss in the French service, who meted out their blood in a nice balance according to their weight of pay, loudly demanded battle or dismissal, and it was in vain that Lautrec, who knew that the Imperialists were more straitened than even himself, entreated them to

abstain for a short time from a contest which he foresaw would be hazardous. A brutal doggedness of courage was the only quality which they displayed when in the presence of the enemy, and having lost 3,000 men by an attack of the Imperial batteries at Bicocca* in front, they retired among the mountains with all their artillery and baggage. Lautrec presented himself at Court, and so far made good his complaints of the neglect which had destroyed him, that Semblançay was condemned to the gibbet for having obeyed the Queen Mother.

Meantime a languid show of War was made by the English and Flemings in Picardy, yet notwithstanding the calamities of Lombardy, it was still in Italy that the fate of arms was to be decided. The Constable de Bourbon having become a Widower, refused an alliance to which it is said the Queen Mother solicited him, and accompanied the rejection with insulting language, which Louisa, who still retained much personal beauty, although now in her forty-seventh year, was little likely to forgive. That haughty woman accordingly instigated against him a Process of the Parliament which menaced the deprivation of all his fiefs and dignities, and at length goaded his fiery spirit, in the hope of revenge, into traitorous negotiation with the agents of Spain and of England.

Bourbon indeed by no means intended to transfer the Sovereignty of France to Henry VIII., but his vengeance projected its dismemberment. He required that Provence and Dauphiné should be united with his own apanage of Bourbonnois and Auvergne, and erected into a Kingdom in his own favour, the Crown of which he was to wear in conjunction with Eleanor, Sister of the Emperor and Queen of Portugal †, who was to be given him in marriage with an enormous portion. On these conditions he engaged to assist Charles V. in the subjugation of Languedoc, Burgundy, Champagne, and Picardy, while Henry VIII. should overrun the remainder of France. In order to complete this service, he was ready to join the Imperial Army, with 1,000 Gentlemen and 6,000 foot, on the moment at which Francis should pass the Alps on an expedition which he was known to meditate for the recovery of the Milanese.

This Conspiracy was too widely ramified to escape detection, but Francis, in order that he might more vigilantly watch over the Constable, dissembled his knowledge, and resolved to secure his presence in Italy. Bourbon, however, prevented this derangement of his plans by feigning confinement to bed from illness during a visit which the King

*The battle of Bicocca is related by Guicciardini, lib. xiv., and the details of Lautrec's unfortunate Campaign are very ably compressed by M. de Sismondi. *Rep. It.*, tom. xv., 114.

† Afterwards, on the death of Queen Claude, married to Francis I. in 1530.

paid him at Meulins, but no sooner had Francis withdrawn than, taking to a litter till he had disencumbered himself from

Sept. 7. the spies with whom the King had surrounded him, he threw himself on horseback, and traversing the frontiers of Auvergne and Dauphiné, through remote paths and in perpetual fear of discovery, he at length found himself in safety beyond the confines of France. His chief associates, although arrested, escaped punishment, and the first attacks which he had concerted by 12,000 landsknechts upon Champagne, and by some Spaniards upon Bayonne, were effectually repulsed. The Duke of Norfolk (Thomas Howard) with 15,000 English under his command, and in combination with a somewhat larger number of Imperialists, made a more vigorous attempt on Picardy, and planted his banners within eleven leagues of Paris*; but La Trémouille made a gallant resistance. The King despatched a large reinforcement from Lyons, and the Duke of Norfolk, apprehensive of being enclosed between two armies, retired to his ships.

Francis, thus detained by the treachery of Bourbon, intrusted the expedition against Milan to the young, brave, debauched, and inconsiderate Bonnivet, who was met on his descent into Lom-

A. D. 1524. bardy by intelligence of the death of Pope Hadrian VI.

Sept. 14. Bonnivet's campaign exhibited little military skill, and having failed in the siege of Arona, he was compelled in the ensuing Spring to fall back upon a reserve of Swiss which awaited him on the banks of the Sesia. The retreat was conducted under great suffering and disaster, but is chiefly distinguished by the death of the Chevalier Bayard, who commanded the rear-guard at the moment in which the Sesia was gained, in consequence of a wound which had removed Bonnivet from that post of honour. No sooner did the Knight "without fear and without reproach" receive the ball which disabled him, than he requested to be placed with his back against a tree, and with his face towards the Enemy, and in that position employing the hilt of his sword as a crucifix, he fervently performed his devotions. The Duke of Bourbon passed by while the last agonies of the hero were approaching, and expressed pity at the untimely fate of so distinguished a Chevalier. "It is not upon me that you should waste pity," exclaimed the dying Bayard, when this remark was conveyed to him, "it is rather for yourself that it should be reserved. I fall like a man of honour, but cordially do I pity *you* who are serving against your Prince, against your Country, and against your oath." As the nature of his wound, by which the spine was shattered, would not permit removal without much hopeless suffering, the Spaniards themselves pitched a tent at

A. D. 1524. the spot upon which their Enemy was expiring, and where

April 30. he continued to linger for three hours before death relieved him from his tortures.

Bourbon, inflated by the success which had thus expelled Bonivet from Italy, prevailed upon Charles V. to authorize an invasion of Southern France. The Marquess de Pescara was associated with him in command, and these Generals, distrustful of each other, after the rapid conquest of many inferior towns, led about 16,000 men to the siege of Marseilles. After forty days' investment, during which they encountered a most brilliant defence, the besiegers attempted an assault, the want of success in which, combined with intelligence of the near approach of a Fleet under Andrea Doria, and of an Army led by Francis himself, induced them to retreat to Monaco.

Francis had been delayed by the illness and death of his Queen Claude*; little affection, perhaps, existed between them, and her loss appears to have imposed slight restraint upon his habitual debaucheries†. At length he passed the Alps with a force which the Imperialists were unable to withstand in the field, and which they accordingly resolved to oppose by distributing themselves into garrisons among their various strongholds, while Bourbon entered Germany to solicit reinforcements. Instead of pursuing his enemies beyond the Po, the King unadvisedly undertook the siege of Pavia, because, as his rash Favourites assured him, it was beneath the dignity of a King of France that so strong a town should be left in arms behind him. During the investment of that city, the chief Powers in Italy, believing the French to be the stronger of the two contesting parties, were prompt in offers of negotiation, and the Pope (Clement VII.) and the Venetians assured Francis that they would at least remain neutral. Misled by too hasty a reliance upon these promises, the King despatched a force which he could ill spare, amounting to more than ten thousand men, under James, Duke of Albany, late Regent of Scotland, to favour a revolutionary movement against the Spaniards in Naples; and while he thus diminished his own numbers, his Enemy received about an equal increase from the re-inforcement which Bourbon had succeeded in gathering, and to which the Signory of Venice, in despite of their recent engagements to the contrary, allowed free passage through their dominions.

Although the Imperialists now out-numbered the French, the latter might still have retired in safety; but a blind and thoughtless arrogance, similar to that which had originally engaged in the siege of Pavia, pronounced that its abandonment upon compulsion would be eminently

* By the death of Queen Claude, the Fief of Britany lapsed to the Crown of France, but it was not finally annexed to it till the solemn vote of the States-General in 1532.

† For a remarkable and very touching anecdote on this point, see a Note on the *Mémoires du Bellay*, livre ii., page 250, and M. de Sismondi, xvi., 219.

dishonourable. Bonnivet in particular urged the necessity of provoking rather than of escaping battle, and his advice unhappily prevailed with his youthful Master over the grave remonstrances of more experienced soldiers, who affirmed that the Art of War consisted as much, if not more so, in avoiding as in giving combat.

The object of Pescara appears to have been solely the relief of the garrison of Pavia, which began to be straitened for supplies. For this purpose it was necessary that he should traverse the whole of the French line from left to right strongly intrenched within the Park of Mirabello, a hunting seat of the Duke of Milan.* During this bold and hazardous movement he was exposed to a flank fire from batteries, covering at intervals a distance of scarcely less than three miles in extent. Having breached the wall of this Park during the night, at a part remote from the hostile camp, he proceeded for some short time undiscovered, till the opening of a brisk cannonade from the French lines accelerated his march in hope of shelter, and produced some confusion in his battalions. The French cavalry stationed on the wings believed that victory was already won, and pouring forward in rapid charge, obstructed the hitherto successful volleys of their own artillery, and exposed themselves to certain slaughter from very greatly superior numbers. The Swiss on the French right, terrified by the absence of the horse upon whose support they had relied, gave way after a very slight and inadequate resistance before a corps of Spanish Musqueteers, and fled from the field, upon which they left their Commander Diesbach killed in a vain attempt to rally the fugitives. The Dukes of Fleuranges and of Montmorency were taken prisoners, and La Palisse was shot in cold blood after his surrender, in a dispute concerning ransom between his captors, a Spaniard and an Italian. Bonnivet, perceiving the great disaster which his impetuosity had occasioned, raised his vizor, and dashing upon the pikes of the enemy, sought and found a speedy death. The Duke of Alençon, who commanded the rear guard, made no attempt to retrieve the battle, but, overwhelmed by panic, galloped from his post, and in remorse for this act of cowardice died broken-hearted within a month afterwards. La Trémouille, a veteran in his seventy-fifth year, and St. Severin were among the many who fell in defending the King's person, and Francis himself, after an exhibition of much prowess, and slaying with his own hand three enemies of distinguished rank†, might, perhaps not unwill-

* Guicciardini, lib. xv.

† One of these was Fernando Castriota, the last direct representative of Scander Beg, or George Castriote, for a time a successful rebel against the Porte, under the title of Iscander Beg, or the Lord Alexander. During nearly a quarter of a century he resisted all the Powers of the Ottoman Empire, as independent Prince of Albania; and on his fall in 1547, he died a fugitive in the Venetian territory. His family was invested with a Neapolitan dukedom, and the Albanian cavalry, under the name of *Stradiotti*, became celebrated in the wars of Italy. See Gibbon, chap. lxvii.

lingly, have shared the fate of his chief Generals and friends, unless he had seasonably been recognised by one of Bourbon's followers. He was slightly wounded in two places, lying under his horse, which had fallen in attempting to cross the Tesino, and exposed to the violence of some Spanish Musqueteers, who were wrangling about the division of his rich spoils, when the French officer interfered, and announced the prisoner's quality. The King refused all communication with Bourbon, but inquiring for Lannoy the Spanish Viceroy, delivered to him his sword in token of surrender. Lannoy received his prisoner with all fitting respect, but did not in any way relax from the vigilance demanded by so important a charge. At supper the King conversed very freely about the Battle, which though of little more than an hour's duration, had been unusually bloody, costing the lives of 8000 French, and of nearly as many hundred Imperialists. He imputed his defeat chiefly to the pusillanimity of the Swiss, whom he stigmatized with profound indignation. Against Bourbon, who was honoured by assisting him in washing at the conclusion of the meal, he did not express any discontent, and on his removal for confinement to the Castle of Pizzighittone, he addressed that celebrated letter to his Mother the Queen Regent, which a writer not generally distinguished for pointed or epigrammatic style has immortalized, by converting it into a brilliant Laconism. The words "Madam, all is lost except life and honour," really do occur in this despatch, but it extends altogether to twenty lines. It has perhaps of late been criticised a little too severely, and we should prefer assigning to resignation, rather than to abasement, the humble expressions in which it is couched*.

Charles V. affected to receive the announcement of this splendid victory with the utmost humility and moderation; he referred every thing to God, who, he said, had watched over a righteous cause; he expressed tender interest in the misfortunes of his prisoner, and he peremptorily forbade any public demonstrations of joy. The general terror which agitated France on intelligence of the captivity of her King was skilfully and vigorously counteracted by the energy of the Queen Regent. She assembled troops round the Capital, protected the frontiers, and concerted alliances with the chief Powers who were likely to be jealous of the Emperor's success. Among these were Henry VIII. of England, the Pope, and the Venetians. Lannoy was soon alarmed at the escape from the Castle of Pavia of another distinguished prisoner, Henry d'Albret, King of Navarre, who, under the cover of a dark night, and by the assistance of a brave friend and of a rope ladder, recovered his

* "Pour vous avertir comment se porte le report de mon infortune, de toutes choses ne s'est demeuré que l'honneur et la vie qui est sauvée." Père Daniel, *Hist. de France*, tom. v. p. 545, is the first reciter of these memorable words, which M. de Sismondi examines, xvi. p. 242

freedom. The Spanish Viceroy, therefore, sought to be relieved from the perilous custody of the yet more important captive whom he still retained. He had acquired the confidence of Francis, and having persuaded him that a transfer to Madrid would of necessity mitigate the rigour with which he had hitherto been treated by Charles, he procured his conveyance thither without the Emperor's privity.

Francis was lodged in the Alcayar, and Don Ferdinand Alarcon, General of the Spanish infantry, an officer of unblemished honour and well-known bravery, but whose austerity peculiarly adapted him to the post of gaoler, was made responsible for his security. Little relaxation was permitted, and during the short rides which the King was allowed to take, he was hidden from public view by clouds of armed sentinels. Charles, although much solicited, for many weeks evaded or refused an interview which his captive desired, and it seemed as if he ungenerously intended by this rigour of usage to extort the highest possible ransom. This unworthy treatment deeply aggrieved the high-spirited Prince, and at length affected his health. When the physicians reported that life was in peril, a fear that all further advantage might be lost, at length induced Charles to pay the desired visit. The meeting was short, for the King of France was too feeble to maintain prolonged conversation; and the Emperor, after exciting a few vague hopes, was well pleased to disembarass himself from the risk of committal by any certain promise. Francis recovered; but he must have been sensibly mortified by the distinction with which Bourbon was received when he paid

Nov. 13. a visit to Toledo. The Emperor went forth beyond the city gates, to meet him, and entertained him with all possible testimonies of confidence and affection. The sacrifice which he thus offered to policy was not imitated by his Nobles, and the nice and delicate sense of honour cherished by the Castilians revolted from all communication with a perjured rebel. "I shall afford my Palace with cheerfulness, since such is your Majesty's command, as a residence for the Duke of Bourbon," was the uncompromising answer of the Marquess de Villena, upon receiving an application to that effect. "But your Majesty must not be surprised if I burn it to the ground immediately after he has ceased to occupy it; for a house once polluted by a traitor is unfit to be the abode of a man of honour*." During Bourbon's stay, he consented to relinquish his pretensions to the hand of the Emperor's sister Eleanor, Queen Dowager of Portugal, concerning whose acquiescence some doubts were entertained; and in consequence of

Dec. — this surrender he was promoted to the high office of Commander-in-chief of the Imperial armies in Italy, vacant by the premature death of the Marquess de Pescara, and to the forfeited Duchy of Milan.

* Guicciardini, lib. xvi.

Francis, disappointed in all his other hopes, tried a menace of abdication in favour of his Son. If this proposition had been sincere, it would no doubt have effectually relieved him from the acceptance of shameful conditions, and from their subsequent, yet more shameful violation; but Charles at once perceived the hollowness of this stratagem by a clause in the deed of resignation, which stipulated for the restitution of the Crown in case the King should by any means hereafter regain his liberty. The Emperor, therefore, persisted in his demands, which were at length accepted in a Treaty Jan. 14. signed at Madrid, in the commencement of the ensuing year. 1526. By its conditions he obtained full Sovereignty over Burgundy and certain important Lordships connected with that Duchy. The Kingdom of Naples, the Duchy of Milan, the Cities of Genoa and Asti, and the Counties of Flanders and Artois, were altogether resigned to him. The King of France engaged to espouse Eleanor, to conclude an offensive and defensive League with the Emperor, to furnish him with a contingent both by land and by sea whenever he should proceed to his Coronation in Italy, and to accompany him in person in any expedition which he might undertake against the Infidels. Bourbon and his adherents were to be pardoned and to receive indemnification for all their losses; the towns on the Somme, which had been disputed since the time of Charles *le Temeraire* of Burgundy, were to be assigned to France, and the King was to be set at liberty upon delivering as hostages for the execution of these oppressive conditions his two elder Sons, or the Dauphin only with twelve of his most considerable Nobles, to be selected at the Emperor's pleasure.

On the evening before Francis assented to this Treaty, he disingenuously protested against its validity, by secretly lodging a formal document in the hands of notaries, in which he stated that his consent was involuntary, and extorted solely by his necessities. The ratification at length was received from France, whence the Queen Regent, subduing domestic affection to her sense of the public good, wisely despatched the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans, instead of the former only, and the twelve substitutes who were required for the younger Prince. "The Kingdom," she said, "can suffer nothing by the absence of a child, but must be left almost incapable of defence if deprived of its ablest Statesmen and most experienced Generals*." On the opposite bank of the Bidassoa, which separates the two Kingdoms, Francis was awaited by Lautrec with a guard of horse equal in number March 18. to that of Alarçon, who had escorted him thither. The strictest etiquette was observed in regulating the passage of the river. The King and his children embraced for a moment in a vessel anchored in the midstream, and when he reached the opposite shore he leaped on

* Robertson, Charles V., vol. ii. p. 361.

an Arab caparisoned for his reception, and galloped at full speed through St. Jean de Luz to Bayonne, waving his hand joyfully over his head, and shouting, "I am once more a King!" At the last-named town he was received by the Queen Mother and her Court, and congratulated on his release from a captivity which had endured for a year and twenty-two days.

Fêtes, banquetings, and gallantries atoned for the tedium of his long restraint, and it was almost immediately after his return that he took into favour a Mistress, who exercised great influence over his future conduct, Ann de Pisseleu, whom he subsequently created Duchess d'Estampes. All his acts manifested unwillingness to perform the conditions to which he had sworn at Madrid. An Assembly of the Notables, summoned at Cognac, declared, in the presence of Lannoy, who had come in person to claim the fulfilment of these engagements, that it was not in the power of a King of France to dismember his

May 22. Monarchy, and an alliance concluded at the same place with the Venetians, with Francesco Sforza, and with Pope Clement VII. (from the accession of which last party it received the customary name of the Holy League), stipulated for arrangements in Italy disadvantageous to the Emperor, and for the redemption of the French Princes at an equitable ransom. Francis, however, was most tardy in his movements, and seemed anxious to reap the fruits of faithlessness without exposing himself to any hazard of war for their attainment. The Pope, after having seen his Capital pillaged by his turbulent rivals the Colonnesi, and having found that little dependence was to be placed upon his tramontane ally, sought accommodation with the Emperor, which although obtained, nevertheless did not A.D. 1527. free him from the subsequent hostilities of Bourbon. That

General was greatly embarrassed by the destitution and consequent want of discipline which prevailed among his troops; and in spite of his knowledge of a Treaty which Clement had concluded with Lannoy, he was induced, perhaps by many mixed motives, to attempt an enterprise which his times considered most impious—the attack and pillage of the Apostolic City. For that purpose he penetrated the Apennines by hasty marches, and on the evening of the fifth of May sat down under the walls of Rome. The assault on the

May 6. following morning belongs only incidentally to our narrative; nor would it be related, if it did not involve the death of one who has hitherto been distinguished in its course. At a critical moment, at which his troops were giving way, Bourbon leaped from his horse, seized a scaling ladder, and began to mount the breach against which he had planted it. A musket ball from the ramparts struck him in the groin, and he perceived on the moment that the wound was mortal. Requesting to be wrapped up in his cloak in order that his

followers might not detect the loss of their General, he expired at the foot of the walls, while the assault was yet raging, without receiving any assurance of victory to cheer his last moments. In licentiousness of pillage and in brutal effusion of blood, no event in the History of civilized Europe is to be compared with the sack of Rome which succeeded.

These disasters of the Pope must in a great measure be attributed to the tardiness of the Kings both of France and of England, who had deceived him by promises of active co-operation which they had never intended to realize; and the general voice of Christendom induced them, upon the fall of Rome, to enter into a new alliance, the main object of which was to be the deliverance of Clement. May 29. Charles V. indeed, perceiving the danger which he must encounter if he once became ranked as an aggressor against the Spiritual Head of the Church, hastened to disavow the act of Bourbon. But Lautrec had already been ordered to advance in Lombardy, and before the conclusion of the year Aug. 7. the Notables voted a large subsidy for War, and declared Dec. — their King to be unshackled by the oaths which he had taken at Madrid.

It was only by success the most dazzling that attention could be diverted from the stain of perfidy with which Francis thus allowed himself to be contaminated. Yet so ill were his A.D. 1528. measures concerted, or so shattered was his spirit by the remembrance of former ill-fortune, that Lautrec, after penetrating to the centre of the Neapolitan dominions, was left to perish miserably unsupplied and broken-hearted. A wanton insult Aug. — also offered to the jealous honour of Andrea Doria, upon whose choice of service maritime superiority was wholly dependent, induced that veteran to renounce alliance with France, to enter upon new and opposite engagements with her enemy, and to persuade his Genoese Countrymen to adopt the same cause.

The King of France, indeed, had chosen an unprecedented method of clearing his reputation. Instead of pursuing the slow formalities of State correspondence, he overleaped at a single bound all the restraints of diplomacy, by defying the Emperor, not to continuance of a Paper War, in which their Chancellors were the leading champions, but to a personal combat in any field, and with any weapon which should be adjusted between them. If Charles asserted, or should hereafter assert that the challenger had acted otherwise than as a Gentleman to whom honour was most dear, the lie direct was conveyed to him in the broadest terms, but with strict adherence to the regulations of Chivalric courtesy. This Cartel, so ill adapted to the manners of the times as to partake much more of the ludicrous than of

the heroic, produced some correspondence between the Heralds of Paris and of Burgos, and some audiences given to them in the Sept. 10. respective Courts, but, as may be supposed, terminated inconclusively.

A fresh army in the North of Italy, commanded by Francis of Bourbon, Count of St. Pôl, was as much neglected as had A.D. 1529. been its predecessor under Lautrec. The General, incompetent to his post, rash, headstrong, and unwary, allowed June 21. himself to be surprised near Landriano, by Antonio de Leyva, the ferocious but able Spanish Governor of Milan, and such of his troops as escaped from being taken prisoners together with him, dispersed among the mountains, and sought refuge in their native Country.

Peace had by this time become requisite for each of the contending parties, since the treasuries of both France and the Empire were equally exhausted, and it seemed as if the wealth, the patience, and the fertility of even Italy herself, which had glutted the avarice of all her invaders by turns, of French, of Germans, of Swiss, and of Spaniards, began to manifest unequivocal symptoms of decay. Francis, moreover, notwithstanding his reverses, still possessed extensive territory and powerful allies in that Country. The Pope, whom he was chiefly bound in honour to protect, had already made a separate and advantageous Treaty. The troubles of Religion had not as yet given birth to the seeds of Civil War in the bosom of France, while in Germany every new Diet witnessed some new dispute between Roman Catholic and Protestant Electoral Princes. The rival Monarchs, therefore, eagerly extended to purposes of general negotiation, a Conference which the Queen Mother Louisa, and her sister-in-law Margaret of Austria* (widow of Philibert II. Duke of Savoy, to whom her brother the Emperor had confided the government of the Netherlands), held for the ostensible purpose of prolonging the neutrality of those Provinces. Both the Princesses were women possessed of vigorous understandings, and of profound knowledge of affairs of State. They lodged at Cambray in adjoining houses, between which they established a private communication, and so diligent were their labours, and so unbroken was their mutual

Aug. 5. confidence, that in less than a month they signed a Peace, known in History either by the name of the Tower at which it was concluded, or on account of the sex of its negotiators, as *La Paix des Dames*. The Treaty of Madrid was taken as its basis, with the modification of certain conditions. The ransom of the children of France was fixed at two millions of crowns of gold, the cession of Bur-

* Margaret had been brought up at the court of France as the future wife of Charles VIII. She died in 1530, without having forgiven the affront which she received by being rejected by Charles VIII.

gundy which had been the chief object of contest was remitted, and the County of Charolois alone, after belonging to Margaret herself and then to Charles V. for life, was in the end to revert to France. Francis abandoned all connection with Italy, and all claims which he had asserted upon its various States ; and while the Emperor renewed his stipulations in behalf of the partisans of the deceased Bourbon, the King of France dishonourably abandoned the allies whom he had involved in war. Far from mediating in favour of Venice or of Florence, he engaged to join his arms with those of the Emperor, in case the first should not tender her submission within four months, and the second should hesitate to surrender all the conquests which she had made in Naples.

END OF PART THE FIRST.

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